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**SYNTAX OF THE MOODS AND TENSES
OF THE GREEK VERB**





SYNTAX
OF
THE MOODS AND TENSES
OF
THE GREEK VERB

BY

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PREFACE.

THE present work is the result of an attempt to revise the much smaller book which was first published under the same title in 1860, and again, somewhat enlarged, in 1865. When it falls to the lot of a writer to revise, under the greater sense of responsibility which doubled years and more than doubled experience have brought him, a book written in the enthusiasm of youth as an ephemeral production, he is sure to be his own severest critic; and what he begins as a revision inevitably becomes, as he proceeds, more and more a new and independent work. I cannot forget that this book is addressed in great part to a different generation of scholars from that to which the former one was offered; and a treatment of the subject which was permissible in 1860 would be far from satisfactory now. I then attempted chiefly to give "a plain and practical statement of the principles which govern the relations of the Greek Moods and Tenses," avoiding theoretical discussions as far as possible. At that time prevailing theories, based chiefly on abstract speculations, had obscured some of the most important facts in the syntax of the moods, and perhaps no better service could be rendered by a new writer than the clearing away of some of the clouds. Few younger scholars are aware how modern are many of the grammatical doctrines which are now taught in all classical schools. It is hard to believe that so elementary a principle as that by which the aorist infinitive is past in *φῆσιν ἐλθεῖν* and future in *βούλεται ἐλθεῖν* was never distinctly stated until 1847, when it appeared simultaneously in the *Greek*

Syntax of Professor Madvig at Copenhagen and in the *Greek Grammar* of Professor Sophocles at Harvard University. Something more than mere statement of facts has been attempted in the present work, although nothing has been further from my thoughts than a complete theoretical discussion of all the principles which govern the use of the moods. He who ventures far upon that sea is in great danger of being lost in the fog or stranded; for, while Comparative Philology has thrown much and most welcome light on the early history of the Greek language, it has also made us more painfully aware of our ignorance, although it is a more enlightened ignorance than that of our predecessors.

Since the publication of the first edition, many most important additions have been made to our resources. Of these I can undertake to notice only a few. Delbrück's elaborate treatise on the Greek Subjunctive and Optative (in his *Syntaktische Forschungen*, vol. i.), with a comparison of Greek and Sanskrit usages, is familiar to all scholars. Whatever may be thought of Delbrück's main thesis, the distinction of the subjunctive as the mood of *will* from the optative as the mood of *wish*, none can fail to be impressed and instructed by his attractive and original treatment of the subject, which has made an epoch in grammatical science. Lange's unfinished work on the Particle $\epsilon\iota$ in Homer is a model of careful and thorough investigation. When I think of my deep and continued indebtedness to Lange's learned discussions, which include a treatment of all the 200 examples of $\epsilon\iota$ with the optative in Homer, I am grieved to dissent so frequently from his most important conclusions. His chief argument is discussed in Appendix I. Schanz, in his *Beiträge zur Griechischen Syntax*, has undertaken a work of immense extent, involving an amount of labour which it is hard to over-estimate. His plan is to give full and accurate statistics of the use of every construction bearing on the history of Greek syntax, and thus to make a true historic syntax of the language a possibility. The work of collecting, classifying, and discussing the examples of different constructions has been assigned by

him to a large number of colleagues, and every year testifies to substantial progress. The following treatises bearing on the construction of the moods and tenses have already been published by Schanz: Weber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*; Sturm, *Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit Πρίν*; Schmitt, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*; Grünwald, *Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen*; Birklein, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des substantivirten Infinitivs*. The amount of patient labour devoted to these compilations, in which the exact number of examples of each construction in each Greek author before Aristotle is given, while the most important passages are quoted and nearly all are cited, will be most gratefully appreciated by those who would be least willing to undertake the work themselves. The results of such dry enumerations are often interesting and surprising. No one knows whether statistics will be dry and barren or not, until they are collected and classified; and though it may seem a useless task to count the examples of each of the final particles in all Greek literature before Aristotle, it is interesting to know that in all the Attic prose, except Xenophon, *ὡς* final occurs only five or six times while *ἵνα* occurs 999 times. Some of the results derived from Weber's statistics of the use of the final particles are given in Appendix III., and an account of Xenophon's peculiar use of *ὡς*, *ὡς ἄν*, and *ὅπως ἄν* in Appendix IV., for the benefit of those who have not Weber's book at hand, or want the patience to follow his elaborate historical statements. Monro's *Homeric Grammar* is one of the best results of recent English scholarship, and for the study of Homeric usages in the moods it is invaluable. I regret that the new edition of this book, soon to be published, has not come in time to benefit the present work. It seems a mere form to acknowledge my obligations to the standard Grammars; but I must repeat my former expression of thanks to Madvig, Krüger, and Kühner, not to mention a host of others. To Madvig I am indebted for the first conviction that the syntax of the Greek moods belonged

to the realm of common sense. To Krüger I have been indebted in the study of every construction; and I have still retained most of the remarks on the tenses of the indicative which were originally borrowed from him. The revised edition of Kühner's *Griechische Grammatik* has supplied a large store of examples, to which I have frequently had recourse. I am under especial obligation to him for many of the examples which illustrate the uses of the Supplementary Participle, and the corresponding uses of the infinitive with many of the same verbs. Frequent references are made in the notes to the authorities which I have mentioned, and to many others.

It is with pride and pleasure that I acknowledge my deepest indebtedness to an American scholar, whose writings have thrown light upon most of the dark places in Greek syntax. I need not say that I refer to my friend, Professor Gildersleeve of Baltimore. As editor of the *American Journal of Philology* he has discussed almost every construction of the Greek moods, and he has always left his mark. His two reviews of Weber's work on the Final Sentence in vols. iii. and iv. of his *Journal* may well save many scholars the trouble of reading the book itself, while they contain much new matter which is valuable to every one. The acute observation, that the use of $\alpha\upsilon$ and $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ in final constructions depends on the force of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$, and $\delta\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ as conditional relative or temporal adverbs, explains much which before seemed inexplicable. His article on $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ in vol. ii. stated important principles of classic usage which were confirmed by Sturm's statistics; and this, with the later review of Sturm's volume, has done much to correct current errors and to establish sounder views about $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$. His articles on the Articular Infinitive in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878* and in the third volume of his *Journal* practically anticipated the results of Birklein's statistics. I can mention further only his article in vol. vi. of the *Journal* on the Consecutive Sentence, which gives (it seems to me) the clearest statement ever made of the relations of $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ with the infinitive to $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ with the finite moods. I have expressed my

indebtedness to these and other writings of Gildersleeve as occasion has required; but I have also often referred to his articles in his *Journal* by the simple mention of that periodical. I have sometimes omitted a reference where one might seem proper, lest I should appear to make him responsible for what he might deem some dangerous heresy.

I am also under the greatest obligation to my friends and colleagues in Harvard University, Professors Allen, Greenough, Lane, Lanman, White, and Wright, and Dr. Morgan, for valuable suggestions, and to most of them for important help in revising and proof-reading. I regret that I have not had the advantage of their aid in reading the proofs of the last two-thirds of the work. To my friendship of twenty-one years with Dr. Henry Jackson, of Trinity College, Cambridge, I am indebted for some of the most important suggestions which I have received since the publication of the former editions.

The Index to the Examples includes all of the more than 4800 examples quoted or cited in the main body of the work, but not those in the Appendix nor those which are given in the classified lists in the footnotes on pp. 92, 115, 152, 172, and 290. It may seem useless to index many examples which merely illustrate a common principle, like those of a simple aorist infinitive or present indicative; but it would be difficult to discriminate here, and one seldom knows what may make an example useful to another. The same consideration has induced me to give as great a variety of examples as possible, from authors of different classes, illustrating many constructions which apparently need no such aid.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the work, in its present enlarged form, is not intended for use as a grammatical text-book in the class-room, except perhaps the portion printed in the largest type. On the other hand, it is hoped that the increased fulness and the greater space given to discussions will make the work more useful for private study and for reference.

The Dramatists are cited by Dindorf's lines; except the tragic fragments, which follow Nauck's edition, and the

comic fragments, which follow Kock. The lyric fragments follow Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici*. Plato is cited by the pages and letters of Stephanus, and the Orators by the numbers of the orations and the sections now in universal use. The other citations will be easily understood.

In conclusion, I must express my grateful thanks to the University Libraries of Heidelberg and Leyden, and to the Royal Library at The Hague, for the hospitality which was kindly shown me while I was correcting the proofs.

W. W. GOODWIN.

PALLANZA, LAGO MAGGIORE,

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOODS.

1. THE Mood of a verb shows the *manner* in which the assertion of the verb is made.

The Greek verb has four moods, properly so called,—the indicative, the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. The infinitive, which is a verbal noun, and the participle and the verbal in *-τέος*, which are verbal adjectives, are so closely connected with the moods in many constructions, that they are discussed with them in Syntax.

The four proper moods, as opposed to the infinitive, are sometimes called the *finite* moods. The subjunctive, optative, imperative, and infinitive, as opposed to the indicative, are sometimes called the *dependent* moods.

I. INDICATIVE.

2. The indicative, in its most primitive use, makes a simple, absolute assertion, or asks a question which includes or concerns such an assertion. *E.g.*

Γράφει, *he is writing*; ἔγραφεν, *he was writing*; ἔγραψεν, *he wrote*; γράψει, *he will write*. Γράφει; *is he writing?* ἔγραψατε; *did you write?* γράψετε; *will you write?* τί ἔγραψεν; *what did he write?*

3. The indicative may also express

(a) A dependent statement (or quotation) of such an absolute assertion or question. *E.g.*

Λέγει ὅτι γράφει, *he says that he is writing* (he says γράφω); λέγει ὅτι γράψει, *he says that he will write* (he says γράψω); ἐρωτᾷ τί ἔγραψαμεν, *he asks what we wrote*; ἐρωτᾷ εἰ ἔγραψα, *he asks whether I wrote*.

(b) A distinct statement of an object aimed at or feared. *E.g.*

Ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως τοῦτο γενήσεται, *he takes care that this shall be done* (339); φοβοῦμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν, *we fear that we have missed both* (369, 2).

(c) A distinct supposition of an absolute statement, that is, a supposition that such a statement is, was, or will be true. *E.g.*

Εἰ γράφει, *if he is writing*; εἰ ἔγραψεν, *if he wrote*; εἰ γέγραφε, *if he has written*; εἰ γράψει, *if he shall write or if he is to write*. What is supposed in each case could be expressed by γράφει, ἔγραψεν, γέγραφε, or γράψει.

4. The past tenses of the indicative may, further, express a supposition that some statement either *had been* or *were now* true, while it is implied that really it *was not* or *is not* true. *E.g.*

Εἰ ἔγραψα, *if I had written*; εἰ ἔγραφον, *if I were now writing or if I had been writing*; the context indicating that really *I did not write or am not writing* (410). These expressions originally always referred to the past, as they do in Homer.

5. Out of the form of unreal supposition (4) were developed after Homer the use of the past tenses of the indicative with εἶθε or εἰ γάρ in wishes (732); and also the Attic construction of the past tenses of the indicative to express an unaccomplished purpose (333), where there is an assimilation of the final clause to a preceding indicative. *E.g.*

Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐποίησα, *O if I had only done this!* Εἶθε τοῦτο εἶχες, *O if you only had this!*

Εἶθε τότ' ἀπέθανον, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο ἔπαθον, *would that I had then perished, that I might not have suffered this.*

For the indicative with ἄν or κέ, the *potential* indicative, see 243.

II. SUBJUNCTIVE.

6. (a) The subjunctive, in its simplest and apparently most primitive use, seen in Homer (284), expresses futurity, like the future indicative, and has οὐ for its negative. *E.g.*

Οὐ γὰρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι, *for never did I see such men nor shall I ever see them*, Il. i. 262; καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσιν, *and some one will some time say*, Il. vi. 459. :σϛϛϛ.

(b) Though this primitive use disappears in the later language,



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the subjunctive still remains closely related in sense to the future indicative, and in most of its constructions can be interchanged with it.

7. The subjunctive in questions of appeal as to the future (287) has, even in Homer, developed the idea of propriety or expediency. *E.g.*

Ἀθεὶ μένω ἤε θέω; *shall I remain here or run?* II. x. 62. So πῆ ἴω; *whither shall I go?* Od. xv. 509. But the future indicative can be used in the same sense; as τί δῆτα δρῶμεν; μητέρ' ἢ φοβούμεν; *what are we to do? shall we slay our mother?* EUR. El. 967. (See 68.)

8. (a) In exhortations and in prohibitions with μή (250-259) the subjunctive has an imperative force, and is always future; as in ἴωμεν, *let us go*; μὴ θαυμάσητε, *do not wonder*.

The future indicative occasionally occurs in prohibitions with μή (70).

(b) The subjunctive with μή, especially in Homer, may express a future object of fear with a desire to avert it; as in μὴ νῆας ἔλωσι, *may they not seize the ships (as I fear they will)*. (See 261.) From such expressions combined with verbs of fearing arose the dependent use of μή with the subjunctive expressing a future object of fear; as φοβοῦμαι μὴ ἀπόληται, *I fear that he may perish*.

9. In the constructions with οὐ μή (294) the subjunctive and the future indicative are used, without apparent distinction, in a future sense; as οὐ μὴ γένηται and οὐ μὴ γενήσεται, *it will not happen*.

10. The subjunctive may express a future purpose or a future object of care or exertion. *E.g.*

Ἔρχεται ὅπως τοῦτο ἴδῃ, *he comes that he may see this* (317); ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως τοῦτο γένηται (or γενήσεται), *he takes care that this shall be done* (339). In clauses of purpose the future indicative is sometimes used (324), and in the construction of 339 it became the regular Attic form.

11. In conditional clauses the subjunctive expresses either a future supposition (444), or a general supposition which is indefinite (never strictly present) in its time (462).

(a) In the former it supposes such a future case as the Homeric subjunctive (6) states; as εἰάν τις εἴπῃ, *if one shall say* (the thing supposed being εἴπῃ τις, *one will say*); here the future indicative may be used

in essentially the same sense (447). In the general condition it supposes an event to occur at any time, as we say *if any one ever goes* or *whoever goes*, with an apodosis expressing repetition or a general truth; as *εάν τις κλέψῃ* (or *ὅς ἂν κλέψῃ*), *κολάζεται*, *if any one steals* (or *whoever steals*), *he is always punished*.

(b) The subjunctive in general suppositions is the only subjunctive which does not refer to future time, and here the future indicative can never be used. In most other languages (as in English and generally in Latin), and sometimes in Greek, such a condition is expressed by the present indicative, like an ordinary present supposition; but the Greek, in its desire to avoid a form denoting present time, generally fell into one which it uses elsewhere only for future time. The construction, however, appears in Homer imperfectly established, except in relative clauses (468): this indicates that it does not belong to the primitive uses of the subjunctive. (See 17.)

For the Homeric subjunctive with *κέ* or *ἄν* in independent sentences, which does not differ perceptibly in meaning from the future with *κέ* or *ἄν*, see 201, 1.

III. OPTATIVE.

12. The optative is commonly a less distinct and direct form of expression than the subjunctive, imperative, or indicative, in constructions of the same general character as those in which these moods are used.

13. This is seen especially in independent sentences, where the optative either expresses a wish or exhortation, or is used (regularly with *ἄν* or *κέ*) in a potential sense.

Thus *ἴωμεν*, *may we go*, corresponds as a weaker form to *ἴωμεν*, *let us go*. Corresponding to *ἐξελθών τις ἰδέτω*, *let some one go out and see*, we have *ἐξελθών τις ἴδοι*, *may some one go out and see*, Od. xxiv. 491. ^{c1} *Ἐλοῖτο ἄν*, *he would take or he might take*, corresponds to the Homeric *ἔλῃται* or *ἔλῃται κε*, *he will take or he may take* (201, 1).

We find in Homer a few optatives expressing concession or permission, which have a neutral sense and can hardly be classed as either potential or wishing. See Il. iv. 17, *εἰ δ' αὖ πως τόδε πάσι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ πέλοῖτο, ἦ τοι μὲν οἰκείοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος, αἴτις δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην Μενέλαος ἄγοιτο*, where we may translate the apodosis either *let the city still be a habitation and let M. carry away Helen*, or *the city may still be a habitation and M. may carry away Helen*. In iii. 72 we have *γυναικὰ τε οἰκαδ' ἀγέσθω*, and in iii. 255 *τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι γυνή καὶ κτήμαθ' ἔποιτο*, where *ἀγέσθω* and *ἔποιτό κε* refer to essentially the same thing with *ἄγοιτο* in iv. 19. Following Il. iii. 255 (above) we have *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ναίομεν Τροίην, τοὶ δὲ νέοντα*, i.e. *the rest of us may remain dwellers in Troy, while*

.....

.....

.....



They will return to Greece. From such neutral future expressions were probably developed the two distinct uses of the optative. In its hortatory sense as a form of wishing, the optative was distinguished by the use of *μή* as a negative; while in its potential sense it had *οὐ* as its negative (as in *οὐ μὴν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι*, for really *I can suffer nothing worse*, II. xix. 321), and it was soon further marked by the addition of *κέ* or *άν*. (See Appendix I.)

14. In dependent clauses expressing purpose or the object of exertion or of fear, the optative is never an original form; but it always represents a dependent subjunctive or future indicative (8, *b*; 10) in the changed relation in which either of them is placed when its leading verb is changed from present or future to past time.

We represent this change in English by a change from *may* to *might*, or from *shall* or *will* to *should* or *would*; as *ἔρχεται ἵνα ἴδῃ*, he comes that he may see, *ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδοι*, he came that he might see; *ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως τοῦτο γενήσεται*, he takes care that this shall be done, *ἐπιμελεῖτο ὅπως τοῦτο γενήσοιτο*, he took care that this should be done; *φοβεῖται μή τοῦτο πάθῃ*, he fears that he may suffer this; *ἐφοβήθη μή τοῦτο πάθοι*, he feared that he might suffer this. Here the original subjunctive or future indicative (especially the latter) is very often used in place of the optative.

15. In all forms of indirect discourse the same principle (14) holds, that the optative after past tenses represents (in a changed relation) an indicative or a subjunctive of the direct form, which original mood is always used after present and future tenses, and may be retained after past tenses (667, 1).

Here again we see what the change is, for we represent it by our change from *is* to *was*, *have* to *had*, *shall* and *will* to *should* and *would*, etc.; as *λέγει ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστίν*, he says that it is true; *ἔλεξεν ὅτι ἀληθές εἶη* (or *ἔστίν*), he said that it was true; *λέγει ὅτι γράψει*, he says that he will write; *ἔλεξεν ὅτι γράψει* (or *γράψει*), he said that he would write. So *οὐκ οἶδα τί εἶπω*, I know not what I shall say; *οὐκ ᾔδειν τί εἶποιμι* (or *εἶπω*), I knew not what I should say.

16. In future conditions the optative expresses the supposition in a weakened future form, as compared with the stronger future of the subjunctive and the future indicative.

Compare *εἰν ἔλθω*, if I (shall) go (444), with *εἰ ἔλθοιμι*, if I should go (455). Often the form of the leading sentence (the apodosis) decides whether a given supposition shall be expressed by a subjunctive or by an optative; thus in DEM. iv. 11 we have *άν οδτός τι πάθῃ*, if any-

thing happens (shall happen) to him (Philip), depending on ποιήσετε; and in the next sentence, referring to precisely the same contingency, we have εἴ τι πάθοι, depending on two optatives with ἄν.

17. The only remaining form of dependent optative is that found in past general suppositions, as εἴ τις κλέψειεν (or ὃς κλέψειεν), ἐκολάζετο, *if ever any one stole (or whoever stole), he was (always) punished* (462; 531).

Here the optative after a past tense represents an original subjunctive after a present tense (11), differing in this from the optative in future conditions (16), which is in an original construction. The late development of this optative appears from its almost total absence in protasis with εἴ in Homer (468), where the corresponding subjunctive in protasis is also infrequent. It may therefore be disregarded in considering the primitive uses of the optative. (See 11, b.)

For a more full discussion of the relations of the optative to the other moods, see Appendix I.

IV. IMPERATIVE.

18. The imperative expresses a command, exhortation, entreaty, or prohibition (250 and 259). *E.g.*

Φεῦγε, *begone!* Ἐλθέτω, *let him come.* Δός μοι τοῦτο, *give me this.* Μὴ ποίει ἄδικα, *do not do what is unjust.*



. *hens, kempo. < of. tans, tens, tings, kemo, kempo*

CHAPTER II.

THE TENSES.

19. THERE are seven Tenses,—the present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, aorist, future, and future perfect. The imperfect and pluperfect occur only in the indicative; the futures are wanting in the subjunctive and imperative.

20. These tenses may express two relations. They may designate the time of an action as *present*, *past*, or *future*; and also its character as *going on*, *finished*, or simply *taking place*. The latter relation is expressed by the tenses in all the moods and in the infinitive and the participle; the former is always expressed in the indicative, and to a certain extent (to be explained below) in the dependent moods and the participle.

21. The tenses are divided into *primary* tenses, which denote present or future time, and *secondary* or *historical* tenses, which denote past time. This distinction applies properly only to the tenses of the indicative; but it may be extended to any forms of the dependent moods which have the same distinction of time as the tenses of the indicative.

The primary tenses of the indicative are the present (in its ordinary uses), perfect, future, and future perfect. The secondary tenses are the imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist (in its ordinary uses).

This distinction will be more fully explained at the end of this chapter (165-191). It must be noted that the historic present (33) is a secondary tense, and the gnomic aorist (154) is a primary tense.

22. In speaking of the time denoted by any verb, we must distinguish between time which is present, past, or future with

reference to the time of speaking or writing (that is, time *absolutely* present, etc.), and time which is present, past, or future with reference to the time of some verb with which the verbal form in question is connected (that is, time *relatively* present, etc.) Thus, when we say *τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστίν*, *this is true*, *ἐστίν* is present with reference to the time of speaking; but when we say *ἔφη τοῦτο ἀληθές εἶναι* or *εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστίν* (or *εἶη*), *he said that this was true*, (i.e. *he said "this is true"*), the present tense which we use denotes time present to the time of the leading verb, i.e. time *absolutely* past and only *relatively* present. The same distinction is seen between the future in *τοῦτο γενήσεται*, *this will happen*, and that in *ἔφη τοῦτο γενήσεται* or *εἶπεν ὅτι γενήσεται* (*γενήσεται*), *he said that this would happen*; where the future in the first case is *absolutely* future, but in the other cases is only *relatively* future and may be even *absolutely* past. Again, in *τοῦτο ἐγένετο*, *this happened*, the aorist is *absolutely* past; but in *ἔφη τοῦτο γενέσθαι*, or *εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐγένετο* (or *γένετο*), *he said that this had happened*, it denotes time past to the time of the past leading verb, and so is *doubly* past. But in connection with a future expression an aorist, though *relatively* past, may be *absolutely* future; as in PLAT. Rep. 478 D, τὸ φανέν as subject of *ἔσθαι* means *that which will hereafter have appeared*. So *διαπραξάμενος* in 496 E. (See 143.)

It is a special distinction between the Greek and the English idioms, that the Greek uses its verbal forms much more freely to denote merely relative time. Thus, we translate the Greek presents *εἶναι* and *ἐστί* after *ἔφη* or *εἶπεν* (above) by our *was*; the futures *γενήσεται* and *γενήσεται* by *would happen*; and the aorists *γένεσθαι* and *ἐγένετο* by *had happened*. This distinction appears especially in the indicative, optative, and infinitive of indirect discourse; in future forms after past tenses in final and object clauses with *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*, etc.; and usually in the participle; but not in protasis.

I. TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.

PRESENT.

23. The present indicative represents an action as *going on* at the time of speaking or writing; as *γράφω*, *I write*, or *I am writing*.

An important exception occurs when the present indicative in indirect discourse denotes time which is present relatively to the leading verb. See above, 22; 669, 2; 674, 1.

25. δ. δόναι is 'offer' not 'give'. 'give' denotes the end action and is terminative. The idea of attempt does belong. present & imperf. as such. See Schoemann on δ: δῶρα θεῶν σείθει Rep. 390c. no attempt.
 future-attempt: ἰπῶν κείνων ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ δέκῃ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπερρέει

26. actions that belong equally to past and present
 ἀφίημι, ἀφίημι.
 found also outside 'andio'
 * πάρος θησ' only case - Hom. & present used in past tense

7. ἀφ. κνοῦμαι (past. ἴκνω, ἴκνομαι, ἴκνω)
 ἔρρω πέμνω, κίχδνω
 ἴκει with a quoniam. Symp. 188a.
 οἱ φεύγοντες the fugitives and the exile.
 ὁ προδιδούς the traitor T. 7. 5
 ὁ τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς L. 1. 33. εἰώλω τῆς ῥολῆς αἰῶνα
 ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων D. 23. 34.

Rachis: γεννῶ, φύω, τίκτω, θυήσκω, ἄλλομαι
 τίς δὲ μ' ἐκφύει βροτῶν ἡ μή τις ο. T. 431

24. As the limits of such an action on either side of the present moment are not defined, the present may express a *customary* or *repeated* action or a *general truth*. *E.g.*

Ἡ πρόμνα τοῦ πλοίου ὃ εἰς Δῆλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπονσιν, *the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos (every year)*. PLAT. Phaed. 58 A. Τίττει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἐπιγται, *satiety begets insolence, whenever prosperity follows the wicked*. THEOG. 153. Ἐν χρένῳ ἀποφθίνει τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώπων, *in time timidity dies out in men*. AESCH. Ag. 857.

25. The present denotes merely the continuance or progress of an action, without reference to its completion. It may, however, be implied by the context that the action is *not* to be completed, so that the present denotes an *attempted* or *intended* action. Especially *δίδωμι*, in the sense of *offer*, and *πειθω*, *try to persuade*, are thus used. *E.g.*

Νῦν δ' ἄμα τ' ἀντίκα πολλὰ δίδοι, *he offers many things*. Il. ix. 519. Πείθονται ὑμᾶς ἐναντία καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ψηφίσασθαι, *they are trying to persuade you to vote contrary both to the laws and to justice*. ISAE. i. 26.

This comitative signification is much more common in the imperfect.

See 36 and the examples.

26. The present is often used with expressions denoting past time, especially *πάλαι*, in the sense of a perfect and a present combined. *E.g.*

Κεῖνον ἵχνεῖω πάλαι, *I have been tracking him a long time (and still continue it)*. SOPH. Aj. 20. Οὐ πάλαι σοι λέγω ὅτι ταῖτόν φημι εἶναι; *i.e. have I not long ago told you (and do I not still repeat) that I call it the same thing?* PLAT. Gorg. 489 C. Θεοὺς αἰτῶ . . . φρουρᾶς ἑτέρας μῆκος. AESCH. Ag. 1. So πολὺν χρόνον τοῦτο ποιῶ. So in Latin, iam dudum loquor.

27. The presents *ἦκω*, *I am come*, and *οἶχομαι*, *I am gone*, are used in the sense of the perfect. An approach to the perfect sense is sometimes found in such presents as *φεύγω*, in the sense *I am banished*, *ἀλίσκομαι*, *I am captured*, *νικῶ* and *κρατῶ*, *I am victorious*, *ἠττώμαι*, *I am conquered*, *ἀδικῶ*, *I have been unjust (I am ἀδικος)*. So the Epic *ἴκω* and *ἰκάνω*, with *ἄλλνμαι* and sometimes *τίκτω* in tragedy. *E.g.*

Οἶχεται εἰς ἅλα διαν, *he is gone to the divine sea*. Il. xv. 223. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, *I, Themistocles, am come to you*. THUC. i. 137. Τοῖς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικαίως κατήγαγον, *they justly re-ported those who were unjustly banished*. PLAT. Menex. 242 B. Ἰλίου ἀλίσκομένου, *after the capture of Ilium*. THUC. vi. 2. So ἀλίσκομένου τοῦ τείχεος. HDT. i. 85. Ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης, *behind the open door*. HDT. i. 9. Εἰ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλνμαίμετο τοῖς ὄλοις, ἕως ἀντρέψα, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; *how is Demosthenes to*

blame? DEM. xviii. 303. Πύργων ὀλλυμένων ἐν ναυσὶν ἔβαν, *I embarked after the towers had been destroyed.* EUR. I. T. 1108. Ἥδε τίκτει σε, *this woman is thy mother.* Id. Ion. 1560.

Present participles are given in some examples here where they illustrate the meaning of the tense.

28. The Greek, like other languages, often uses such presents as *I hear, I learn, I say*, even when their action is finished before the time to which they strictly refer. *E.g.*

Εἰ στασιάξουσιν, ὥσπερ πυνθανόμεθα, *if they (the Sicilians) are in discord, as we learn.* THUC. vi. 16. Ἐπὶ πόλεις, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκοῇ αἰσθάνομαι, μέλλομεν ἵεναι μεγάλας. Id. vi. 20.

(Εἶμι as Future.) **29.** The present εἶμι, *I am going*, and its compounds, have a future sense. Εἶμι thus became a future of ἔρχομαι, the future ἐλεύσομαι not being in good use in Attic prose. *E.g.*

Σεῦ ὕστερος εἶμ' ἰπὸ γαίαν, *I shall go.* II. xviii. 333. Εἶμι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκείνα, *I shall recur to that.* PLAT. Phaed. 100 B. ὦ φίλ', ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι, σῖς καὶ κείνα φυλάξων. Od. xvii. 593. Ἄλλ' εἴσειμι, σοῦ δ' οὐ φροντιῶ, *but I'll go in and not mind you.* AR. Nub. 125. Ἐὶ δ' οὗτοι ἀπίασιν, ἡμεῖς μόνοι μενούμεν, *but if they (shall) depart, we alone shall remain.* XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 24.

In Homer εἶμι is used also as a present; as οἶος δ' ἀστὴρ εἶσι μετ' ἀστράσι, II. xxii. 317. So ii. 87, xi. 415; Od. iv. 401; and often in similes. This is doubtful in Attic; as in πρόσσειμι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σόν, AESCH. Eum. 242, where πρόσσειμι may be πρὸς + εἶμι. See Krüger and Classen on ἐπίασιν, THUC. iv. 61.

30. The future sense of εἶμι and its compounds extends to the optative, infinitive, and participle in indirect discourse, and often to the participle in other uses (especially when it expresses purpose with ὡς). *E.g.*

Προεῖπον ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρσόμεθα σιστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν, *i.e. that they would come against us.* XEN. Hell. v. 2, 13. See also v. 1, 34, where εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν corresponds to εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν. As ἴοιμι in this use is equivalent to a future optative, it is naturally rare (128). Ἀπίεναί ἐνόμιζεν ὅταν βούληται, *he believed he could depart (ἀπειμι) whenever he pleased.* THUC. v. 7. So οὐκ ἔφασαν (ἔφη) ἵεναι, XEN. An. i. 3, 1 and 8; i. 4, 12: cf. ii. 1, 3, ii. 6, 10. Καὶ τὸ πῦρ γε αὐ προσιώντος τοῦ ψυχροῦ αἰτῶ ἢ ὑπεξίεναι ἢ ἀπολείσθαι. PLAT. Phaed. 103 D. (Προσιόντος is an ordinary present participle: see 31.) Οὐ γὰρ ᾔδειν ἐξιών, *for he did not know that he was to go.* AR. Pac. 1182. Ὁ δ' εἰς Πέρσας ἰὼν παρῆν συννεσκευασμένος. XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 26. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνωστήμην ὡς ἀπιών. PLAT. Prot. 335 C (this might come under 31). So ἀνωστήκη ὡς ἐξιών, ib. 335 D. Παρσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιούσα. XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 13. So THUC. vi. 63.

31. In the optative and infinitive not in indirect discourse, and

if there is any work still left, and the final
value is determined.

if there is any work still left, and the final
value is determined.



historic present is a present. it usually a relational art
'is employed to describe an event that is past. the imagin
is not that the event is taking place before our eyes.

often in the participle, the same forms of εἶμι are used as ordinary presents. *E.g.*

Οὐδὲν ἂν διάφορον ποιοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτων ἴοιεν. PLAT. REP. 360 C. Εἰ πολέμιος ἴοι. Ib. 415 E. See ἴοι in Rep. 490 B, in a peculiar indirect quotation. Ὅτε ἴοι. Id. TIM. 78 C. In XEN. AN. i. 3, 1, after ἴεναι as future (30), we have ἐβιάζετο ἴεναι and ἤρξατο προίεναι. Ἐξὼν αὐτῶ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συγγίγνεσθαι ὄψω βούλοιο. PLAT. REP. 360 C. Ἀποτρεπόμενος ὁ ἀήρ καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ζῶ ἰών. Id. TIM. 79 C. So ANT. v. 78, vi. 45.

In the subjunctive and imperative there can of course be no special future sense in these verbs.

32. In animated language the present often refers to the future, to express *likelihood, intention, or danger*. *E.g.*

Εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἔχεται ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία, *if this city shall be captured, all Sicily is (at once) in their possession*. THUC. vi. 91. Μένομεν ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν; *shall we wait until we are each captured, city by city?* Id. vi. 77. Εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, διεξάτω καὶ παρασχίσθω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω, *and I will take my seat*. DEM. xix. 32. So ἀπόλλυμαι, *I am to perish*, LYS. xii. 14. For a similar use of the perfect, see 51. (See also 61.)

33. (Historic Present.) The present is often used in narration for the aorist, sometimes for the imperfect, to give a more animated statement of past events. This is called the historic present. *E.g.*

Βουλὴν ἐπιτεχνᾷται ὅπως μὴ ἀλισθεῖεν Ἀθηναῖσι, *he contrives a plan to prevent the Athenians from assembling*. HD. i. 63. Κελεύει πέμψαι ἄνδρας ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κρύφα πέμπει. THUC. i. 91. Δαρείον καὶ Παρισάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο. XEN. AN. i. 1, 1. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ παρόντος ἡνίκ' ἠλίφ δεῖκνυσι τοῦναρ ἔκλιον ἐξηγουμένοι. SOPH. EL. 424.

The historic present is not found in Homer.

IMPERFECT.

34. The imperfect represents an action as *going on* in past time; as ἔγραφον, *I was writing*.

35. The imperfect is thus a present transferred to the past, retaining all the peculiarities of the present which are consistent with the change. Thus it may denote a customary or repeated action, or a series of actions; or, if it refers to a single action (as it very frequently does), it represents it in its progress rather than as a simple past occurrence (like the

aorist). In narration it dwells on the course of an event instead of merely stating its occurrence. *E.g.*

Ἐπὶ Κέκροπος ἡ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκειτο, καὶ οὐ ξυνήεσαν βουλευσόμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οἶσαν ξυνώκισε πάντας. THUC. ii. 15. (Here the imperfects refer to the state of the country or to customs; the aorists state events, ἐβασίλευσε, became king, ξυνώκισε, collected into one state.) Καὶ παραστὰς ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν, ἐβῶν, ἐξέκρουόν με, τελευτῶντες ἐχλεύαζον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐγελάτε, καὶ οὐτ' ἀκούειν ἠθέλετε οὔτε πιστεύειν ἐβούλεσθε, they kept on shouting, etc., and you laughed, etc. DEM. xix. 23. Ἐπειρώμην τι λέγειν τούτων ὧν εἰς τὴν βούλην ἀπήγγειλα. Ibid. Πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκηει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; in doing all these things was he acting unjustly and breaking the peace, etc.? Id. xviii. 71; see also ib. 69. (Compare τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβῶν, of the event, ib. 73.) Παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίου ἠξίου συμπολεμῆν. Ib. 87. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, καὶ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἤρρεσκεν (of a course of action). Id. xix. 189. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυμπον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπια ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν. Ib. 192. Εἶτα τότ' οὐκ ἔλεγες παραχρήμα ταῦτα οὐδ' ἐδίδασκες ἡμᾶς; did you then not tell this at once on the spot, or instruct us? Ib. 25.

The same action (as in the last two examples) could easily have been mentioned, without reference to its continuance, as a mere event. For the relations of the imperfect to the aorist, see 56.

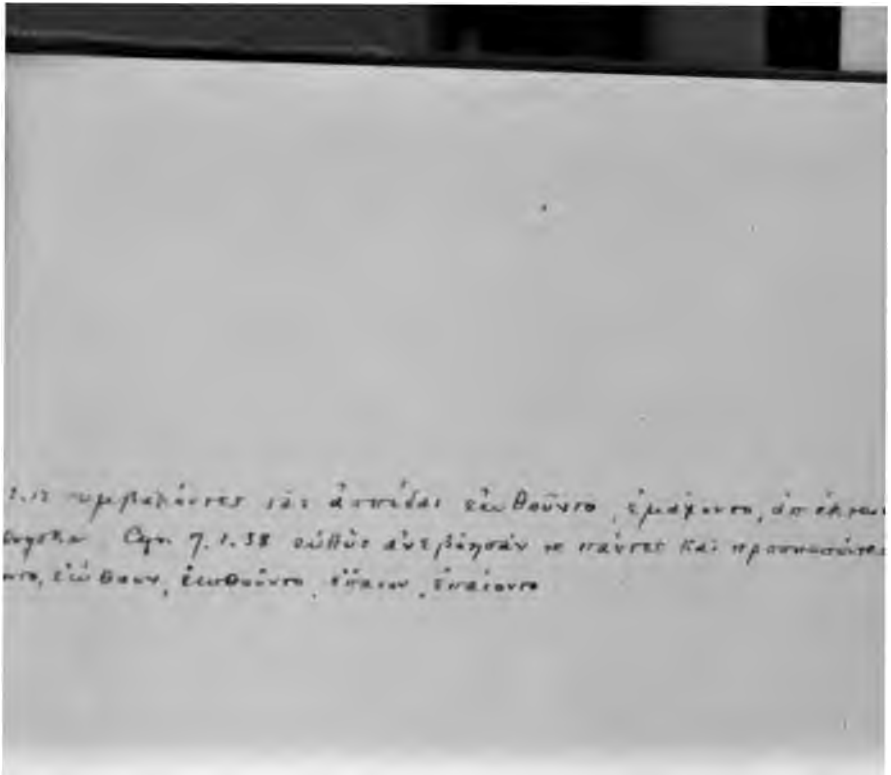
36. The imperfect, like the present (25), sometimes denotes attempted action, being here strictly an imperfect tense. So especially ἐδίδου and ἐπειθον. *E.g.*

(Φίλιππος) Ἀλόννησον ἐδίδου, Philip offered Halonnesus (lit. tried to give it). AESCHIN. iii. 83. Ἐκαστος ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, each one tried to persuade him to undertake the command. XEN. AN. vi. 1, 19.

Κῦμα ἴστατ' ἀειρόμενον, κατὰ δ' ἤρρεε Πηλείωνα, and was about to overpower the son of Pelcus. II. xxi. 327. Ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν, he tried to hire the yard of one who refused to let it. HDT. i. 68. Πέμφαντες ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, they sent to Sardis and wanted to buy gold. HDT. i. 69. Ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνέετο, he took a fancy (aor.) to the cloak, and tried to buy it. HDT. iii. 139. Ἄ ἐπράσσετο οὐκ ἐγένετο, what was attempted did not happen. THUC. vi. 74. So προσετίθει, she wanted to add, AR. Nub. 63.

37. When the present has the force of the perfect (27), the imperfect has regularly the force of a pluperfect. *E.g.*

Ὁ ὄχλος κατὰ θεῖον ἤκειν, the crowd had come to look on. THUC. vi. 31. Ἐπεὶ ᾤχεο νηὶ Πύλονδε, after thou wast gone by ship to Pylos. Od. xvi. 24.



2.13. attempted, interrupted, intended & completed actions
intended actions, expressed "ἐπιπέδον" present a fact, inf.

ἔπειτα αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὗτοι ἔπειτα, οὐλοῦν ἔπειτα ἐπιπέδον ἔπειτα Cyr 5.522

so tried to sell (inacc. out. 10), ^{ἐπιπέδον} ἐπιπέδον has effect on agreement 7.3.

ice was the made. ἔπειτα made. ~ artists' music, not comédie
[King H.N. prof. 26.]

ἔπειτα ~ ἔπειτα ἔπειτα, ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα
(no comit. n. in here). ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα ἔπειτα

See Kock on Lucas §65

Pytharinos οὐδὲν ἔην ἄρα ἰδίᾳ πλὴν ὁ χρυσός

of the text: εἰμανόμην ἄρα Lucas 1476

Pluperf. name taken from Lat. imperfectum or ἰδέα, ἴτε σπείθη.
simply imperfect as record. to imperfectum.

38. The imperfect sometimes denotes *likelihood, intention, or danger* in past time (see 32). *E.g.*

Ἐπειδὴ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι ἀπώλλυτο, *when he was on the point of ruin through his deceit.* ANT. v. 37. Καὶ τὰμ' εἴθνησκε τέκν', ἀπωλλόμεν ὀ' ἐγὼ, *and my children were about to die, and I was about to perish.* EUR. H. F. 538. Ἐκαινόμεν ξίφει, *I was to be slain,* Id. I. T. 27.

39. The imperfect ἦν (generally with ἄρα) may express a fact which is just recognised as such by the speaker or writer, having previously been denied, overlooked, or not understood. *E.g.*

Ἦ πόποι, οὐκ ἄρα πάντα νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι ἦσαν Φαιήκων ἡγή-
ταρες ἢδὲ μέδοντες, i.e. *they are not, as I once imagined.* Od. xiii. 209.
Οὐκ ἄρα μοῖνον ἔην ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίαν εἰσὶ δῶα, *there is not after all merely one race of discords, but there are two on earth.* HES. Op. 11. Ὅδ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ ξυλλαβὼν με, *this is then the one who seized me.* SOPH. Ph. 978. Οὐ σὺ μόνος ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἔποψ; *are you not then the only epos (as I thought)?* AR. Av. 280. Ἄρ' οὐ τότε ἦν τὸ δένδρον, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦγες ἡμᾶς; *is not this then the tree to which you were bringing us?* PLAT. Phaedr. 230 A.

Other imperfects are rare; as ἠπίστω, XEN. Hell. iii. 4, 9. ^ω εἰμαινόμεν¹⁴

40. In like manner the imperfect may express something which is the result of a previous discussion, with reference to which the past form is used. This is sometimes called the *philosophic imperfect*. *E.g.*

Ἦν ἡ μουσικὴ ἀντίστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησαι, *music then (as we proved) corresponds, if you remember, to gymnastics.* PLAT. Rep. 522 A. Καὶ δίκαιον δὴ φήσομεν ἄνδρα εἶναι τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ, ᾧ περ καὶ πόλις ἦν δίκαια, *and now we shall say that a man is just in the same way in which also a state was (shown to be) just.* Ib. 441 D. Δι-
αφθεροῦμεν ἐκεῖνο, ὃ τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ βέλτιον ἐγίγνετο, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ ἀπώλλυτο, *we shall destroy that which (as we proved) becomes better by justice and is ruined by injustice.* PLAT. Crit. 47 D.

41. The Greek sometimes uses an idiom like the English *he was the one who did it* for *he is the one who did it*; as ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος, THUC. viii. 68; τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντιοῖς καὶ σώσας αὐτοῖς; DEM. xviii. 88.

PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT.

42. The perfect represents an action as already finished at the *present* time; as γέγραφα, *I have written* (that is, *my writing is now finished*).

43. The pluperfect represents an action as already finished at a given *past* time; as ἐγεγράφειν, *I had written* (that is, *my writing was finished at some specified past time*).

44. The perfect, although it implies the performance of the act

in past time, yet states only that it *stands completed* at the *present* time. This explains why the perfect is classed with the present as a primary tense, that is, as a tense of *present* time.

45. The perfect and the pluperfect may be expressed by the perfect participle with the present and imperfect of *εἰμί*. Here, however, each part of the compound generally retains its own signification, so that this form expresses more fully the continuance of the *result* of the action of the perfect to the *present* time, and of that of the pluperfect to the *past* time referred to. *E.g.*

Πεποιηκώς ἐστίν (or ἦν), *he is* (or *was*) *in the condition of having done*,—*he has done* (or *had done*). Ἐμοῦ οἱ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν, *it is the laws which not only have acquitted me of injustice, but have commanded me to inflict this punishment*. LYS. i. 34. Ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰμὶ τοῦτο δεδρακώς, *he dared to say that I was the one who had done this deed*. DEM. xxi. 104. In DEM. xviii. 23, οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων means *for there was no embassy then out on a mission to any of the Greeks*; whereas ἀπέσταλτο would have given the meaning *no embassy had ever been sent out* (see 831).

This of course does not apply to cases where the compound form is the only one in use, as in the third person plural of the perfect and pluperfect passive and middle of mute and liquid verbs.

46. On the other hand, although the simple form very often implies the continuance of the result of the action down to the present time or to a specified past time, it does so less distinctly than the compound form, and *not necessarily* (see the last two examples below). *E.g.*

Ἐπιμελῶς οἱ θεοὶ ὧν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δεόνται κατεσκευάκασιν, *the Gods have carefully provided what men need*. XEN. Mem. iv. 3, 3. Τῶν ποιητῶν τινες ὑποθήκας ὡς χρὴ ζῆν καταλελοίπασιν, *some of the poets have left us suggestions how to live*. ISOC. ii. 3. Ἀκήκοα μὲν τοῦνομα, μνημονεύω δ' οὐ, *I have heard the name, but I do not remember it*. PLAT. Theat. 144 B. Ἄ σοι τύχη κέχρηκε, ταῦτ' ἀφέιλετο, *Fortune has taken back what she has lent you*. MEN. Fr. 598.

47. Ἐχω with the aorist and sometimes the perfect participle may form a periphrastic perfect (831). In tragedy and in Herodotus this is often fully equivalent to our perfect with *have*; elsewhere, especially in Attic prose, the participle and ἔχω are more or less distinct in their force. Still, this is the beginning of the modern perfect. *E.g.*

Ποίω σὶν ἔργω τοῦτ' ἀπειλήσας ἔχεις; *have you made this threat?* SOPH. O. C. 817. Τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει; Id. Ant. 22; see ib. 32. Ἡμῶς πρᾶγος ἄσκοπον ἔχει περάνας. Id. Aj. 21. Ἡδᾶτο γὰρ ταῦτ', οὐδέ πω λήξαντ' ἔχει, *i.e. the story has not yet ceased to be told*. Id. O. T. 731; see Tr. 37, παρβήσασ' ἔχω. Ὅς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει. EUR. Med. 33; see ib. 90. Ἄρειος τε



μοίραν μεταλάβων ἔχει τινά. *Id.* Bacch. 302. Σοῦ θαυμάσας ἔχω τόδε. *SOPH.* Ph. 1362; so *PLAT.* Phaedr. 257 C (in poetic language). Οἷά μοι βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει. *SOPH.* O. T. 701 (after στήσας ἔχεις in 699). Ὅστις γ' ἔχει μου ἕαρπάσας τὸ παιδίον, whoever has snatched away (though here ἔχει may mean keeps). *AN.* Th. 706. Ἐγκλήσας ἔχει τὰ σιτία. *Id.* Eccl. 355. Ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις, i.e. whom you hold in slavery or whom you have enslaved. *HD.* i. 27. Ἀμφοτέρων με τοῦτων ἀποκλήσας ἔχεις. *Id.* i. 37; so i. 41. Ἀλαζόνι ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχομεν, we have entrusted ourselves, etc. *Id.* vi. 12. Πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀγερπυκότες. *XEN.* An. i. 3, 14 (here ἔχομεν expresses possession). See *THUC.* i. 68; *DEM.* ix. 12, xxvii. 17.

The beginning of this usage appears in *HEC.* Op. 42:—

Κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισι. *He. 356 codex*

48. Εἶχον or ἔρχον with the participle may form a periphrastic pluperfect in the same way (47). *E.g.*

Ὅν γ' εἶχον ἤδη χρόνιον ἐκβεβληκότες. *SOPH.* Ph. 600. See *HD.* i. 28, 73, and 75; *XEN.* An. iv. 7, 1.

49. (a) The perfect of many verbs has the signification of a present, which may usually be explained by the peculiar meaning of the verbs. Thus *θνήσκειν*, to die, *τεθνηκέναι*, to be dead; *καλεῖν*, to call, *κεκλήσθαι*, to be called or named; *γίγνεσθαι*, to become, *γεγονέναι*, to be; *μυνησκειν*, to remind, *μεμνήσθαι*, to remember; *εἰδέναι*, to know; *ἰστάναι*, to place, *ἑστάναι*, to stand. So *βεβηκέναι*, to stand; *ἐγνωκέναι*, to know; *ἡμφιέσθαι*, to wear; *κεκτήσθαι*, to possess; *πεποιθέναι*, to trust; *πεφνκέναι*, to be (by nature); etc.

(b) The pluperfect of such verbs has the signification of the imperfect; as *οἶδα*, I know, *ἤδην*, I knew.

50. In epistles, the perfect and aorist are sometimes used where we might expect the present, the writer transferring himself to the time of the reader. *E.g.*

Ἀπίστακά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον, I send you this speech. *ISOC.* i. 2. Μετ' Ἀρταβάζου, ὃν σοι ἐπέμψα, πρᾶσσε. *THUC.* i. 129. (Here ὃν ἐπέμψα refers to the man who was to carry the letter.) So *scripsi* and *scripsi* in Latin.

51. The perfect sometimes refers to the future, to denote certainty or likelihood that an action will immediately take place, in a sense similar to that of the present (32), but with more emphasis, as the change in time is greater. *E.g.*

Ὅστ' εἰ με τόξων ἐγκρατῆς αἰσθήσεται, ὄλωλα, I shall perish at once. *SOPH.* Ph. 75. Κάν τοῦτο νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. *XEN.* An. i. 8, 12. So *perit* in Latin.

52. In a somewhat similar sense (51), the pluperfect may express the immediate or sudden occurrence of a past action. This occurs especially in Homer and Herodotus. *E.g.*

Οὐδ' ἀπίθσεν μύθῳ Ἀθηναίης· ἢ δ' Οὐλυμπόνδε βεβήκειν,
and she was gone to Olympus. Il. i. 221. Ἡ μὲν θαμβήσασα πάλιν
οἰκόνδε βεβήκειν. Od. i. 360. Τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχῆ, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν
κέχυτ' ἀχλὺς. Il. v. 696. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὤρμέατο
ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρόν, i.e. *they were on their way (at once).* HDt. viii. 35; see ix.
61.

For the gnomic perfect, see 154 and 155.

AORIST.

53. The aorist indicative expresses the simple *occurrence* of an action in past time; as ἔγραψα, *I wrote.*

54. This fundamental idea of *simple occurrence* remains the essential characteristic of the aorist through all the dependent moods, however indefinite they may be in regard to time. The *aorist* takes its name (ἀόριστος, *unlimited, unqualified*) from its thus denoting merely the occurrence of an action, without any of the limitations (ὅροι) as to *completion, continuance, repetition, etc.*, which belong to other tenses. It corresponds to the ordinary preterite (e.g. *did, went, said*) in English, whereas the Greek imperfect corresponds generally to the forms *I was doing, etc.* Thus, ἐποίει τοῦτο is *he was doing this or he did this habitually*; πεποίηκε τοῦτο is *he has already done this*; ἐπεποίηκε τοῦτο is *he had already (at some past time) done this*; but ἐποίησε τοῦτο is simply *he did this*, without qualification of any kind.

55. The aorist of verbs which denote a *state or condition* generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition. *E.g.*

Βασιλείῳ, *I am king*, ἐβασίλευσα, *I became king*; ἄρχω, *I hold office*, ἤρξα, *I took office*; πλουτῶ, ἐπλούτησα, *I became rich*. Τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνώκει καὶ οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον ἀπολέλοιπεν· ἀλλὰ παρὰ ζῶντος Τιμοκράτους ἐκείνῳ συνώκησε, *she was his wife in good faith, and has not yet even to this day been divorced; but she went to live with him from Timocrates while T. was still living.* DEM. xxx. 33.

56. The aorist is distinguished from the imperfect by expressing only the occurrence of an action or the entrance into a state or condition, while the imperfect properly represents an action or state as going on or as repeated. See the examples of the imperfect and aorist in 35, and compare συνώκει and συνώκησε in DEM. xxx. 33 (in 55). The aorist is therefore more common in rapid narration, the imperfect in detailed description. It must be remembered that the same event may be looked upon from different points of view by the same person; thus in DEM. xviii. 71 and 73 (quoted in 35) ἔλκε τὴν εἰρήνην and τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσε refer to the same thing, once as an act in progress, and once as a fact accomplished. No amount of duration in an act, therefore,

are reached after a series of like occurrences οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι

expressed by periphrasis: εἰς φόβον ἦλθον
εἰς φόβον ἦλθον ἀφ' ἑσέως

at cor. IIō inquit ariet.

Lehmann (Orators p. 362) says ἐκέλευον usually "I request invited;" but ἐκέλευσα = 'commanded.'

on πῆμω see my note to Thuc. II. 6. 2

can make the aorist an improper form to express it, provided it is stated as a single past event viewed as a whole. Thus *ἔβασιλευσε δέκα ἔτη* (see HDT. ii. 157) means *he had a reign of ten years*, (which is viewed as a single past event), while *ἔβασιλευε δέκα ἔτη* might refer to the same reign in the sense *he was reigning during ten years*. The aorist may refer even to a series of repetitions; but it takes them collectively as a whole, while the imperfect would take them separately as individuals. See DEM. xviii. 80, *μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, and afterwards I sent out all the naval armaments*; and xviii. 60, *ἃ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεῖσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, the (succession of) advantages which Philip secured during the period before I entered public life*, emphatically opposed (as a whole) to Philip's many failures after that time, which are mentioned in *ἃ δὲ καὶ δεικνύθη*. If the orator had wished to dwell on the number of the advantages or failures, or on their duration, he could have used the imperfect. See the last example under 35.

57. Since the same event may thus be stated by the aorist or the imperfect according to the writer's point of view, it is natural that it should occasionally be a matter of indifference which form is used, especially when the action is of such a nature that it is not important to distinguish its duration from its occurrence. For example, this distinction can seldom be important in such expressions as *he said, he commanded*; and we find *ἔλεγον* and *ἐκέλευον* in the historians where no idea of duration can have been in mind. See *οἱ δ' ἐκέλευόν τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιαῦτα*, THUC. i. 72, followed, at the end of the speech in 79, by *τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον* and *Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα*. In such cases as the following (cited with others by Krüger) it was not important to the narrative whether the idea of duration was included in the expression or not: *βάλλετο* and *βάλετο*, II. ii. 43 and 45; *θῆκεν* and *τίθει*, xxiii. 653 and 656; *δῶκε* and *δίδου*, vii. 303 and 305; *ἔλιπεν* and *λεῖπε*, ii. 106 and 107; compare also *μίστιλλον* with *ἔπειραν, ὤπησαν, and ἐρίσαντο*, i. 465 and 466. In all these cases the fundamental distinction of the tenses, which was inherent in the form, remained; only it happened that either of the two distinct forms expressed the meaning which was here needed equally well. It must not be thought, from these occasional examples, that the Greeks of any period were not fully alive to the distinction of the two tenses and could not use it with skill and nicety. But the Greeks, like other workmen, did not care to use their finest tools on every occasion; and it is often necessary to remember this if we would avoid hair-splitting.

'πέποιθε' αὐτῶν πάντα τοῖς δ' ἄνωγ' ἔπειν Ησ. 1276
 ἰνόντι Ὀρέστην νῦν, καὶ κάλαρ' ἀέγω. | #Α. ἀπωλόμην δύστητος. Ελ. 676. ὠλοῦμαι
 ἢ θοοῦμαι αἰεὶ ἀεὶ
 ἡμεῖς Ελ. 248 ἀνέστησαν φέροντες ἄνω. 207 ἔφριξ' ἔρασι περὶ καρῆς δ' ἄνεστα
 18
 κρίβαν Ησ. 495. ζυγῆκα THE TENSES [58
 Ο. Τ. 337 ἔμειψω.

58. The aorist, expressing simply a past occurrence, is sometimes used where we should expect a perfect or pluperfect, the action being merely referred to the past without the more exact specification which these tenses would give. *E.g.*

Τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδένα κατέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα πέπρακεν, *he (has) left none of the servants, but has sold everything.* AESCHIN. i. 99. Ἐστράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο, *they turned towards Panormus, whence they (had) set sail.* THUC. ii. 92. Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησεν, *from the dominion of which he (had once) made him satrap.* XEN. AN. i. 1, 2.

59. The aorist is generally used with ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδὴ, *after that*, the aorist with the particle being equivalent to our pluperfect. So after ἔως and πρὶν, *until.* *E.g.*

Ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη Ἄρταξέρξης, *after Darius (had) died and Artaxerxes had become established.* XEN. AN. i. 1, 3. Οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, *they did not dare to bring war upon us until they (had) seized our generals.* Ib. iii. 2, 29. But the pluperfect may still be used after ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδὴ, to give additional emphasis to the doubly past action; as in DEM. xviii. 42, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ἡμεῖς, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις, τί ἐγένετο;

So in Latin we have generally *postquam venit*, but occasionally *postquam venerat*.

60. The aorist is sometimes used colloquially by the poets (especially the dramatists), when a sudden action, which is *just taking place*, is spoken of as if it had already happened. *E.g.*

Ἐπήνεσ' ἔργον καὶ πρόνοιαν ἦν ἔθου, *I must approve your act, etc.* SOPH. Aj. 536. Ἦσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπῖαις, *I am amused by your threats, I cannot help laughing, etc.* AR. EQ. 696. Τηλ. 134

61. The aorist sometimes refers vividly to the future, like the present (32) or perfect (51); as ἀπωλόμην εἴ με λείψεις, *I perish if you leave me.* EUR. Alc. 386: so Med. 78. See also ὦλετο, II. ix. 413 and 415.

62. In questions with τί οὐ, expressing surprise that something is not already done, and implying an exhortation to do it, the aorist is sometimes used strangely like a future. *E.g.*

Τί οὖν οὐ διηγῆσω ἡμῖν τὴν ξηνοσίαν; *why then don't you tell us about the meeting?* PLAT. Prot. 310 A. Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ Πρόδικον καὶ Ἰππίαν ἐκαλέσαμεν; *why then don't we call Prodicus and Hippias too?* Ib. 317 D. So τί οὖν οὐ . . . ἐσκέψω; Id. Soph. 251 E. See also SOPH. O. T. 1003.

For the gnomic aorist see 154.

FUTURE.

63. The future denotes that an action is to take place

202 02 Jan 1291 : en J.F. 6. 205

62 :
medical meaning is not the real meaning



.T. 725, Ant. 662, Hd. X. 56, I. 199. Jan. 4. 78, D. 8. 72

? Grammatical meaning is not real meaning. He speaks, does
sp. ? + liberal direction.

in time to come; as γράψω, *I shall write* or *I shall be writing*, sometimes *I will write*; πείσεται, *he will suffer*, sometimes *he shall suffer*.

64. In indirect discourse and in all final constructions the future expresses time future relatively to the leading verb. See 22.

65. The future may represent an action in its duration, its mere occurrence, or its inception; as ἔξω, *I shall have*, or *I shall obtain*; τοῦτο δώσω, *I shall give this*; ἄρξω, *I shall rule*, or *I shall obtain power* (cf. 55). *E.g.*

Πραγματεύονται ὕπως ἄρξουσιν, *they take trouble to gain power*. XEN. Rep. Lac. xiv. 5. Ἄρ' οὐ (διαίρετόν) οἷτινες ἄρξουσίν τε καὶ ἄρξονται; *must we not distinguish between those who are to rule and those who are to be ruled?* PLAT. Rep. 412 B. Πῆ στασιάζουσιν οἱ ἐπικούροι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες; *how will they fall into faction?* Ib. 545 D (see below, ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον στάσις ἔμπεσε).

66. The future may be used in a *gnomic* sense, denoting that something will always happen when an occasion offers. *E.g.*

Ἄνθρωπος ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται. MEN. Mon. 45. "*He that fights and runs away may turn and fight another day.*" (An. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.)

67. The future is sometimes used to express what will hereafter be proved or be recognised as a truth. Compare the use of the imperfect in 40. *E.g.*

Φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἔσται ὁ μέλλων καλὸς κάγαθὸς εἶσθαι φύλαξ, *he will prove to be a philosopher*. PLAT. Rep. 376 C.

68. The future is sometimes used in questions of doubt, where the subjunctive is more common (287). *E.g.*

Τί δῆτα δρώμεν; μητέρ' ἢ φονεύσομεν; *what shall we do? shall we kill our mother?* EUR. El. 967: so Ion. 758. Ποῖ τρέψομαι; *whither shall I turn?* Id. Hipp. 1066. Εἴτ' ἐγὼ σου φείσομαι; AN. Ach. 312. Τί οὖν ποιήσομεν; πότερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν πάντας τοῖτους παραδεξόμεθα; *what then shall we do? Are we to receive all these into the state?* PLAT. Rep. 397 D.

69. The second person of the future may express a concession or permission; and it often expresses a command, like the imperative. *E.g.*

Πρὸς ταῦτα πράξεις οἷον ἂν θέλῃς, *you may act as you please*. SOPH. O. C. 956. Πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις, *but by all means do this*. AN. Nub. 1352. So in the common imprecations, ἀπολείσθε, οἰμώξεσθε, *may you perish*, etc. Χεῖρὶ δ' οὐ ψάσεις ποτέ. EUR. Med. 1320. Compare the Latin *facies ut sciam*, *let me know*; *abibis*, *depart*.

70. In a few instances the future indicative with μή expresses a *prohibitive*, like the imperative or subjunctive with μή (259). *E.g.*

Ταύτην, ἂν μοι χρῆσθε συμβούλῃ, φυλάξτε τὴν πίστιν πρὸς

τοῦτον τὸν Θρᾶκα, καὶ μὴ βουλήσεσθε εἶδέναι, κ.τ.λ., *if you follow my advice, hold fast to this security (69), and do not wish to know, etc.* DEM. xxiii. 117. Ἐὰν δὲ εἴ φρονήτε, καὶ νυνὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ποιήσετε, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν δώσετε. LYS. xxix. 13. Ἐξέον ἀδικήσεις μηδέποτε καιρὸν λαβών. MEN. Mon. 397. So probably οὐ σίγα; μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἔρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν, *silence! say nothing of all this in the city.* AESCH. Sept. 250. ᾗ.

71. The future sometimes denotes a present intention, expectation, or necessity that something shall be done, in which sense the periphrastic form with μέλλω (73) is more common. *E.g.*

Τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθούντων, εἴ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγήσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι; *if they are to endure hunger and thirst, etc.* XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 17. (Here εἰ μέλλουσι πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν, etc., would be more common, as in the last example under 73.) Αἶρε πλῆκτρον, εἰ μαχεῖ, *raise your spur, if you are going to fight.* AR. Av. 759. The distinction between this and the ordinary future (63) is important in conditional sentences (see 407).

72. A still more emphatic reference to a present intention is found in the question τί λέξεις; *what do you mean to say?* often found in tragedy; as ὦμοι, τί λέξεις; ἦ γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἐστί μου; EUR. Hec. 1124. Ἄ So Hec. 511, 712; Hipp. 353; Ion. 1113; SOPH. Ph. 1233.

For the future in protasis, see 447 and 407; in relative clauses expressing a purpose, 565; with ἄν, 196; with οὐ μή, 294-301.

73. (Μέλλω with the Infinitive.) A periphrastic future is formed by μέλλω and the present or future (seldom the aorist) infinitive. This form sometimes denotes mere futurity, and sometimes intention, expectation, or necessity. *E.g.*

Μέλλει τοῦτο πράττειν (or πράξειν), *he is about to do this, or he intends to do this.* So in Latin, *facturus est* for *faciet*. Μέλλω ἡμᾶς διδάξειν ὅθεν μοι ἡ διαβολὴ γέγονε. PLAT. Ap. 21 B. Οὐκοῦν δεήσει τοῦ τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἀεὶ ἐπιστάτου, εἰ μέλλει ἡ πολιτεία σώζεσθαι; *if the constitution is to be preserved.* PLAT. Rep. 412 A. (See 71.)

74. Although the present and the future infinitive were preferred with μέλλω (73), the aorist was still used by some writers, as by Euripides. See AESCH. Prom. 625 (μέλλω παθεῖν); EUR. Ion. 80 (μέλλω τυχεῖν), 760 (θανεῖν μέλλω), EL. 17 (μέλλοντα θανεῖν), Phoen. 300 (μέλλεις θιγεῖν);—where the metre allows no change.

75. The future infinitive with μέλλω forms the only regular exception to the general principle which restricts the use of the future infinitive to indirect discourse (see 86; 112).

76. The imperfect (seldom the aorist) of μέλλω with the infinitive expresses *past* intention, expectation, or necessity. *E.g.*

L.R. 2. 323 μηδὲν παλαιὸν δ' ἐνδύσαστε μηδὲν Πλά
quel anneau point enroulé belong. relative complex αἰνέσαστε τ

πρὶν ποτε τὰς ἀπράτους/κοίτας ἔρος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνάγκη γὰρ
μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν if we mean to wait D. 9. 10

haus Proleg. ad Symp VII. about a score of acorns in Plato.
nos. 393, or 392, 1574. J.N. 573, 1131, J.F. 464, Hec. 1204

16. This use propterea = would have.

Futureum exactum; a term borrowed from Lat. *rebus*;
is a simple future as regards the kind of time.
E.g. state resulting from an action transferred, *fulvum*

Κύκλωψ, οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμελλες ἀνάλκιδος ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρους ἔδμεναι ἐν σπῆι γλαφυρῶ, so you were not after all to eat, etc. (cf. 39). *Od.* ix. 475. See *Il.* ii. 36. Ἐμελλόν σ' ἄρα κινήσειν ἐγώ, I thought I should start you off. *AR. Nub.* 1301. Ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν, ὃς ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ ποιήσειν. *PLAT. AP.* 20 A. Ἐμέλλησαν ἐμβάλλειν. *THUC.* i. 134.

FUTURE PERFECT.

77. The future perfect denotes that an action will be *already finished* at some future time. It is thus a perfect transferred to the future. *E.g.*

Καί με ἔαν ἰξελέγξῃς, οὐκ ἄχθεσθήσομαι σοι, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος εὐεργέτης παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράψει, you will have been enrolled as my greatest benefactor. *PLAT. GORG.* 506 C. Ἦν δὲ μὴ γίνηται, μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαύσεται, σὺ δ' ἐγχανῶν τεθνήξεις, I shall then have had my whirrings for nothing, and you will have died grinning. *AR. Nub.* 1435.

78. The future perfect often denotes the continuance of an action, or the permanence of its results, in future time. *E.g.*

Δύναμι, ἧς ἐς αἰδίων τοῖς ἐπιγυρομένοις μνήμη καταλείψεται, ποικε, the memory of which will be left to our posterity for ever. *THUC.* ii. 64. (Compare 105.)

79. The future perfect sometimes denotes certainty or likelihood that an action will *immediately* take place, which idea is still more vividly expressed by the perfect (51). *E.g.*

Εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς ὅστισοῦν δύναιτο διδάξαι, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται, all the present fear will be at once dispelled. *DEM.* xiv. 2. (Here the inferior *Mss.* have λείνται, which would be like δλωλα, quoted in 51.) Φράζε, καὶ πεπράξεται, speak, and it shall be no sooner said than done. *AR. PLUT.* 1027. Εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει, ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείψεται. *XEN. AN.* ii. 4, 5.

80. The future perfect can be expressed by the perfect participle and ἔσομαι. In the active voice this is the only form in use, except in a few cases (chiefly ἐστήξω and τεθνήξω). *E.g.*

Ἄν ταῦτ' εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι, we shall have already resolved to do our duty and shall have been freed from vain reports. *DEM.* iv. 50. (See 45 and 831.)

81. A similar circumlocution with the aorist participle and ἔσομαι is sometimes found, especially in the poets. *E.g.*

Οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσει; *SOPH. O. T.* 1146. Λυπηθεὶς ἔσει. *SOPH. O. C.* 816. (See 47 and 831.)

82. When the perfect is used in the sense of a present (49), the

future perfect is its regular future; as *κεκλήσομαι, μεμνήσομαι, ἀφεστήξω*, *I shall be named, I shall remember, I shall withdraw*, etc.

83. In many other verbs, the future perfect differs very slightly, if at all, from an ordinary future. Thus *πεπράσομαι* is the regular future passive of *πτεράσκω*. Still, where there is another future, the future perfect is generally more emphatic.

84. It must be remembered that, in most cases in which the Latin or the English would use a future perfect in a dependent clause, the Greek uses an aorist or even a perfect subjunctive. (See 90 and 103, with the examples.)

II. TENSES OF THE DEPENDENT MOODS.

85. The distinctions of time which mark the various tenses in the indicative are retained when the optative and infinitive represent the indicative in indirect discourse, and usually in the participle. But in other constructions these distinctions of time disappear in the dependent moods, and the tenses here differ only in their other character of denoting the *continuance*, the *completion*, or simply the *occurrence* of an action (20). The infinitive with *ἄν* is not included in this statement (see Chap. III.)

The tenses in these two uses must, therefore, be discussed separately.

A. NOT IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

86. In the subjunctive and imperative, and also in the optative and infinitive not in indirect discourse (666; 684), the tenses chiefly used are the present and the aorist. The perfect is used here only when the completion of the action is to be emphasized (see 102-110). For the occasional future, see 111-113; 130-132.

PRESENT AND AORIST.

87. The present and aorist here differ only in this, that the present expresses an action in its *duration*, that is, as *going on* or *repeated*, while the aorist expresses simply its *occurrence*, the time of both tenses being otherwise precisely the same. *E.g.*

Ἐὰν ποιῇ τοῦτο, *if he shall be doing this, or if he shall do this (habitually)*; ἐὰν ποιήσῃ τοῦτο, *(simply) if he shall do this*; εἰ ποιοίῃ τοῦτο, *if he should be doing this, or if he should do this (habitually)*.



ally); εἰ ποιήσῃς τούτο, *if he should do this*; ποίει τούτο, *do this (habitually)*; ποιήσον τούτο, *do this*. Οὕτω νικήσαιμι τ' ἐγὼ καὶ νομιζοίμην σοφός, *on this condition may I gain the victory (aor.) and be considered (pres.) wise*. AR. Nub. 520. Βούλεται τούτο ποιεῖν, *he wishes to do this (habitually)*; βούλεται τούτο ποιήσαι, (simply) *he wishes to do this*. For other examples see below.

This is a distinction entirely unknown to the Latin, which has (for example) only one form, *si faciat*, corresponding to εἰ ποιήῃ and εἰ ποιήσῃ, and only *facere* to correspond to both ποιεῖν and ποιήσαι (as used above).

88. It is sometimes difficult here, as in the corresponding case of the imperfect and the aorist indicative (56; 57), to see any decisive reason for preferring one tense to the other; and it can hardly be doubted that the Greeks occasionally failed to make use of this, as well as of other fine distinctions, when either form would express the required sense equally well, although they always had the distinction ready for use when it was needed. Compare the present and the aorist subjunctive and optative in the following examples:—

Ἐάν γάρ τί σε φανῶ κακὸν πεποιηκὸς, ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν· ἔάν μόντοι μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακὸν πεποιηκὸς μηδὲ βουληθεῖς, οὐ καὶ σὺ ὁμολογήσεις μηδὲν ἢ π' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι; *if I shall appear (aor.) to have done you any wrong, and if I shall appear (pres.) to have done you no wrong*. XEN. Cyr. v. 5, 13. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ προσδέχοιτο Φωκίας συμμάχους . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ προσδέχοιτο, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xix. 318. Εἰ τινες πολλῶν θανάτων ἦσαν αἴτιοι, (ἵνα) πάντων τοῦτων δεκαπλασίας ἀλγηδῶνας ἵπὲρ ἐκάστου κομίσαιντο, καὶ αὖ εἰ τινες εὐεργεσίας εὐεργητικότες εἶεν, (ἵνα) κατὰ ταῦτὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κομίσαιντο, *if any had caused many deaths, that they might receive (aor.) suffering for all these, tenfold for each; and again, if they had done kind services to any, that they might in like manner receive (pres.) their due reward*. PLAT. Rep. 615 B. In the last example, it is obvious that the change from κομίσαιντο to κομίσαιντο is connected with the change from εἰ ἦσαν to εἰ εὐεργητικότες εἶεν; but it is questionable whether the latter change is the cause or the effect, and it is also quite as hard to see the reason for this change in the protasis, when both conditions are equally general, as for that in the final clause. Probably no two scholars would agree in the reasons which they might assign for the use of the tenses in these examples. It is certain, however, that either present or aorist would express the meaning equally well in all these cases.

Subjunctive and Imperative.

89. The present and aorist subjunctive and imperative are always future, except that in general conditions (462; 532) the subjunctive is general in its time. In all final constructions the subjunctive is future relatively to the

leading verb. The following examples will show the distinction of the two tenses:—

Πειθώμεθα πάντες· φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, *let us all be persuaded; let us fly, etc.* Π. ii. 139. Τί φῶ; τί δρῶ; *what shall I say? what shall I do?* Πῶς οὖν περὶ τούτων ποιῶμεν; *how then shall we act about this?* PLAT. Phil. 63 A.

Ἀναλογισώμεθα τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἡμῖν, *let us enumerate the points which have been conceded by us.* PLAT. Prot. 332 D. Μηδὲν φοβηθῆς, *fear not.* But μηδὲν φοβοῦ, *be not timid.* Τί ποιήσω; *what shall I do (in this case)?* But τί ποιῶ; *what shall I do (generally)?* Οὐ μὴ τοῦτο εἴπῃς, *you shall not say this.* Οὐ μὴ γένηται, *it will not happen.* So in the Homeric οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι, *nor shall I ever see* (6).

Ἄν δέ τις ἀνθιστήται, πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι, *but if any one shall stand opposed to us, we will try to subdue him.* XEN. An. vii. 3, 11. Κἂν πόλεμος ᾖ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν ἀφεξόμεθα, *and if there shall be war, so long as we shall be able, etc.* XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. Ἄλλ' ἢ ἂν γιγνώσκω βέλτιστα ἐρῶ, *but I will speak as I shall think best.* THUC. vi. 9. Οὓς ἂν βούλη ποιήσασθαι φίλους, ἀγαθόν τι λέγε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, *whomsoever you shall wish, etc.* ISOC. i. 33. Ἄπας λόγος, ἂν ἀπῆ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν, *all speech, if (whenever) deeds are wanting, appears vain and empty.* DEM. ii. 12. Συμμαχεῖν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οἷς ἂν ὀρῶσι παρεσκευασμένους, *all are willing to be allied to those whom they see prepared.* DEM. iv. 6.

Ὡς ἂν εἴπω πειθώμεθα, *let us obey as I shall direct.* Π. ix. 704. Ἦν ἔγγυς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδεὶς βούλεται θνήσκειν, *if death comes near (the moment that death comes near), no one wants to die.* EUR. Alc. 671. Ἦν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησώμεθα, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσομεν, *if we (shall) make the peace, etc.* ISOC. viii. 20. Ὅν μὲν ἂν ἴδῃ ἀγνώτα (sc. ὁ κύων), χαλεπαίνει· ὃν δ' ἂν γνώριμον (sc. ἴδῃ), ἀσπάζεται, *i.e. whomsoever the dog sees (at any time).* PLAT. Rep. 376 A.

Δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῖναι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ, *it seems good to me to burn the wagons, that our beasts of burden may not be our generals, and that we may go on whithersoever it may be best for the army.* XEN. An. iii. 2, 27. Καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελήται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι. XEN. Mem. iii. 2, 3.

Δέδοικα μὴ ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, *I fear lest we may forget the road home.* XEN. An. iii. 2, 25. Διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι, ὡς μὴ διαβῆτε ἀλλ' ἀποληφθῆτε, *i.e. he intends to destroy the bride, that you may not pass over but be caught.* Ib. ii. 4, 17.

Φεῦγε, *begone;* χαίροντων, *let them rejoice;* μὴ νομίζετε, *do not believe.* Εἰπέ μοι, *tell me;* δότε μοι τοῦτο, *give me this.* Σφενδόνη τίς μοι δότω, *let some one give me a sting.* AR. Av. 1187.

ἰδ',
επειδὴν ὡς ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται τῷ προδότη συμβούλῃ
τῶν λοιπῶν ἵτι κρήται D. 18. 47

90. When the aorist subjunctive depends on *ἐπειδὴν* (or *ἐπὶν*, *ἐπὶν*), after that, it is referred by this meaning of the particle to time preceding the action of the leading verb, so that *ἐπειδὴν τοῦτο ἴδω, ἔξω* means after I (shall) have seen this, I will come; and *ἐπειδὴν τοῦτο ἴδω, ἀπέρχομαι*, after I have seen this, I (always) depart. In such cases it may be translated by our future perfect when the leading verb is future, and by our perfect when the leading verb denotes a general truth and is translated by the present. As the subjunctive here can never depend upon a verb of simply present time, it can never refer to time absolutely past; and we use the perfect indicative in translating such an aorist after a verb expressing a general truth, merely because we use the present in translating the leading verb, although this is properly not present but general in its time.

In like manner, after *ἕως*, *πρὶν*, and other particles signifying until, before that, and even after the relative pronoun or *ἐάν*, the aorist subjunctive may be translated by our future perfect or perfect, when the context shows that it refers to time preceding that of the leading verb. *E.g.*

Χρὴ δὲ ὅταν μὲν τιθῆσθε τοὺς νόμους, ὅποιοί τινές εἰσι σκοπεῖν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ θῆσθε, φυλάττειν καὶ χρῆσθαι, while you are enacting laws, you must look to see of what kind they are; but after you have enacted them, you must guard and use them. DEM. XXI. 34. (Here the present *τιθῆσθε* with *ὅταν*, while, refers to an action continuing through the time of the leading verb; but *θῆσθε* with *ἐπειδὴν*, after that, refers to time past relatively to the leading verb.) Ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴν περὶ τοῦ γένους εἶπω, τότε, ἂν βούλησθε ἀκοῦειν, ἐρῶ, when I shall have spoken about my birth, then, if you desire to hear, I will speak of these things. DEM. LVII. 16. (Here the aorist *εἶπω*, though absolutely future, denotes time past with reference to *ἐρῶ*.) Ἐπειδὴν διαπράξωμαι ἃ θέωμαι, ἔξω, when I shall have accomplished what I desire, I will come. XEN. AN. II. 3, 29. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ ἡρμῆμένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρόποντα, when they have covered them with earth, etc. THUC. II. 34. Ἔως ἂν σφόδρῃται τὸ σκάφος, τότε χρὴ προθύμους εἶναι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχυ, μάταιος ἡ σποιδῆ, as long as the vessel remains in safety (present); but the moment that the sea has overwhelmed it (aorist). DEM. IX. 69. Ἔως ἂν ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα, until you have learnt fully, have hope. SOPH. O. T. 834. Μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἱ ἂν μὴ εἴρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν, and one bier is always carried empty, in honour of the missing, whose bodies are not (have not been) found. THUC. II. 34. Διανοεῖται, ἂ ἂν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξωσι, τοῖτων ἰσομοιρεῖν; i.e. he thinks of having an equal share in those things which others by their valour have acquired? XEN. CYT. II. 3, 5. Πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν ἐκ πολέμου γυνομένης εἰρήνης προεθῆ, ταῦτα τοῖς ἀμελήσουσιν ἀπόλλυται, all things which are (or have been) abandoned when peace is made are always lost to those

who abandoned them. DEM. xix. 151. "Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ του πείρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντεπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν, *if they have been disappointed in anything, they always supply the deficiency, etc.* (154 and 171). THUC. i. 70. Οὐχὶ παύσομαι, πρὶν ἂν σε τῶν σῶν κύριον στήσω τέκνων, *I will not cease before I have (shall have) made you master of your children.* SOPH. O. C. 1040. Μὴ στέναξε πρὶν μάθης, *do not groan until you have heard.* SOPH. Ph. 917.

91. This use of the aorist subjunctive (90) sometimes seems to approach very near to that of the perfect subjunctive (103); and we often translate both by the same tense. But in the perfect, the idea of an action *completed* at the time referred to is expressed by the *tense* of the verb, without aid from any particle or from the context; in the aorist, the idea of relative past time can come *only* from the particle or the context. (See 103 with examples, and 104.) The Greek often uses the less precise aorist subjunctive and optative (see 95) where the perfect would be preferred but for its cumbrous forms; and we sometimes give the aorist more precision than really belongs to it in itself by translating it as a perfect or future perfect. (See the last six examples under 90.) The following example illustrates the distinction between the perfect and aorist subjunctive:—

Ὅν μὲν ἂν ἴδῃ ἀγνώτα (ὁ κίων), χαλεπαίνει· ὃν δ' ἂν γνώριμον (ἴδῃ), ἀσπάζεται, κἂν μηδὲν πρόποτε ἵπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθη, *whosoever he sees whom he knows, he favours upon, even if he has hitherto received no kindness from him.* PLAT. Rep. 376 A. Compare this with εἰ ἂν ἀγαθὸν τι πάθῃ ὑπό τινος, ἀσπάζεται, *if he ever happens to receive any kindness from any one, he always favours upon him*; and ἐπειδὴν ἀγαθὸν τι πάθῃ, ἀσπάζεται, *after he has received any kindness, he always favours upon him.*

92. The present subjunctive with μή or ὅπως μή after verbs of *fearing*, though it generally refers to a future object of fear, may also denote what may hereafter *prove to be* an object of fear. *E.g.*

Δέδοικα μὴ ἀληθὲς ᾗ, *I fear it may prove true.* DEM. ix. 1. Δεινῶς ἀθρυμῶ, μὴ βλέπων ὁ μάντις ᾗ, *lest the prophet may prove to have his sight* (cf. the following δείξεις δὲ μάλλον). SOPH. O. T. 747; so Ant. 1114. Ὅρα μὴ περὶ τοῖς φιλάτοις κυβεύης, *beware lest it may prove that you are staking what is dearest.* PLAT. Prot. 314 A. Ὅρα ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὁμολογῆς. Id. Crit. 49 C. In all these cases the present indicative would be required if the object of fear were really present (369, 1).

Compare the examples of the perfect subjunctive in 103.

93. In a few passages of Homer the aorist subjunctive with μή seems to express a similar fear that something may *prove to have already happened*; as δέδοικα μὴ σε παρείπη, *I fear it may prove that she persuaded you*, Il. i. 555. So Il. x. 98, μὴ κοιμησῶνται ἄταρ λάθωνται, and x. 538, δέδοικα μὴ τι πάθωσι, *I fear lest it may prove that they have met some harm.* The reference to the *past* here cannot come from any past force of the aorist subjunctive itself,



but is probably an inference drawn from the context. As the later language would use a perfect subjunctive in such cases, these aorists seem to be instances of an earlier laxity of usage, like the use of ἀπόλοιτό κε for both *would have perished* and *would perish* (440).

In Il. x. 537 there is a similar case of the aorist optative in a wish: αἶ γὰρ δὴ ᾧδ' ἄφαρ ἐκ Τρώων ἐλασαίατο μώνυχας ἵππους, i.e. *may it prove that they have driven the horses away from the Trojans* (95).

Optative.

94. The present and aorist optative in independent sentences (in wishes and with ἄν), and in all conditional sentences except past general conditions (462; 532), express future time, the relation of which to the future expressed by other moods is explained in 12, 13, and 16. (Some Homeric present or past unreal conditions and present wishes are exceptions: see 438-441.) In all final constructions the optative (which is used only after past tenses) represents the subjunctive after primary tenses, and is future relatively to the leading verb. *E.g.*

Εἴθε τοῦτο εἶη (utinam sit), *O that this may be*. Εἴθε μὴ ταῦτα πάσχοιεν, *may they not suffer these things* (with a view to the progress of their suffering). But εἴθε μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιεν, *may they not suffer these things* (viewed collectively). Εἴθε σὺ τοιοῦτος ᾦ φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο, *may you become a friend to us*. XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. Μὴ γένοιτο, *may it not happen*. See examples of the optative with ἄν below.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινοῖή με, εἰ ἐξελαίνοιμι τοὺς εἰεργέτας, *for he would not praise me, if I should banish my benefactors*. XEN. An. vii. 7, 11. Εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, *you would not be endurable, if you should be in prosperity (at any time)*. AESCH. Prom. 979. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις, ἃ γε μὴ ἐπίσταίτο, ταῦτα σοφὸς εἶη; *for how could any one be wise in that which he did not understand (i.e. εἰ τινα μὴ ἐπίσταίτο)?* XEN. Mem. iv. 6, 7. Ἄλλ' εἴ τι μὴ φέρομεν, ὥτρυνεν φέρειν, *but if we neglected to bring anything, he always exhorted us to bring it*. EUR. Alc. 755. Οὐκ ἀπελείπετο ἐτι αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον εἶη, *he never left him, unless there was some necessity for it*. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 40.

Εἰ ἔλθοι, πάντ' ἂν ἴδοι, *if he should go, he would see all*. Εἰ ἔλθοι, πάνθ' ἑώρα, *if ever (whenever) he went, he (always) saw all*. Οἰδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοῖς πολεμίοις, *not even if all the Persians should come, should we surpass the enemy in numbers*. XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 8. Ὅτε ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀρχοντας ἀπίναί, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον, *but when they were come out of danger and it was in their power (present) to go to other commanders, (in all such cases) many left*

him. *Id. An. ii. 6, 12.* "Ανευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, *nothing could be done, etc. Ib. iii. 1, 38.* Οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, *I do not know what use any one could make of them. Ib. iii. 1, 40.*

Τούτου ἐπεθύμει, ἵνα εὖ πράττοι, *he desired this in order that he might be in prosperity.* Ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῖεν, *he feared lest they should do this (habitually).* Δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην. *XEN. An. ii. 6, 21.* (Here the aorist optative would have referred to single acts of receiving, getting gain, and suffering punishment, while the present refers to a succession of cases, and to a whole course of conduct.)

Ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ μὴ ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, *Philip was in fear lest the control of affairs might escape him. DEM. xviii. 33.*

95. The aorist optative with ἐπειδή or ἐπεὶ, *after that*, is referred by the meaning of the particle to time preceding that of the leading verb, like the aorist subjunctive in 90; so that ἐπειδὴ ἴδοι ἀπῆγει means *after he had seen he (always) went away.* This gives the aorist in translation the force of a pluperfect. So after words meaning *until*, and in the other cases mentioned in 90. *E.g.*

Οἷς μὲν ἴδοι εἰτάκτως ἰόντας, τίνας τε εἰεν ἠρώτα, καὶ ἐπεὶ πύθοιο ἐπῆγει, *he asked any whom he saw marching in good order, who they were; and after he had ascertained, he praised them. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 55.* Περιεμένονεν ἐκάστοτε ἕως ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμοτήριον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθείη, εἰσῆειμεν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, *we waited each morning until the prison was opened (or had been opened); and after it was opened, we went in to Socrates. PLAT. Phaed. 59 D.* In *PLAT. Rep. 331 C*, εἴ τις λάβοι παρὰ φίλου ἀνδρὸς σωφρονοῦντος ὄπλα, εἰ μανείῃς ἀπαιτοί, is thus given by Cicero (*Offic. iii. 95*): *Si gladium quis apud te sanæ mentis deposuerit, repelat insaniens;* and there can be no doubt that εἰληφὸς εἶη (the equivalent of *deposuerit*) would have been more exact than λάβοι in Greek (see 91). For a peculiar aorist optative in *II. x. 537*, see above (93, end).

Infinitive.

96. A present or aorist infinitive (without ἄν) not in indirect discourse is still a verbal noun so far that it expresses no time except such as is implied in the context. Thus, when it depends on a verb of *wishing* or *commanding* or any other verb whose natural object is a future action, or when it expresses purpose, it is future without regard to its tense; as, in βούλομαι νικᾶν (or νικῆσαι), *I wish to be victorious (or to gain victory)*, the infinitive expresses time only so far as the noun νίκην would in βούλομαι νίκην. Likewise,



when the present or aorist infinitive (without *ἄν*) has the article, except in the rare cases in which it stands in indirect discourse (794), it has no reference to time in itself; as in τὸ γινῶναι ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν ἐστίν, *to learn is to obtain knowledge*, where γινῶναι expresses time only as the noun γνώσις would in its place. *E.g.*

Ἐξέσται μένειν, *it is possible to remain*. Ἐξίσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν, *it will be possible to do this*. Δέομαι ἡμῶν μένειν, *I beg you to remain*. Τί τὸ καλῶν εἶ' αὐτὸν ἵσται βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται, *what will there be to prevent him from going whither he pleases?* DEM. i. 12. Ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, *I commanded him to do this*. Ἐβούλετο σοφὸς εἶναι, *he wished to be wise*. Δεινός ἐστι λέγειν, *he is skilled in speaking*. Ἦρα βαδίζειν, *it is time to be going*. Πᾶν ποιοῦσιν ὥστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, *they do everything so as to avoid being punished*. PLAT. GORG. 479 C. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἕως φήσαι τις ἂν ῥῆδιον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὅτι δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου, *some one may say that finding fault is easy, but that showing what ought to be done is the duty of an adviser*. DEM. i. 16. (Ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι, and πράττειν belong here; but εἶναι in both cases is in indirect discourse, 117.) Οὐ πλεονεξίας ἐνεκεν ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοῖς Θεβαίοις ἢ ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦν, *he did this not from love of gain, but because of the Thebans making juster demands than you*. Id. vi. 13. Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ Ἀταλάντη νῆσος, τοῦ μὴ ληπτὰς κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὐβοίαν, *in order to prevent pirates from ravaging Euboea*. THUC. ii. 32.

Πόλεως ἐστὶ θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, *it is death for a city to be laid waste*. LYCURG. 61. Ὡσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κάγω τοῖς αἰρετώτερον ἐστὶ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς ἵππερχοῖσαις λυσιτελεῖν (ἡγοῖντο) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις, *as it is preferable for honourable men to die (aor.) nobly rather than to continue living (pres.) in disgrace, so also they thought that it was better (pres.) for the pre-eminent among states to be (at once) made to disappear (aor.) from among men, than to be (once) seen (aor.) to fall into slavery*. ISOC. iv. 95. Πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρόσβεις, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλύσαι, *asking them not to allow them to be destroyed, but to bring their exiles to terms with them, and to put an end to the barbarians' war*. THUC. i. 24. Τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι ἐπιστήμην πον λαβεῖν ἐστίν, *to learn is to obtain knowledge*. PLAT. THEAET. 209 E. Πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγομεν, *we all try most of all to avoid leaving them behind*. XEN. MEM. ii. 2, 3. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τάγαθὰ οὕτω γε χαλεπὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι λυπηρόν. Id. CYC. vii. 5, 82. Τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία, *the desire of obtaining drink*. THUC. vii. 84. Κελεύει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, *he commands him to go*. Ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, *he commanded him to go*. Ke-

λείσει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, *he will command him to go*. Πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας λαβεῖν, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐλύσατο, *besides receiving nothing from the embassy, he ransomed the captives*. DEM. xix. 229. Εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκίας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, *if before the destruction of the Phocians you should vote to go to their assistance*. Id. xviii. 33. Τὰς αἰτίας προὔγραψα, τοῦ μὴ τινα ζητῆσαι ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος κατέστη, *that no one may ever ask the reason why*, etc. THUC. i. 23. Τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα, *the contest to prevent these from being done*. DEM. xviii. 201.

No account is here taken of the infinitive with ἄν (204).

97. The distinction between the present and aorist infinitive is well illustrated by Aristotle, when he says of pleasure, Eth. x. 3, 4, ἡσθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἔστι ταχέως ὥσπερ ὀργισθῆναι, ἡδεσθαι δ' οὐ, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἕτερον· βαδίζειν δὲ καὶ αἰξέσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταβάλλειν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἡδονὴν ταχέως καὶ βραδέως ἔστιν, ἐνεργεῖν δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστι ταχέως, λέγω δ' ἡδεσθαι. *We may become pleased (ἡσθῆναι) quickly, as we may get angry quickly; but we cannot be pleased (ἡδεσθαι) quickly, even as compared with another person, although we can thus walk and grow and do such things. We may then change into a state of pleasure quickly or slowly, but we cannot actually enjoy the pleasure, I mean BE PLEASED (ἡδεσθαι), quickly.*

So in PLAT. Theaet. 155 C, Socrates says, ἄνευ τοῦ γίγνεσθαι γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον (sc. ἐμὲ ἐλάττω), *i.e. without going through the process of becoming (γίγνεσθαι) smaller, it is impossible for me to get (γενέσθαι) smaller.*

98. Χράω, ἀναιρέω, θεσπίζω, and other verbs signifying to *give an oracular response*, generally take the present or the aorist infinitive, expressing the command or warning of the oracle, where we might expect the future in indirect discourse (135). These verbs here take the ordinary construction of verbs of *commanding, advising, and warning*. *E.g.*

Λέγεται δὲ Ἀλκμαίῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, *it is said that Apollo gave a response to Alcmaeon that he should inhabit this land (warned him to inhabit it)*. THUC. ii. 102. Χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κίλωνι ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, *that he should seize*. Id. i. 126. Ἐκέχρητο γὰρ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ἢ τὸν βασιλέα σφείων ἀπολέσθαι. HDI. vii. 220. Ἐθέσπισε κομίσαι καὶ εἰσιδεῖν. EUR. I. T. 1014. Ὡς χρῆσμοῦ ὄντος τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρήναι, *as if there were an oracle dooming the city to perish*. PLAT. Rep. 415 C. Πολλάκι γὰρ οἱ εἶπε νοῦσφ ἕκ' ἀργαλέῳ φθίσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι, *the diviner told him that he must either die by ruinful disease, or perish at the hands of the Trojans*. II. xiii. 667. But we find ἀνεῖλεν ἔσεσθαι, THUC. i. 118; χρῆσαντος κρατήσειν, LYCURG. 99; ἐκέχρηστο βασιλεύσειν, HDI. ii. 147; as indirect discourse.



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doKū and doKēi pro meaning 'I have a mind to
'am determined' to do so. or pres. inf. rōv ōvō ēgū
doKū Vi. p. 177. pro. doKū katakeiōtai Iustē for bying
Phaedr. 230E.

99. Even verbs of *saying* and *thinking*, as λέγω when it signifies to command, and δοκεῖ, it seems good, may take the present or aorist infinitive not in indirect discourse, like other verbs of the same meaning. Εἶπον seldom takes the infinitive, except when it signifies to command (753). The context will always distinguish these cases from indirect quotations. *E.g.*

Τούτοις ἔλεγον πλεῖν, *I told them to sail.* DEM. XIX. 150. (Τούτους ἔλεγον πλεῖν would mean *I said that they were sailing.*) Εἰπὼν μηδὲνα παρίεναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, *having given orders that no one should pass into the citadel.* XEN. Hell. v. 2, 29. Ὡ φίλοι, ἤδη μὲν κεν ἔγωγ εἶποιμι καὶ ἄμμιν μνηστήρων ἐς ὄμιλον ἀκοντίσαι, *now I would command you to join me in hurling, etc.* OD. XXII. 262. Παραδοῦναι λέγει, *he tells us to give her up (he says, give her up).* AR. AV. 1679. Δοκεῖ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν (or ποιῆσαι) *it pleases us to do this.* (But δοκεῖ μοι ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν (or ποιῆσαι) generally means *it seems to me that you are doing this, or did this.*) Ἐδοξε in the sense *it was resolved*, introducing a decree, is followed by the present or aorist (not future) infinitive.

100. Verbs of *hoping*, *expecting*, *promising*, and *swearing* form an intermediate class between those that take the infinitive in indirect discourse and other verbs (136). When they refer to a future object, they naturally take the future infinitive, but may also have the present or aorist infinitive (not in indirect discourse) like verbs of *wishing*, etc. Thus *he promised to give* may be ἐπέσχετο δίδοναι (or δοῦναι) as well as ἐπέσχετο δώσειν.

To facilitate comparison, the examples of the present and aorist infinitive thus used are given with those of the future in 136.

101. The present αἰτιός εἰμι, *I am the cause*, is often used with reference to the past, where logically a past tense would be needed; as αἰτιός ἐστι τοῦτω θανεῖν, *he is the cause of his death*, instead of αἰτιος ἦν τοῦτω θανεῖν, *he was the cause of his death*. This may make an ordinary aorist infinitive appear like a verb of past time. *E.g.*

Αἰτιοὶ οὖν εἰσι καὶ ὑμῖν πολλῶν ἤδη ψευσθῆναι καὶ δὴ ἀδίκως γὰρ τινὰς ἀπολέσθαι, *they are the cause why you were deceived and some even perished* (i.e. *they caused you to be deceived and some even to perish*). LYS. XIX. 51. Τεθνῶσιν οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἰτιοὶ θανεῖν, *they are dead; and the living are the causes of their death.* SOPH. ANT. 1173. Ἡ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μόνῃ μεταίτιος. Id. TR. 1233.

PERFECT.

102. As the perfect indicative represents an act as finished at the *present* time, so the perfect of any of the dependent moods properly represents an act as *finished* at

the time (present, past, or future) at which the present of that mood would represent it as going on.

103. The perfect subjunctive and optative are very often expressed in the active, and almost always in the passive and middle, by the perfect participle with ω and $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta\nu$; and this combination of a present and a perfect makes the time denoted especially clear. Where the present would denote *future* time, the perfect denotes *future-perfect* time. *E.g.*

Τὸ χρόνον γεγενησθαι πολὺν δέδοικα μὴ τινα λήθην ὑμῖν πεποιήκη, *I fear lest the lapse of a long time that has occurred may (when you come to decide the case) prove to have caused in you some forgetfulness* (see 91). DEM. XIX. 3. (Μὴ ποιῆ would mean *lest it may cause*, the time being the same as before.) Χρὴ αὐτὰ [ἂ τελευτήσαντα ἑκάτερον περιμένει] ἀκοῖσθαι, ἵνα τελέως ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀπειλήφῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, *we must hear what awaits each of them after death, that (when we have finished) each may have fully received his deserts*. PLAT. Rep. 614 A. Τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, κἂν δεδωκότες ὦσιν εὐθύνas, τὴν ἀεὶλογίαν ὀρῶ προτεινομένους, *I see that other men, even if they have already rendered their accounts,—i.e. if they are (in the state of) persons who have rendered their accounts,—always offer a perpetual reckoning*. DEM. XIX. 2. Ἀνδρείον γε πάνν νομίζομεν, ὃς ἂν πεπλήγη πατέρα, *we always consider one very manly who has (may have) beaten his father*. AR. Av. 1350. Νόμον θήρειν μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμᾶς βοηθεῖν ὃς ἂν μὴ πρότερος βεβοηκῶς ὑμῖν ᾖ, *to enact a law that you shall assist no one of the Greeks who shall not previously have assisted you*. DEM. XIX. 16. (Ὅς ἂν μὴ πρότερος βοηθῆ would mean *who shall not previously assist you*.)

Ἐδείσαν μὴ λῦσσα ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτῶκοι, *they feared lest madness might prove to have fallen upon us*. XEN. An. v. 7, 26. (Μὴ ἐμπίπτει would mean *lest it might fall upon us*.) Ἐδεήθην τῶν δικαστῶν μηδὲν τοιοῦτον πράξαι, ἵν' ἐγὼ μηδένα Ἀθηναίων ἀπεκτονῶς εἶην, *that I might not be in the position of having put an Athenian to death*. DEM. III. 18. Ἦν γὰρ εἶρεθῆ λέγων σοὶ ταῦτ', ἐγὼ γ' ἂν ἐκπεφευγοίην πάθος, *I should (in that case) have escaped harm*. SOPH. O. T. 839. Πῶς οὐκ ἂν οἰκτρότατα πάντων ἐγὼ πεπονθῶς εἶην, εἰ ἐμὲ ψηφίσαιντο εἶναι ξένον; *how should I not have suffered the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me to be an alien?* DEM. LVII. 44. (This could have been expressed, with a very slight difference in meaning, πῶς οὐ πεπονθῶς ἴσομαι, εἰ ἐμὲ ψηφίσωνται: *how shall I not have suffered, etc.*) Εἰ ὅτιοῦν πεπονθῶς ἑκάτερος ἡμῶν εἶη, οὐ καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἂν τοῦτο πεπόνθοιμεν; *if each of us should have suffered anything whatsoever, would not both of us have suffered it?* PLAT. Hipp. M. 301 A. Οὐκ ἂν διὰ τοῦτό γ' εἰεν οὐκ εὐθὺς δεδωκότες, *this, at least, cannot be the reason why they did not pay it at once; lit. they would not (on inquiry) prove to have not paid it at once on this account*. DEM. XXX. 10.

104. The perfect subjunctive in protasis corresponds exactly to the





Latin future perfect indicative; but the Greek seldom uses this cumbersome perfect, preferring the less precise aorist (91). The perfect optative, in both protasis and apodosis, corresponds to the Latin perfect subjunctive; but it is seldom used, for a similar reason (95).

The perfect optative can hardly be accurately expressed in English. For when we use the English forms *would have suffered* and *should have suffered* to translate the perfect optative, these are merely vaguer expressions for *will* and *shall have suffered*. (See the examples above.) *I should have suffered* is commonly past in English, being equivalent to *ἐραθον ἄν*; but here it is future, and is therefore liable to be misunderstood. There is no more reference to past time, however, in the perfect optative with *ἄν*, than there is in the future perfect indicative (77) in such expressions as *μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαύσεται*, *I shall have had my whippings for nothing* (referring to those received in his boyhood), *Am. Nub.* 1436.

105. The perfect imperative is most common in the third person singular of the passive, where it expresses a command that something just done or about to be done shall be *decisive* and *final*. It is thus equivalent to the perfect participle with *ἔστω*. *E.g.*

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ εἰρήσθω, *let so much have been thus said*, (= *εἰρημένα ἔστω*), i.e. *let what has been thus said be sufficient*. *PLAT. Crat.* 401 D. But *ὁμως δὲ εἰρήσθω ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.*, *still let as much as this (which follows) be said (once for all), that, etc.* *Id. Rep.* 607 C. *Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ταῦτά μοι προειρήσθω*, *let this have been said (once for all) by way of introduction*. *ISOC.* iv. 14. *Ταῦτα πεπαίσθω τε ὑμῖν, καὶ ἴσως ἰκανῶς ἔχει*, *let this be the end of the play, etc.* *PLAT. Euthyd.* 278 D. *Τετάρχθω ἡμῖν κατὰ δημοκρατίαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ*, *let such a man remain (where we have placed him), corresponding to democracy*. *Id. Rep.* 561 E. *Ἀπειργάσθω δὴ ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία*, *let this now be a sufficient description of this form of government*. *Ib.* 553 A. *Μέχρι τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής*, *at this point let the limit of your sluggishness be fixed*. *THUC.* i. 71.

The third person plural in the same sense could be expressed by the perfect participle with *ἔστων*, as in *PLAT. Rep.* 502 A, *οἳ τοῖνν τοῦτο πεπεισμένοι ἔστων*, *grant then that these have been persuaded of this*.

106. On this principle the perfect imperative is used in mathematical language, to imply that something is to be considered as proved or assumed *once for all*, or that lines drawn or points fixed are to remain as data for a following demonstration. *E.g.*

Εἰλήφθω ἐπὶ τῆς AB τυχὸν σημείου τὸ Δ, καὶ ἀφηρήσθω ἀπὸ τῆς ΑΓ τῆ ΑΔ ἴση ἢ ΑΕ, *let any point Δ be assumed as taken in the line AB, and AE equal to AΔ as cut off from ΑΓ*. *EUCL.* i. Pr. 9.

107. The perfect imperative of the *second* person is rare; when it is used, it seems to be a little more emphatic than the present or aorist. *E.g.*

Ἦέ σὺ τόνδε δέδεξο. II. v. 228. Μὴ πεφόβησθε, *do not be afraid*. THUC. vi. 17. Μόνον σὺ ἡμῖν πωτὰ θεῶν πεποίησο καὶ δεξιὰν δός, *only make us (immediately or once for all) solemn pledges and give the right hand*. XEN. Cyr. iv. 2, 7. Πέπαυσο, *stop! not another word!* DEM. xxiv. 64.

108. In verbs whose perfect has the force of a present (49) the perfect imperative is the ordinary form; as μένησο, κεκλήσθω, ἔσταθι, ἔστώ, τέθναθι, τεθνάτω, ἴστω. So κεχήνατε, AR. Ach. 133; μὴ κεκράγατε, Vesp. 415. The perfect imperative *active* seems to have been used only in such verbs. Occasionally we find the periphrastic form with the participle and εἰμί, as ἔστω ξυμβεβηκυῖα, PLAT. Leg. 736 B.

109. The perfect infinitive not in indirect discourse generally represents an act as *finished* when the present would represent it as *going on* (96). *E.g.*

Οὐδὲ βουλευέσθαι ἐτι ὥρα, ἀλλὰ βεβουλευέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς πάντα ταῦτα δεῖ πεπραχῆθαι, *it is no longer time even to be deliberating, but (it is time) to have done deliberating; for all this must be finished within the coming night*. PLAT. Crit. 46 A. Καὶ μὴν περὶ ὧν γε προσετάξατε προσήκει διωκηκέναι, *and it is his duty to have attended to the business about which you gave him instructions*. DEM. xix. 6. (This refers to an ambassador presenting his accounts on his return.) Ξινετύγχανε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεβληκέναι τὰ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμβεβλήσθαι, δύο τε περὶ μίαν ξυνηρτήσθαι, *it often befell them to have made an attack on one side and (at the same time) to have been attacked themselves on the other, etc.* THUC. vii. 70. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγιστ' αὐτῶν ἦδη κατακεχρησθαι μικρὰ δὲ τινα παραλελείφθαι, *for it must be that the most important subjects have been used up, and that only unimportant ones have been left*. ISOC. iv. 74. Οὐκ ἤθελον ἐμβαίνειν διὰ τὸ καταπεπλήχθαι τῇ ἡσση, *they were unwilling to embark on account of having been terrified by the defeat*. THUC. vii. 72. Τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τέ τινα ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν τοιούτων ἀντίρροπον, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εἰνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἔγωγε θεῖην, *for our having lost many things during the war one might justly charge upon our neglect; but our never having suffered this before, and the fact that an alliance has now appeared to us to make up for these losses, I should consider a benefaction, etc.* DEM. i. 10. (Compare γεγενησθαι in the first example under 103.) Ἐφθασαν παροικοδομήσαντες, ὥστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύεσθαι ἰπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ παντάσῃν ἀπεσπερηκέναι . . . σφᾶς ἀποτειχίσαι, *i.e. they carried their own wall first beyond that of the Athenians, so as no longer to be themselves interfered with by them, and so as to have effectually prevented them from walling them in*. THUC. vii. 6. Ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε τῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μηδὲν μὲν ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως



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εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα διὰ ταύτην γεγενῆσθαι. ISOC. iv. 38. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκευάσαν ἡμῖν, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἱπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι, *they made such and so great acquisitions as to have no possibility of surpassing them left to any one who should come after them.* DEM. iii. 25. Δίδομεν αὐτοῖς προῖκα συγκεκόφθαι, *we allow them to have cut us up for nothing* (i.e. *we make no account of their having done so*). AR. Nub. 1426.

See [ARISTOT.] Eth. Nic. vi. 2, 6: οὐκ ἔστι δὲ προαιρετὸν οὐδὲν γεγονός, οἷον οὐδεὶς προαιρεῖται Ἴλιον πεπορθηκέναι, *but nothing past can be purposed; for example, nobody purposes to have sacked Ilium*, i.e. the expression προαιροῦμαι Ἴλιον πεπορθηκέναι would be nonsense. This illustrates well the restricted use of the perfect infinitive.

110. The perfect infinitive sometimes signifies that the action is to be *decisive* and *permanent* (like the perfect imperative, 105); and sometimes it seems to be merely more emphatic than the present or aorist infinitive. *E.g.*

Εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεισθαι, *they ordered that the door should be shut (and remain so).* XEN. Hell. v. 4, 7. Βουλόμενος ἀγῶνι καὶ δικαστηρίῳ μοι διωρίσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν ὅτι τάναντία ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῦτοις πέπρακται, i.e. *wishing to have it once for all settled in your minds.* DEM. xix. 223. Θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι, *eager to fall before the gates.* AESCH. Sept. 462. Ἦλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, *he marched against the soldiers of Menon, so that they were (once for all) thoroughly frightened and ran to arms.* XEN. An. i. 5, 13. (Here ἐκπεπλήχθαι is merely more emphatic than the present or aorist would be.)

FUTURE.

111. The future is used in the dependent moods only in the optative and the infinitive, and in these it is never regular except in indirect discourse and kindred constructions and in the periphrastic form with μέλλω (73).

For the future optative in indirect discourse see 128-134; for the future infinitive in indirect discourse see 135 and 136.

112. In constructions out of indirect discourse the present and aorist infinitive can always refer to future time if the context requires it (96), so that the future infinitive is here rarely needed. Therefore, after verbs which naturally have a future action as their object but yet do not introduce indirect discourse,—as those of *commanding, wishing, etc.* (684),—the present or aorist infinitive (not the future) is regularly used. Thus the Greek expresses *they wish to do this* not by βούλονται τοῦτο ποιήσειν, but by βούλονται τοῦτο ποιεῖν (or ποιῆσαι). So the infinitive in other future expressions, as after ὥστε and in its final sense, is

generally present or aorist. (For the single exception after μέλλω, see 73.)

113. On the other hand, when it was desired to make the reference to the future especially prominent, the future infinitive could be used exceptionally in all these cases. Thus we sometimes find the future after verbs signifying to be able, to wish, to be unwilling, and the like; sometimes also in a final sense or with ὥστε and ἐφ' ᾧτε; and sometimes when the infinitive with the article refers to future time. This use of the future is a partial adoption of the form of indirect discourse in other constructions. It was a particularly favourite usage with Thucydides. *E.g.*

Ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν, they asked the Megareans also to escort them with ships. THUC. i. 27. Ἐβούλοντο προτιμωρήσεσθαι. Id. vi. 57. So ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις; AESCHIN. iii. 152. Τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διανοοῦντο κλήσειν. THUC. vii. 56. Ἐφίεμένοι μὲν τῆς πάσης ἄρξειν, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἅμα εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυγγενέσι καὶ ξυμμάχοις. Id. vi. 6. (Here βοηθεῖν is regular.) Τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμείν ἐπιχειρήσειν, to prevent them from being without spirit to attack them in ships. Id. vii. 21. Οὐτ' ἀποκωλύσειν δύνατοι ὄντες. Id. iii. 28. Εἰ σέ γ' ἐν λόγοις πείσειν δυνησόμεσθα. SOPH. Ph. 1394. Εἴ τις εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, if any one postpones doing his duty as far as this. DEM. iii. 9. (The ordinary construction would be ἀναβάλλεται ποιεῖν or ποιῆσαι.) Οὔτε τῶν προγόνων μεμνήσθαι [δεῖ] οὔτε τῶν λεγόντων ἀνέχεσθαι, νόμον τε θῆσειν καὶ γράψειν, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xix. 16. (Here we have δεῖ θῆσειν.) Πολλοῦ δέω ἑμαυτὸν γε ἀδικήσειν καὶ κατ' ἑμαντοῦ ἐρεῖν αὐτός. PLAT. AP. 37 B.

Τοὺς ὀμήρους παρέδοσαν τῷ Ἀργείων δῆμῳ διὰ ταῦτα διαχρήσεσθαι, that they might put them to death. THUC. vi. 61. So πείσεσθαι, Id. iii. 26. Ἐφ' ᾧτε βοηθήσειν. AESCHIN. iii. 114 (see 610). Ἀποδείξω αὐτὸν τὴν προῖκα οὐ δεδοκῶτα οὕτω μεγάλους τεκμηρίους ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας εἴσεσθαι. DEM. xxx. 5: so xxix. 5. Ἐλπιδὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, having committed to hope what was uncertain in the prospect of success. THUC. ii. 42. (Here κατορθώσειν is more explicit than the present κατορθοῦν would be: τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθοῦν would mean simply what was uncertain in regard to success.) Τοῦ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν ἡμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγοῦνται, they feel more confidence in the prospect of frightening us without risk than in meeting us in battle. Id. iv. 126. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγξειν αὐτὸν θαρρῶ καὶ πάνν πιστεύω, I have courage and great confidence as to my convicting him. DEM. xix. 3. (Here most of the ordinary Mss. read ἐξελέγχειν.)

See also THUC. iv. 115 and 121, v. 35, vii. 11, viii. 55 and 74; and Krüger's note on i. 27, where these passages are cited. In several of these there is some Ms. authority for the aorist infinitive.

Phil. 1394 J. says the full. α is "made occasion" by β if β is
but α is not alternates β β β "We shall not be able to per-
suade" implies "we cannot hope to persuade".



114. The future perfect infinitive occurs only in indirect discourse (137), except in verbs whose perfect has the sense of a present (82).

B. OPTATIVE AND INFINITIVE OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

115. When the optative and infinitive are in indirect discourse, each tense represents the *corresponding tense* of the direct discourse; the present including also the imperfect, and the perfect also the pluperfect.

See the general principles of indirect discourse (667). The optative is included here only as it is used after past tenses to represent an indicative or subjunctive of the direct discourse. No cases of the optative or infinitive with ἄν are considered here; for these see Chapter III. For the meaning of the term "indirect discourse" as applied to the infinitive, see 684.

PRESENT OPTATIVE.

116. The present optative in indirect discourse may represent the following forms of direct discourse:—

1. The present indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

Περικλῆς προηγόρευε, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμὸς οἱ ξένος εἶη, *Pericles announced that Archidamus was his friend (i.e. he said ξένος μοί ἐστιν).* THUC. ii. 13. Ἐγνώσαν ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη, *they learned that their fear was groundless (i.e. they learned κενός ἐστιν ὁ φόβος).* XEN. AN. ii. 2, 21. Ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα, *he asked whether the country was inhabited (i.e. he asked the question οἰκεῖται ἡ χώρα);* XEN. Cyr. iv. 4, 4.

2. The present indicative or subjunctive of a dependent verb. *E.g.*

Εἶπεν ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι, *he said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine (he said ἄνδρα ἄγω ὃν εἶρξαι δεῖ).* XEN. Hell. v. 4, 8. Ἦγεῖτο ἅπαν ποιήσειν αὐτὸν εἰ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη, *he believed that the man would do anything if one were to give him money (he believed ἅπαν ποιήσει εἰάν τις ἀργύριον διδῶ).* LVB. xii. 14.

3. The present subjunctive in a question of appeal (287).

E.g.

Κλέαρχος ἐβουλευέτο, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν, *Clearchus was deliberating whether they should send a few or should all go.* XEN. AN. i. 10, 5. (The question was, πέμπωμέν τινας ἢ πάντες

ἴωμεν; shall we send a few, or shall we all go? See 677.) The context will always make it clear whether the optative represents a subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (1).

4. The imperfect indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

Ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδεὶς μάρτυς παρεῖη, they replied that no witness had been present (when a certain payment was made). DEM. xxx. 20. (They said οὐδεὶς παρῆν.)

This is the rare imperfect optative (673). The imperfect indicative is regularly retained in such cases, and is always retained in a dependent clause of a quotation (689, 2).

PRESENT INFINITIVE.

117. (*As Present.*) The present infinitive in indirect discourse generally represents a present indicative of the direct form. *E.g.*

Φησὶ γράφειν, he says that he is writing; ἔφη γράφειν, he said that he was writing; φήσει γράφειν, he will say that he is (then) writing. (In all three cases he says γράφω.) Ἄρρωστεῖν προφασίζεται, he pretends that he is sick; ἐξώμοσεν ἄρρωστεῖν τουτονί, he took his oath that this man was sick. DEM. xix. 124. Οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν, he said that not he himself, but Nicias, was general; i.e. he said οὐκ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνος στρατηγεῖ. THUC. iv. 28. See other examples under 683.

118. Verbs of *hoping* and *swearing* may thus take the present infinitive in indirect discourse. This must be distinguished from the more common use of the present and aorist infinitive (not in indirect discourse) after these verbs, referring to the future (100; 136). *E.g.*

Ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλιβώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, he asked this, trusting that he was the most happy of men. HDT. i. 30. So i. 22, ἐλπίζων σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι. Ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν, and I hope I speak for the common good. AESCH. Sept. 76. Ὀμνύντες βλέπειν τὸν οὐκέτ' ὄντα ζῶντ' Ἀχιλλεῖα πάλιν, i.e. swearing that they saw Achilles alive again. SOPH. Ph. 357.

Compare the first two examples with ἐλπίζει δύνατος εἶναι, he hopes to be able, PLAT. Rep. 573 C; and the last with ὁμόσαι εἶναι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν κοινὴν, πάντας δ' ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν χώραν, to swear that the dominion shall be common, and that all shall surrender the land, DEM. xxiii. 170. (See 136 and the examples.)

119. (*As Imperfect.*) The present infinitive may also represent an imperfect indicative of the direct discourse, thus supplying the want of an imperfect infinitive. *E.g.*



Τίνας οὖν εὐχὰς ὑπολαμβάνειτ' εὐχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Φίλιππον ὅτ' ὤσπενδεν; *what prayers then do you suppose Philip made to the Gods when he was pouring his libations?* DEM. xix. 130. (Here the temporal clause ὅτ' ὤσπενδεν shows that εὐχεσθαι is past.) Πότερ' οἴεσθε πλέον Φωκίας Θηβαίων ἢ Φίλιππον ἡμῶν κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ; *do you think that the superiority of the Phocians over the Thebans or that of Philip over you was the greater in the war (the war being then past)?* DEM. xix. 148. (Here the direct discourse would be ἐκράτουν and ἐκράτει.) Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθε δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυθθίων, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ὅτ' Ἀνθεμόντα αὐτοῖς ἀφίει; . . . ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα πεῖσασθαι (sc. οἴεσθε); . . . ἄρ' οἴεσθε, ὅτε τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε, (τοῖς Θετταλοῖς) προσδοκᾶν, κ.τ.λ.; *for how unwillingly do you think the Olynthians used to hear it, if any one said anything against Philip in those times when he was ceding Anthemus to them, etc.? Do you think they were expecting to suffer such things? Do you think that the Thessalians, when he was expelling the despots, were expecting, etc.?* DEM. vi. 20 and 22. (The direct questions were πῶς ἤκουον εἰ λέγοι; and προσεδόκων;) Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούω τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει χρῆσθαι, *I hear that they used to follow this custom.* DEM. iii. 21. Τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ κλησὶς αὕτη (sc. δοκεῖ), *in the times before Hellen this name does not appear to have even existed.* THUC. i. 3. Again, in the same sentence of Thucydides, παρέχεσθαι, *to have furnished.* Μηδὲν οἶον ἄλλο μηχανᾶσθαι ἢ ὅπως . . . δέξοιντο, ἵνα . . . γίγνοιτο. PLAT. Rep. 430 A. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη σφᾶς μὲν δειπνεῖν, τὸν δὲ Σωκράτη οὐκ εἰσΐναι· τὸν οὖν Ἀγάθωνα πολλάκις κελεύειν μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν Σωκράτη, εἰ δὲ οὐκ εἶεν. PLAT. Symp. 175 C. (He said, ἐδειπνοῦμεν, ὁ δὲ Σ. οὐκ εἰσῆει· ὁ οὖν Ἀ. ἐκέλευεν· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἶων.) Συντυχεῖν γὰρ (ἔφη) Ἀτρεστίδα παρὰ Φιλίππου πορευομένῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ γίναια καὶ παιδάρια βαδίζειν, *for he said that he had met (acc.) Atrestidas coming from Philip, and that there were walking with him (impf.), etc.* DEM. xix. 305. Τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, *I say that this ought not to have escaped my notice.* DEM. xviii. 190. (The direct form was τοῦτ' εἶδει ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, 415.)

The imperfect infinitive is found even in Homer; as καὶ σὲ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι, *we hear that you were once prosperous.* II. xxiv. 543. So II. v. 639; Od. viii. 181, 516.

For the imperfect participle, see 140.

120. This use of the present infinitive as an imperfect must be carefully distinguished from its ordinary use after past tenses, where we translate it by the imperfect, as in ἔφη τὸ στράτευμα μάχεσθαι, *he said that the army was fighting.* This has sometimes been called an imperfect infinitive; but here μάχεσθαι refers to time *present* relatively to ἔφη; whereas, if it had been used as an imperfect, it would have referred to time *past* relatively to ἔφη, as in ἔφη τὸ στράτευμα τῇ προτεραίᾳ μάχεσθαι, *he said that the army had been fighting on the day*

before. In the former case the direct discourse was μάχεται, in the latter it was ἐμάχετο. Such an *imperfect* infinitive differs from the *aorist* in the same construction only by expressing the duration or repetition of an action (as in the indicative); it gives, in fact, the only means of representing in the infinitive what is usually expressed by λέγει ὅτι ἐποίει, he says that he was doing, as opposed to λέγει ὅτι ἐποίησεν, he says that he did. (For the similar use of the present optative to represent the imperfect, see 116, 4.) This construction is never used unless the context makes it certain that the infinitive represents an imperfect and not a present, so that no ambiguity can arise. See the examples.

So sometimes in Latin: Q. Scaevolam memoria teneo bello Mar-sico, cum esset summa senectute, cotidie facere omnibus conveniendi potestatem sui. CIC. Phil. viii. 31. So Q. Maximum accepimus facile celare, tacere, dissimulare, insidiari, praeripere hostium consilia. CIC. de Off. i. 108.

PERFECT OPTATIVE.

121. The perfect optative in indirect discourse may represent—

1. The perfect indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

Ἐλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, he told how many services Cyrus had done the Persians. HDI. iii. 75. (Πεποιήκοι here represents πεποίηκε.) Οἱ τοὶ ἔλεγον ὡς πεντακόσιοι αὐτοῖς εἶησαν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς δεδεκασμένοι. LYS. xxix. 12. (Here the direct discourse was πεντακόσιοι εἰσιν δεδεκασμένοι.)

2. The perfect indicative or subjunctive of a dependent verb. *E.g.*

Ἐἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον οὐκ ἐπαινοίη εἰ ταῦτα πεποικῶς εἶη (he said οὐκ ἐπαινῶ εἰ ταῦτα πεποίηκε, I do not approve him if he has done this). XEN. AN. vi. 6, 25.

Ἐλέγομεν ὅτι ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐν δύο ἐπιτηδεύειν, εἰς δ' αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις ἐπιτηδειοτάτη πεφυκνῖα εἶη (we said ἕκαστον ἐν δύο ἐπιτηδεύειν, εἰς δ' αὐτοῦ φύσις πεφυκνῖα ἦ, each one is to practise one thing, for which his nature is best fitted; though this might be πέφυκε, like πεποίηκε in the first example). PLAT. Rep. 433 A.

PERFECT INFINITIVE.

122. The perfect infinitive in indirect discourse generally represents a perfect indicative of the direct form. *E.g.*

Φησὶ τοῦτο πεπραχέναι he says that he has done this; ἔφη τοῦτο πεπραχέναι, he said that he had done this; φήσει τοῦτο πεπραχέναι, he will say that he has done this (the direct form in each case being

revised example of $f(x) = \sin(x)$ on $[-\pi, \pi]$



πέπραχα). Ἐφη χρήμαθ' ἑαυτῷ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, *he said that the Thebans had offered a reward for his seizure*. DEM. XIX. 21. In AR. NUB. 1277, προσκεκλησθαι μοι δοκεῖς (according to MSS. Rav. and Ven.), *you seem to me to be sure to be summoned to court (to be as good as already summoned)*, the infinitive represents a perfect indicative referring to the future (51). There is probably a regard to the perfect of the preceding verse, σεσεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖς. So THUC. II. 8: ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλύσθαι ἰδοκεῖ ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ὃ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρίσται, *and each man thought that things were the same as stopped in that matter in which he was not himself to take part*. After a verb of *seeing*: ὤμνε μηδὲν εἰρηκέναι περὶ αὐτοῦ φαῦλον, DEM. XXI. 119. After ἐλπίζω: ἐλπίζων τὸν λεῶν τετρῦσθαι, HD. I. 22 (see 118, above).

123. The perfect infinitive rarely represents a pluperfect of the direct form. *E.g.*

Λέγεται ἀνδρα ἑκπεπλήχθαι πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, *it is said that a man had been struck with amazement for some time at the beauty of Cyrus* (i.e. ἐξεπέπληκτο). XEN. CYT. I. 4, 27. Ἀντέλεγον, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλλαι πω τὰς σπονδὰς ὅτ' ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, *saying that the truce had not yet been proclaimed* (ἐπήγγελλτο). THUC. V. 49.

AORIST OPTATIVE.

124. The aorist optative in indirect discourse may represent—

1. The aorist indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

Ἐλεξαν ὅτι πέμψειε σφᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, *they said that the king had sent them* (i.e. they said ἐπέμψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς). XEN. CYT. II. 4, 7. Τότε ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, *then it became known that the barbarians had sent the man*. XEN. AN. II. 4, 22. Ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς πολλὰ τῶν ἐμῶν λάβοιεν, *he dared to say that they had taken (ἔλαβον) much of my property*. DEM. XXVII. 49. Ἡρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἀναπλεύσειεν ἔχων ἀργύριον, *I asked him whether he had set sail with money* (i.e. I asked him the question, ἀνέπλευσας;). DEM. L. 55. (This form is rare; see 125.) Ἐπειρώτα τίνα ἴδοι, *he asked whom he had seen* (i.e. τίνα εἶδες, whom did you see?). HD. I. 31. So I. 116: εἶρετο κόθεν λάβοι.

2. The aorist subjunctive of a dependent verb. *E.g.*

Εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύσειν ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, *they vowed that they would make thank offerings for their deliverance whener they should first enter a friendly land* (i.e. ἐνθα ἂν . . . ἀφικώμεθα, θύσομεν). XEN. AN. V. 1, 1 (see III. 2, 9).

An aorist indicative in a dependent clause of a quotation is regularly retained (689, 3).

3. The aorist subjunctive in a question of appeal (287).

E.g.

Οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπῆροντο εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν, *they asked whether they should deliver up their city to the Corinthians (i.e. they asked the question, παραδῶμεν τὴν πόλιν; shall we deliver up our city?).* THUC. i. 25. Ἐσκόπουν ὅπως κάλλιστ' ἐνέγκαιμ' αὐτόν, *I looked to see how I could best endure him (i.e. I asked, πῶς ἐνέγκω αὐτόν; how can I endure him?).* EUR. Hipp. 393. Διεσιώπησε σκοπῶν ὃ τι ἀποκρίναιτο, *he continued silent, thinking what he should answer (i.e. thinking τί ἀποκρίνωμαι;).* XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 10. (See 677.)

125. The context must decide whether an aorist optative in an indirect question represents the aorist subjunctive (as in 3) or the aorist indicative (as in the last examples under 1). Thus the first example under 3 might mean *they asked whether they had given up their city, παρέδομεν τὴν πόλιν;* But in most cases the aorist subjunctive is the direct form implied, and an aorist indicative used in a direct question is generally retained; εἰ ἀναπλεύσειεν in 1 is, therefore, exceptional.

AORIST INFINITIVE.

126. The aorist infinitive in indirect discourse represents an aorist indicative of the direct form. *E.g.*

Φησὶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *he says that he did this (i.e. he says τοῦτο ἐποίησα);* ἔφη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *he said that he had done this (i.e. he said τοῦτο ἐποίησα);* φήσει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *he will say that he did this (i.e. he will say τοῦτο ἐποίησα).* Ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσῳ, *Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses.* XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 1. Παλαιότατοι λέγονται ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες οἰκῆσαι, *the Cyclops are said to have settled most anciently in a part of the country.* THUC. vi. 2. Ἦσαν ὑποπτοὶ αὐτοῖς μὴ προθύμως σφίσι πέμψαι ἃ ἐπέμψαν, *they were suspected by them of not having sent to them with alacrity what they did send.* THUC. vi. 75.

127. Although the usage of the language is very strict, by which the aorist infinitive after verbs of *saying, thinking, etc.* is past, as representing an aorist indicative, still several passages are found, even in the best authors, in which an aorist infinitive after such verbs as *νομίζω, οἶομαι,* and even *φημί* refers to future time. Many critics, especially Madvig,¹ deny the existence of this anomaly, and emend the offending aorists to the future or insert ἄν. If they are allowed (and most of the passages still stand uncorrected in many editions), they must be treated as strictly exceptional; and no principle, and no consistent exception to the general principle, can be based on them. *E.g.*

Φάτο γὰρ τίσασθαι ἀλείτας, *for he said that he should punish the*

¹ See Madvig's *Bemerkungen über einige Punkte der griechischen Wortführungslehre*, pp. 34-44: *Griech. Syntax*, § 172 a, Anm.



καὶ ἀπονομοθετοῦσι τὰς ἀπονομὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπονομὰς.

δοκεῖν βεβήσασθαι IV. 36. v

διδόναι ἢ κακώσεν καὶ ... χερύσασθαι IX. 22. 1

οὐκ ἐφασαν λέξασθαι V. 22. 3 ; ἐνόμισαν κρατῆρας ἢ

ἐνόμισα ἢ ἴσως ἢ αὐτοκράται VIII. 3. 35 (of fidem 28.

at absonant, τ. α. αὐτοκράται II. 3. 9 ἐνόμισαν ἢ

ἐπαγγασθαι IX. 24. 4 νομίξω ἢ αὐτοτρέφειν ἢ ... πιάσι.

[ἢ] ... ἐκιδώσασθαι.

J. m. o. r. 681

homos (C. R. IV 267) αὐτονομοθετοῦσι τὰς ἀπονομὰς ἐφρονέω διακρινόμενος
98 "thought they advised to be kept"

ευδαιμον (C. R. IV 100) θνήσκω ἐφρονέω αὐτονομοθετοῦσι τὰς ἀπονομὰς
γέγονα, ὄνομα, εὐχόμενος αὐτονομοθετοῦσι τὰς ἀπονομὰς 'for' idea, with which the dat
imports

offenders. Od. xx. 121. (In Il. iii. 28, we have in most Mss. and editions φάτο γὰρ τίσεσθαι ἀλείτην, in precisely the same sense; but Bekker has τίσασθαι.) So ἐφάμην τίσασθαι in Il. iii. 366. Καὶ αὐτῶ οὐ μέμψασθαι Ἀπρίην (sc. ἀπεκρίνατο) παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν, and (he answered) that Apries should not have reason to blame him; for he not only would be present himself, but would bring others. HDL. ii. 162. (Notice the strange transition from the aorist (I) to the two futures.) Φησὶν οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς Ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψασαν ἐμποδῶν σχεθεῖν. AESCH. Sept. 429. Οἶμαι γὰρ νῦν ἰκετεύσαι τάδε, I think of imploring. EUR. I. A. 462. (Hermann reads ἰκετεύσειν by conjecture.) Ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι βραδίως κρατῆσαι, they thought they should gain the victory. THUC. ii. 3. Νομίζω, ἦν ἱσπεὺς γένομαι, ἄνθρωπος πτηνὸς γενέσθαι. XEN. Cyr. iv. 3, 15. Οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰυτὰ γενέσθαι, they said they would not permit this to happen. LYS. xiii. 15; same in xiii. 47. Τοῦτο δὲ οἰεταὶ οἱ μάλιστα γενέσθαι, εἰ σοὶ συγγένοιτο, and he thinks that this would be most likely to happen to him if he should join himself with you. PLAT. Prot. 316 C. (Here we should expect γενέσθαι ἄν, to correspond to εἰ συγγένοιτο.)

AR. Nub. 1141 is commonly quoted in this list, as having δικάσασθαι φασί μοι in all Mss.; but in the year 1872 I found δικάσεσθαι in Cod. Par. 2712 (Brunck's A) and by correction in 2820, so that this emendation (as it is commonly thought to be) is confirmed.

It may be thought that the aorist is less suspicious in the Homeric passages than in Attic Greek, where the uses of indirect discourse are more precisely fixed.

FUTURE OPTATIVE.

128. The future optative is used chiefly in indirect discourse after past tenses, to represent a future indicative of the direct form. Even here the future indicative is generally retained (670, b). *E.g.*

Υπεκπῶν τὰλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι, ᾤχετο, having suggested as to what remained, that he would himself attend to things there, he departed. THUC. i. 90. (Here πράξοι represents πράξω of the direct discourse, for which we might have πράξει in the indirect form. See, in the same chapter, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν, having replied that they would send, where πέμψοιεν might have been used.) Εἰ τινα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολέμιῳ χρήσοιτο. XEN. Cyr. iii. 1, 3. (Here the announcement was εἰ τινα λήψομαι, ὡς πολέμιῳ χρήσομαι.) Ἐλεγεν ὅτι ἐτοιμὸς εἶη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα, ἔνθα πολλὰ λήψοιτο. XEN. An. vii. 1, 33. (He said ἐτοιμὸς εἶμι . . . ἔνθα λήψοσθε.) Here belongs the rare use after ἔλπις in THUC. vi. 30, μετ' ἐλπίδος τε ἄμα καὶ ὀλοφνηρῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς κτήσοιτο, τοὺς δ' εἰ ποτε ὄψοιτο, i.e. (they sailed) with hope and

lamentations at once,—hope that they might acquire Sicily, lamentations at the thought whether they should ever see their friends again (ὀφόμεθα;).

129. The future optative occurs first in Pindar, in an indirect question, ἐκέλευσεν διακρίναι ἄντινα σχήσοι τις ἡρώων, *to decide which maiden each of the heroes should take (τίνα σχήσει;)*, Py. ix. 126. It is used chiefly by the Attic prose writers, as the correlative of the future indicative, that tense having had no corresponding optative form in the older language, as the present, perfect, and aorist indicative and subjunctive had. It is never used with ἄν.

130. Apart from its use after verbs of *saying* and *thinking*, the future optative is found in object clauses with ὅπως after verbs of *striving*, etc. (339). Here its use is closely akin to that in indirect discourse, as it always represents thought which was originally expressed by the future indicative. *E.g.*

Ἐπεμελείτο ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοι ἔσοιντο, *he took care that they should be neither without food nor without drink (his thought was ὅπως μήτε . . . ἔσονται)*. XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 43. Ἐπεμελήθη ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς πόνοις δυνήσοιντο ὑποφέρειν. XEN. Ag. ii. 8. Μηδὲν οἶον ἄλλο μηχανᾶσθαι, ἢ ὅπως ἡμῖν ὅτι κάλλιστα τοὺς νόμους δέξοιντο ὡς περ βαφῆν. PLAT. Rep. 430 A. See Tim. 18 C, μηχανωμένους ὅπως μηδεὶς γνώσοιτο, νομιούσι δὲ πάντες (where γνώσοιτο represents γνώσεται, while the next word νομιούσι is retained in the indicative). Ἐσκόπει ὁ Μενεκλῆς ὅπως μὴ ἔσοιτο ἄπαις, ἀλλ' ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅστις ζῶντά τε γηροτροφήσοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι, *Meneclæus took thought that he might not be childless, but might have some one to support his old age while he lived and to bury him when he died*, etc. ISAE. ii. 10 (see 134). Other examples are XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 10; Hell. vii. 5, 3; Oec. vii. 5; PLAT. Ap. 36 C; ISOC. xxi. 13; ISAE. vi. 35; DEM. xxvii. 40 (ὅπως μισθώσοιτο, in the Mss.) In XEN. Hell. ii. 1, 22 we have ὡς with the future optative: προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο.

In all such cases the future indicative is generally retained (340).

131. The future optative is found in four passages after verbs of *fearing*, three times with μή, and once with ὅπως μή:—

Κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος, οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες πορεύσοιντο ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, *not fearing this, lest any should march into his dominions*. XEN. Hell. vi. 4, 27. So XEN. Mem. i. 2, 7. Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἂν ἔδεισας παρακινδυνεύειν, μὴ οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ ποιήσοις. PLAT. Euthyphr. 15 D. Οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῆς δίκης ἐδεδοίκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γραμματείου, ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενεξένου συλληφθήσοιτο. ISOC. xvii. 22. (Here the fear was expressed originally by ὅπως μὴ συλληφθήσεται, 370.)

As μή with the future indicative is rare after verbs of *fearing* (367), it is still rarer with the future optative after such verbs.

132. No case is quoted of the future optative in a pure final

expected that there would be a battle. THUC. iv. 71. Ἐν ἐλπίδι ὧν τὰ τείχη αἰρήσειν. THUC. vii. 46. Ἐλπίζει δυνατός εἶναι ἄρχειν, he hopes to be able to rule. PLAT. Rep. 573 C. (Compare εἶναι in HDT. i. 22 and 30, quoted in 118.) Πάλιν ἔμολ' ἂ πάρος οὐποτε ἤλπισεν παθεῖν. EUR. H. F. 746. Εἰ γὰρ κρατήσειαν τῷ ναυτικῷ, τὸ Ῥήγιον ἤλπισον ῥαδίως χειρώσασθαι, they hoped to subdue Rhegium. THUC. iv. 24. Οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι, there would not be even a hope of their becoming better. DEM. iv. 2. Besides these constructions, ἐλπίζω (or ἐλπῖς) has the infinitive with ἂν in THUC. vii. 61; ὡς with the future indicative in EUR. El. 919, with the future optative in THUC. vi. 30 (see 128), with the aorist optative and ἂν in THUC. v. 9; ὅπως with the future indicative in SOPH. El. 963, EUR. Her. 1051.

Τὸν στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν. XEN. An. iii. 1, 14. Μενέλεω προσδόκα μολεῖν, expect M. to come. AESCH. Ag. 675. Προσδοκῶν ῥαδίως ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι. ISAE. xi. 22.

Ἐπὶ τ' ἔσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν δωσέμενα. II. xiii. 368. Ἐκ τοῦτου ὑπέσχετο μηχανὴν παρέξειν. XEN. Cyr. vi. 1, 21. Σὺ γὰρ ὑπέσχεο ζητήσῃ. PLAT. Rep. 427 E. Ὑποσχόμενος μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοῖς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε, having promised not to stop until he had restored them to their homes. XEN. An. i. 2, 2. Ὑπέσχετο μοι βουλευέσθαι. Ib. ii. 3, 20. ~~καὶ μὴ εἶ~~

Ὁμολόγησα εἰς τήμερον παρέσεσθαι. PLAT. Symp. 174 A. Ὁμολογήσαντε ποιήσειν τὸ κελευόμενον. Id. Phaedr. 254 B. So ANT. vi. 23; AND. i. 62. Compare φημέν τούτων ὁμολογηκέναι ταῦτα ποιήσειν with φάσκοντές σε ὁμολογηκέναι πολιτεύεσθαι, PLAT. Crit. 51 E and 52 D. See Crit. 52 C; and compare ξυνέθου πολιτεύεσθαι, ib. 52 D. Ἐπίσθην τὴν σύνοδον τῇ ὀγδῷ ὁμολογήσαι ποιήσασθαι. DEM. xlii. 12.

Ἦγγυάτο μηδὲν αὐτοῦς κακὸν πείσεσθαι, he pledged himself that they should suffer no harm. XEN. An. vii. 4, 13. Προσαγῶν ἐγγυητὰς ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι, having given securities as a pledge that he would go. Id. Cyr. vi. 2, 39.

Καὶ δὴ μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς. II. i. 161. So xv. 179; Od. xi. 313; HDT. vi. 37; EUR. Med. 287. Ἠπέλησεν νῆας ἄλλαδ' ἐλκέμεν. II. ix. 682. Ἠπέλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. XEN. Hell. v. 4, 7.

Τάχα οὐδένα εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι, it is likely that soon nobody will want to be with him. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 30. Ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν τὰς πόλεις μεταβολῆς τιχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εἰκὸς ἐστίν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παντάσῃ γενέσθαι ἀνίστατον καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐλπίδων στειρηθῆναι. LYCURG. 60.

Ὁμοσον ἢ μὴν μοι ἀρήξειν. II. i. 76; so x. 321. Ὁμόσας ἀπάξειν οἴκαδ', ἐς Τροίαν μ' ἄγει, SOPH. Ph. 941; cf. Ph. 594, 623. Ὁμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν. XEN. Hell. v. 3, 26. Ἀναγκάζει τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην ὁμοῦσαι εἶναι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν κοινήν, πάντας δ' ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν χώραν. DEM. xxiii. 170.

Ἐπιπέτῳ τῷ Ἐπιπέτῳ Jhes. II 56. When the inf is substantiv
 we may have present or aorist (without ἔν) Ketherf. or Babr.
 benedictum (C. R. 100) and a substantival inf. with ἔν
 when no subject expressed of ἔνδρῳ or ἔνδρῳ, but ἔνδρῳ
 If the inf has a subject expressed then the oblique form inf.
 possible say benedictum. When ἔνδρῳ is followed by a
 inf. that inf. may either (1) be oblique in which case
 the tense is direct form or (2) prepositional i.e. a direct object, in
 case it may be present or aor. and will not denote time at
 J. Jhes. II. 3. 2 ἔνδρῳ ἔνδρῳ in reality given a subject to ἔνδρῳ
 benedictum into independent. So Mackhant calls not

Ketherf. Phil. Havel. Progr. 1867. 16 the inf. aor. with ἔν was with ἔν
 "then only when the subject is changed see Stabs. Jahrb. 1868. p. 105

εἰ δ' οἴεσθε (Ketherf., Χαλκιδάου τῆν Ἐκκλῆσαν οἴεσθαι D. 9-74

see C. R. 100 for ἔνδρῳ
 Ketherf. L. 145

Stabs. 198 ἔνδρῳ think of personal, present, or future. of the tense
 ἔνδρῳ δ' οἴεσθαι ἔνδρῳ; of 'past J. T. 101b ἔνδρῳ ἔνδρῳ ἔνδρῳ
 187. 2. 11
 ἔνδρῳ ἔνδρῳ always = fut. inf. or inf. ἔνδρῳ.



FUTURE PERFECT.

137. The future perfect of the dependent moods is rare, except in verbs whose perfect has the meaning of a present (49), where it is an ordinary future (82).

When it occurs in other verbs, it is only in the infinitive of indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Ταῦτα (ἔφη) πεπράξεσθαι δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *he said that we should see these things already accomplished within two or three days.* DEM. xix. 74. (Here the direct discourse was πεπράξεται ταῦτα, *these things will have been already accomplished.*)

III. TENSES OF THE PARTICIPLE.

138. The tenses of the participle generally express time present, past, or future relatively to the time of the verb with which they are connected.

The uses of the participle with ἄν are not included here. For these see Chapter III.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

139. The present participle generally represents an action as going on at the time of its leading verb. *E.g.*

Τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν νομίζοντες δίκαιον εἶναι, *they do this thinking it is just.* Ἐποίουν νομίζοντες, *they were doing it in the thought,* etc. Ἐποίησαν νομίζοντες, *they did it in the thought,* etc. Ποιήσουσιν νομίζοντες, *they will do it in the thought,* etc. Ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη Κόνωνος στρατηγούντος, *these things were done when Conon was general.* ISOC. ix. 56. (Στρατηγούντος is present relatively to ἐπράχθη.) Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει; *now in doing this what was he doing?* DEM. ix. 15. Ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα, *to see this go on.* DEM. xviii. 63.

140. The present participle is also used as an imperfect, like the present infinitive (119). With the participle this use is not confined (as it is with the infinitive) to indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Οἱ συμπρεσβεύοντες καὶ παρόντες καταμαρτυρήσουσιν, *those who were his colleagues on the embassy and who were present will testify.* DEM. xix. 129. (Here the embassy is referred to as a well-known event in the past.) Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλάς καλομένη οὐ πάλα βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ῥηδίας ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, *i.e. the following things are evident, 'Ελλάς οὐ πάλα βεβαίως ᾤκειτο, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις*

ἦσαν, καὶ ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπέλειπον. THUC. i. 2. Οἶδα τὸν Σωκράτην δεικνύντα τοῖς ξυνοῦσιν ἑαυτὸν καλὸν κάγαθόν ὄντα· οἶδα δὲ κάκεινω σωφρονοῦντε ἔστε Σωκράτει συνήστην. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 18. (The direct discourse was ἐδεικνυ and ἐσωφρονεῖτην.)

In THUC. iv. 3, ἡ Πύλος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὕσῃ γῆ, *Pylos is in the country which was once Messenia, οὕσῃ is imperfect, and denotes time absolutely past, as is shown by ποτὲ, without which it would be the country which is (now) Messenia.*

141. An attributive present participle (824) occasionally refers to time *absolutely* present, even when the leading verb is not present. This is always denoted by νῦν or some other word in the context. *E.g.*

Τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλουμένην ᾤκησαν, *they settled in the country now called Boeotia.* THUC. i. 12. Ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὕτω Διοπέθους στρατηγούντος, οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμβανε, *Philip then in the beginning, when Diopithes was not yet general, and when the soldiers who are now in the Chersonese had not yet been sent out, seized upon Serrium and Doriscus.* DEM. ix. 15. (Here στρατηγούντος is present to the time of ἐλάμβανε, while ὄντων is present to the time of speaking.)

For a corresponding use of the aorist participle, see 152.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

142. The perfect participle in all its uses represents an action as already finished at the time of its leading verb. *E.g.*

Ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς εἰρηκότας, *they praise those who have spoken.* Ἐπῆνεσαν τοὺς εἰρηκότας, *they praised those who had spoken.* Ἐπαινεσοῦσι τοὺς εἰρηκότας, *they will praise those who will (then) have spoken.* Ἐπέδειξα οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα (Ἀισχίνην), *I showed that Aeschines had announced nothing that was true (i.e. I showed, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπήγγελεν).* DEM. xix. 177. Τοὺς δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀποδεδωκότες, *they repented of having restored the captives.* THUC. v. 35. Τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερημένος, *he took it hard that he had been deprived of Aeolis.* XEN. Hell. iii. 2, 13.

AORIST PARTICIPLE.

143. The aorist participle generally represents an action as past with reference to the time of its leading verb. *E.g.*

Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἀελθεῖν βούλονται, *having done this, they (now) wish to go away.* Ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον, *having said this, they went away.* Οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ξυνελθόντες, *not many appear to have joined in the expedition.* THUC. i. 10. Βοιωτοὶ ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν ᾤκησαν, *Boeotians who had been driven*

et avit -
Ἕλληνας ὑστερον κληθεύρας οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρω
ἄδρῶν ἰσραῆλ T.1.3

Participle independent ^{independent} T.1.3

5... τυχόντες εσ' λεγε = ελόντες ετύχετε θ. Γ. 25, 2

from *Arne* settled *Boeotia*. THUC. i. 12. Ἐφαμεν οὔτε ἐπιστήμην οὔτε ἀγνοίαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἴσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξύ αὐτῶν φανέν ἀγνοίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης, i.e. we said that it would be the province of neither knowledge nor ignorance, but of that which should have appeared (φανέν) in due course between these. PLAT. Rep. 478 D. (Here φανέν is past to ἴσασθαι, though absolutely future; see 22.) Ἀφίκετο δεῦρο τὸ πλοῖον, γνότων τῶν Κεφαλλήνων, ἀντιπράττοντος τούτου, ἐνταῦθα καταπλεῖν αὐτό, the vessel arrived here, the Cephallenians having determined that it should return to this port, although this man opposed it. DEM. xxxii. 14. (Here γνότων denotes time past relatively to ἀφίκετο, and ἀντιπράττοντος time present relatively to γνότων, which is its leading verb.)

144. When the aorist participle is used with any form of *λανθάνω*, to escape the notice of, *τυγχάνω*, to happen, and *φθάνω*, to anticipate, except the present and imperfect, it does not denote time past with reference to the verb, but coincides with it in time. Thus ἔλαθον ἀπελθόντες means they went away secretly (= ἀπῆλθον λάθρα); οὐκ ἐφθῆσαν ἀπελθόντες, no sooner were they gone (= οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθον); ἔτυχον εἰσελθόντες, they came in by chance, or they happened to come in (= εἰσῆλθον τύχῃ). E.g.

Τοὺς δ' ἔλαθ' εἰσελθὼν Πρίαμος, and Priam entered unnoticed by them. II. xxiv. 477; so xvii. 2 and 89. Ἐλαθεν (αὐτήν) ἀφθέντα πάντα καὶ καταφλεχθέντα, everything took fire and was consumed before she knew it. THUC. iv. 133. Λανθάνει (historic present) στήλην παίσας. SOPH. El. 744. Ἐφθῆ ὀρεξάμενος, he aimed a blow first. II. xvi. 322. Αἱ τοὶ φθίσονται αὐτὸ δράσαντες, they will do it first themselves. PLAT. Rep. 375 C. Οὐ γὰρ ἐφθῆ μοι συμβῆσα ἢ ἀτυχία, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρησαν, κ.τ.λ., for no sooner did this misfortune come upon me, than they undertook, etc. DEM. lvii. 65. Στρατιὰ οὐ πολλὴ ἔτυχε μέχρι Ἴσθμοῦ παρελθούσα, an army of no great size had by chance marched as far as the Isthmus. THUC. vi. 61. Ἐτυχε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ ἔλθων, and he happened to come just at that moment. Id. vii. 2. Ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες (sc. ἡγούνται), they think that it was their fortune to accomplish only a little in comparison with their expectations. Id. i. 70. So τοῦτ' ἔτυχον λαβῶν, I happened to take this, AR. Eccl. 375.

Ὅσπότερός κε φθῆσιν ὀρεξάμενος χροῖα καλόν, whichever shall first hit, etc. II. xxiii. 805. Βουλοίμην ἂν λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθὼν, I should like to get away without his knowing it. XEN. AN. i. 3, 17. Τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λήσμεν ἐπιπεσόντες. Ib. vii. 3, 43. Εὐλαβεῖσθαι παρακλειύσθε ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος σοφώτεροι γινόμενοι λήσετε διαφθαρέντες, you will exhort one another to take care lest, having become wiser than is proper, you become corrupted before you know it. PLAT. Gorg. 487 D. (Here γινόμενοι is an ordinary aorist, past with reference to the phrase λήσετε διαφθαρέντες.)

The last four examples show that this use of the aorist participle is allowed even when the whole expression refers to the future.

145. The aorist participle has the same use with *συμπίπτω*, to happen, in Herodotus (890). *E.g.*

Καὶ τὸδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, and this other event occurred (as it chanced). HDT. ix. 101.

So *συγκυρέω* in HDT. viii. 87 (see 889).

146. An aorist participle with the present or imperfect of any of the above verbs (144) cannot coincide with the verb in time, and retains its own reference to past time. This combination seldom occurs.¹ *E.g.*

Ἐπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν, which, as it happens, the mother has taken in her hands (happens to have taken). EUR. Bacch. 1140.

Ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες, it happens that they fared the best. ISOC. iv. 103. Δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀπολάβοιμεν, ἤπερ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες, we should justly receive back the same kindness which it is our own fortune to have first shown to you (we happen to have begun). ID. xiv. 57. Πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἰπὼν κυρεῖς; wherefore did you chance to speak thus (does it chance that you spoke)? SOPH. EL. 1176. Πού κυρεῖ ἐκτόπιος συθεῖς; ID. O. C. 119. Ὅρα καθ' ὕπνον μὴ καταυλισθεῖς κυρῆ, see lest it may chance that he has retired to sleep within. ID. Ph. 30. Compare *συνεκύρησε παραπεσοῦσα*, happened to collide. HDT. viii. 87 (889). Μίξις μία λύπης τε καὶ ἠδονῆς ξιμπίπτει γενομένη, i.e. happens to have occurred (Badham proposes *γιγνομένη*). PLAT. Phil. 47 D.

Ὀδὸ' ἄρα Κίρκην ἐξ' Αἴδω ἐλθόντες ἐλήθομεν, nor was it unknown to Circe that we had returned from Hades. OD. xii. 16. Ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθροοὶ ξυνεξελθόντες, all who happened to have thus come out together. THUC. iii. 111. Εἰ τί που αἰγῶν περιλειφθὲν ἐτύγχανε γένος, if any race of goats happened to have been left. PLAT. Leg. 677 E. Ἄρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα συνελθόντα, and it was the fortune of A. that all these came to him at the same time. HDT. v. 36. (Here it is difficult to distinguish the doubly past time; but the analogy of the other examples, and the difficulty of conceiving an imperfect and aorist as coincident in time, seem decisive.) Ὅρθως σφι ἢ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα, rightly, as it happened, had the report come to them. ID. ix. 101. Just below: τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, i.e. they (the battles of Plataea and Mycale) happened to fall on the same day.

In Lys. xii. 27 we have the aorist and perfect participles together with *ἐτύγχανε*, each expressing its own time: ὅστις ἀντειπὼν γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος, who chanced to have spoken in opposition and to have shown his opinion.

It appears from these examples that the aorist participle can coincide in its time only with forms which have a similar aoristic or complexive meaning, while in other cases the verb and participle are distinct in time.

¹ For the examples of *τυγχάνω* here given I am indebted to an unpublished paper on this construction by Dr. James R. Wheeler, in which notice of this peculiarity is taken for the first time (so far as I am aware).

see B. L. G. in A. J. P. 12. 76-78.

Weiske in J. 1884. p. 826

Harv. Stud. 1897



'S. Kyōas would mean "if he shall purchase anything'

∴

proprio w. pres. part. implies active perception = look on with-
indifference; w. acc. part. " non-perception = shut one's eyes
w. inf. empty = edw permit
B.L.G. - Morris
Thero. 1. 2.



147. 1. The perfect participle can always be used with the verbs of 144 to denote an action which is completed at the time of the leading verb. This is the most common way of expressing past time in the participle here. *Eg.*

Ἐτύγχανον ἄρτι παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, *they happened to have just received their authority.* THUC. vi. 96. Ἐάν τις ἠδίκηκώς τι τευχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν, *if it ever happens that one has wronged the city.* DEM. xviii. 123. So THUC. i. 103 (see 887).

2. The present participle with these verbs is regular, representing an action as *going on* at the time of the verb. See PLAT. CRIT. 49 B and the four following examples (with others), in 887.

148. In many constructions in which the aorist participle follows a verb in the sense of the ordinary object infinitive (not in indirect discourse), it does not refer to past time, but differs from the present participle only as the aorist infinitive in such a construction would differ from the present (96). This applies especially to the participle with *περιορῶ* and *έφορῶ* (*περιεῖδον*, *εἶπιδον*), in the sense of *allow, not interfere with*, and *ὄρῶ* (*εἶδον*) *permit and see* (cf. 884 and 885). *E.g.*

Προσδεχόμενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίους κατοκνήσειν περιεῖδεν αὐτὴν [τὴν γῆν] τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνείχεν, *expecting that they would be unwilling to see their land ravaged, etc.* THUC. ii. 18. But in ii. 20 we find the aorist infinitive, ἤλπιζεν τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδεν τμηθῆναι, *would not let their land be ravaged*, referring to precisely the same event from another point of view (see 903, 6). Μὴ περιεῖδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, *do not look on and see us destroyed.* HDT. iv. 118. Οὐ μὴ σ' ἐγὼ περιόμομαι ἀπελθόντα, *I will by no means let you go.* AR. Ran. 509. Ἐτλησαν ἐπιεῖδεν ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθομένην, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αἰτῶν γιγνόμενον. ISOC. iv. 96. (Here the aorist participle denotes the *laying waste* of the city (as a single act), while the presents denote the continuous *ravaging* of the country and the gradual *coming on* of a state of war. This is precisely the difference between the present and aorist infinitive in similar constructions.) Ἐπεῖδον τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην. ANT. v. 79.

Εἰ κείνόν γε ἴδοιμι κατελθόντ' Ἄϊδος εἴσω, *if I should see him go down and enter Hades.* IL. vi. 284. Μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανάονθ' ἵπ' ἀστών, *not to see me killed by the citizens.* EUR. Or. 746. Διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν τῷ πάποι' εἶδες ἤδη ἀγαθόν τι γερόμενον; AR. Nub. 1061. Ὅταν αὐτὸν ἴδῃ ἐξαιφνης πταίσαντα πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐκχέαντα τὰ τε αἰτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν, . . . ἢ ἀποθανόντα ἢ ἐκπεσόντα ἢ ἀτιμωθέν, α καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπασαν ἀποβαλόντα. PLAT. Rep. 553 A. See SOPH. ANT. 476.

So after ἀκούω; as αἰ κ' ἐθέλῃσ' εἰπόντος ἀκούμεν, *in case he will hear me speak*, IL. vi. 281. Τοσαῦτα φωνήσαντος εἰσηκούσαμεν, *so much we heard him say.* SOPH. O.C. 1645. So also *πραθέντα τλήναι, endured to be sold*, AESCH. Ag. 1041; *σπείρας ἔτλα*, Sept. 754:

for *τλάω* with the regular infinitive, see *Isoc.* iv. 96, quoted above. So *μένειν νοστήσαντα ἀνακτα*, to await the king's return, *Il.* xiii. 38.

149. The aorist participle loses its reference to past time also in the peculiar construction in which the participle with its noun has the force of the infinitive with its subject; as *μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας*, after the founding of Syracuse (= *μετὰ τὸ Συρακούσας οἰκισθῆναι*), *Thuc.* vi. 3. See examples in 829 (b).

150. An aorist participle denoting that in which the action of a verb of past time consists (845) may express time coincident with that of the verb, when the actions of the verb and the participle are practically one.¹ *E.g.*

Νεῖσ' ἐπὶ οἱ καλέσας, he called him to him by a nod. *Od.* xvii. 330. *Βῆ ἀίξασα*. *Il.* ii. 167. *Ἐὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με*, you did well in reminding me. *Plat.* *Phaed.* 60 C. *Μή τι ἐξαμάρτητε ἐμοῦ καταψηφισάμενοι*, lest you make any mistake in condemning me. *Id.* *Ap.* 30 D. *Παῖδα κατακανὼν ξυήλη πατάξας*, having killed a child by the stroke of a dagger. *Xen.* *An.* iv. 8, 25. *Ἦδη πώποτε οὐν ἡ δακοῦσα κακὸν τί σοι ἔδωκεν ἢ λακτίσασα*; did your mother ever do you any harm by biting or kicking you? *Id.* *Mem.* ii. 2, 7. *Πέμπει ὡς τὸν Ἀστίοχον κρύφα ἐπιστείλας ὅτι Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα φθείρει*, i.e. he sends a private message, etc. *Thuc.* viii. 50. After a perfect: *ὄσ' ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ δέδρακας εἰρήνην ποιήσας*, what blessings you have done us in making a peace! *Ar.* *Pac.* 1199.

The following examples among many in the New Testament illustrate the usage:—

Ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς, λέγων, he answered and spake to them in parables, and said. *Ματθ.* xxii. 1. (*Λέγων* is the ordinary present, less closely connected with *εἶπον* than *ἀποκριθείς*.) *Προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν*, they prayed and said. *Act.* *Apost.* i. 24. *Καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος*, thou hast well done that thou art come. *Ib.* x. 33.

151. In such passages as *ὡμολόγησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι*, *Thuc.* i. 108, the aorist participle is past with reference to the time of the beginning of the peace to which *ὡμολόγησαν* refers, and the meaning is, they obtained terms of peace, on condition that they should first (before the peace began) tear down their walls, etc. Such passages are *Thuc.* i. 101, 108, 115, 117. See *Krüger's* note on i. 108, and *Madvig's Bemerkungen*, p. 46. *Madvig* quotes, to confirm this view, *Lys.* xii. 68: *ὑπέσχετο εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὄμηρα δοῦς μήτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦς*, i.e. he promised to make a peace without giving pledges, etc.

152. An attributive aorist participle occasionally refers to

¹ See the discussion of this, with especial reference to the New Testament, where examples of this kind are frequent, by Professor W. G. Ballantine, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1884, p. 787.

1. 30. 12 Σάτυρος καὶ Χρέμων, οἱ τῶν τριάκοντα γενό-
ενοι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑργιζόμενοι Κλεοφῶντος Κατηγόρου
μ.ε. 1. 3. 4 οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑστέρου κληθεῖντες πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔθρ^α
οὐδὲν ἔσπρα^α
2. 49. 2.

4. 81 γενόμενον = ὡς ὑστέρου τύπων ἐγένετο.

μ.ε. 88c

m. mid. 178

time *absolutely* past, without regard to the time of its verb. *E.g.*

Ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλώνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα, i.e. they had as their leader Megaronus, who after this was made governor of Babylon. HDt. vii. 62. (Here the aorist participle is past at the time of writing only; it is even future compared with the time of παρεχόμενοι.) So in vii. 106: κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, and he left M. (in authority), who (afterwards) proved himself such a man (the evidence of his later merits follows in a relative sentence).

For the corresponding use of the present participle see 141.

For the use of the aorist infinitive and participle with ἄν, see 207 and 215. For the aorist participle with ἔχω and εἶχον as a circumlocution for the perfect and pluperfect, as θαυμάσας ἔχω and εἶχον, see 47 and 48. For the rare use of the aorist participle with εἶσομαι for the future perfect, see 81. For the aorist participle in protasis, see 472 and 841.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE.

153. The future participle represents an action as future with reference to the time of its leading verb. *E.g.*

Τοῦτο ποιήσων ἔρχεται, he is coming to do this; τοῦτο ποιήσων ἦλθεν, he came to do this. Περμφθήσεται ταῦτα ἔρων, he will be sent to say this. Οἶδα αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιήσοντα, I know that he will do this; οἶδα τοῦτο ποιήσων, I know that I shall do this; ᾔδειν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιήσοντα, I knew that he would do this.

For the various uses of the future participle, and examples, see Chapter VI.

GNOMIC AND ITERATIVE TENSES.

GNOMIC AORIST AND PERFECT.

154. The aorist and sometimes the perfect indicative are used in animated language to express *general truths*. These are called the *gnomic aorist* and the *gnomic perfect*, and are usually to be translated by our present.

155. These tenses give a more vivid statement of general truths, by employing a distinct case or several distinct cases in the past to represent (as it were) all possible cases, and implying that what has occurred is likely to occur again under similar circumstances. *E.g.*

Κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὁ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἔργως, the idle man and he who has laboured much alike must die. Il. ix. 320. Ὅστε καὶ ἀλκμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην, who terrifies even a valiant

man and snatches his victory away. II. xvii. 177 (see 157, below). Βία καὶ μέγαν λαυχὸν ἐσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ. PIND. Py. viii. 15. Σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἀνεμὸν ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβειν. Id. Nem. vii. 17. Καὶ δὴ φίλον τις ἔκταν' ἀγνοίας ὑπο, and now one may kill a friend through ignorance. AESCH. Supp. 499. Ἄλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, καὶ σφόδρα γε ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχη, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ. DEM. ii. 10 (see 157 and 171). Ἦν ἄρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελείψαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν, they supply the deficiency (as often as one occurs). THUC. i. 70. Ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίῃ, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, i.e. they imposed a penalty upon every one who transgresses. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 2. Δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πότον. SOPH. Aj. 674. Μί' ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν καθείλεν ὑπόθεον, τὸν δ' ἦρ' ἄνω. EUR. Fr. 424. Ὅταν ὁ Ἔρως ἐγκρατέστερος γένηται, διαφθείρει τε πολλὰ καὶ ἠδίκησεν. PLAT. Symp. 188 A. Ὅταν τις ὥσπερ οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσε. DEM. ii. 9.

Ἐπειδὴν τις παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθη, εἴαν μὲν βούληται, ἀποδέδωκεν ὁ ἐγὼ πράττομαι ἀργύριον· εἴαν δὲ μὴ, ἐλθὼν εἰς ἱερὸν ὁμόσας, ὅσου ἀνφῆ ἄξια εἶναι τὰ μαθήματα, τοσοῦτον κατέθηκεν. PLAT. Prot. 328 B. (Here the perfect and aorist, according to the MSS., are used in nearly the same sense, he says. But Sauppe reads ἀπέδωκεν for ἀποδέδωκεν.) Πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δυνάμιν μεγάλην κακὰ πεπόνθασιν, i.e. many alicays have suffered, and many do suffer. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 35. Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται. THUC. ii. 45.

The gnomic perfect is not found in Homer. 155. 139

156. The sense as well as the origin of the gnomic aorist is often made clearer by the addition of such words as *πολλάκις*, *ἤδη* or *οὕτω*. Such examples as these form a simple transition from the common to the gnomic use of the aorist:—

Πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων, i.e. many cases have already arisen, implying it often happens. THUC. ii. 89. Μέλων γ' ἰατρὸς, τῇ νόσῳ διδοὺς χρόνον, ἴασατ' ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ τεμῶν χροῶ, the slow physician, by giving the disease time, may work more cures than he who cuts too deep. EUR. Fr. 1057. Πολλάκις ἔχων τις οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα νῦν αὐριον ἐπλούτησ', ὥστε χατέρους τρέφειν, i.e. cases have often occurred in which such a man has become rich the next day, etc. PHIL. Fr. 120. Ἀθυμούντες ἄνδρες οὕτω τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. PLAT. Criti. 108 C. Οὐδεὶς ἐπλούτησεν ταχέως δίκαιος ὢν, no man ever became rich suddenly who was just. MEN. Fr. 294. Compare DEM. iv. 51. (See Krüger, § 53, 10, A. 2.)

157. General truths are more commonly expressed in Greek, as in English, by the present. The present and aorist appear together above, in nearly the same sense; the gnomic aorist is, however, commonly distinguished from the present by referring to a single or a sudden occurrence, while the present (as usual) implies duration.

continued p. 42



Thus in DEM. ii. 10, above, the aorist ἤνθησεν implies a sudden *blowing out* with hopes, as opposed to the continuance or repetition expressed by ἀντέχει, *hold out*, φωρᾶται, *are detected*, and καταρρεῖ, *fall in ruin*.

158. An aorist somewhat resembling the gnomic is very common in Homeric *similes*, where it is usually to be translated by the present. *E.g.*

Ἦριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις δρῶς ἤριπεν, *and he fell, as when an oak falls*, (literally, *as when an oak once fell*). IL. xiii. 389.

This can better be seen in the longer and more complicated examples which are quoted under 547 and 548.

159. The gnomic aorist is found in indirect discourse in the infinitive and participle, and even in the optative. *E.g.*

(a) Ὅπου δ' ὑβρίζειν δρᾶν θ' ἄ βούλεται παρῆ,
ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ ποτὲ
ἐξ οὐρίων δραμοῦσαν ἐς βυθὸν πεσεῖν,

but where man is permitted to insult and to work his own will, believe that that state, though it may run before fair breezes, must in time sink to the depths. SOPH. AJ. 1082. (Here πεσεῖν represents ἔπεσεν of the direct form, which can be only gnomic.)

Εἴ σοι δέος παρέστηκεν ἡγομένην χαλεπὸν εἶναι φιλίαν συμμένειν, καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης κοινήν ἀμφοτέροις καταστῆναι τὴν συμφορὰν, *if you fear, thinking that it is hard for friendship to abide, and that when a quarrel occurs the calamity that arises is common to both* (the direct form would be χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, καὶ κοινή κατέστη ἡ συμφορὰ). PLAT. Phaedr. 232 B. Ἐργομένης δὲ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ποτε φαίμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι, *now when truth leads, we never could say that a chorus of evils accompany her* (ἠκολούθησεν). PLAT. Rep. 490 C.

(b) Σμικρῷ χαλινῷ δ' οἶδα τοὺς θνητομένους ἵππους καταρτυθέντας, *and I know that high-spirited horses are tamed by a small bit*. SOPH. Ant. 478. Οἶδα τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' αὐτοῖς βίῳ λιπηροὺς ὄντας, τῶν δὲ ἔπειτα ἀνθρώπων προσποιήσιν ξυγγενείας τισὶ καὶ μὴ οὖσαν καταλιπόντας, *I know that such men, although in their own lifetimes they are offensive, yet often leave to some who come after them a desire to claim connexion with them, even where there is no ground for it*. THUC. vi. 16.

(c) A clear case of the gnomic aorist in the optative is seen in PLAT. Rep. 490 B, in the peculiar *oratio obliqua* introduced by ἀπολογησόμεθα ὅτι (in A), which implies a philosophic imperfect (40) and thus takes the optative. We have πεφυκὼς εἴη, ἐμμένοι, ἴοι, etc., representing πέφυκε, ἐμμένει, εἶσι, etc.; and afterwards γνοίη τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ζῆν καὶ τρέφεται (representing ἔγνω τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ζῆν καὶ τρέφεται), i.e. *he attains knowledge (aor.), and then truly lives and is nourished (pres.)*, where the gnomic force of the aorist is plain.

160. The gnomic perfect is found in the infinitive of indirect discourse in DEM. ii. 18: εἰ δὲ τις σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος, παρεῶσθαι καὶ

ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον (φησὶν), *such a man (he says) is always thrust aside and is of no account.*

161. The imperfect was probably never used in a gnomic sense, except where the form is aoristic in other respects, as ἔκλιων in II. i. 218, ix. 509; cf. xiv. 133.

ITERATIVE IMPERFECT AND AORIST WITH ἄν.—IONIC

ITERATIVE FORMS IN -σκον AND -σκόμην.

162. The imperfect and aorist are sometimes used with the adverb ἄν to denote a customary action, being equivalent to our narrative phrase *he would often do this* or *he used to do it.* *E.g.*

Διηρώτων ἄν αὐτοὺς τί λέγοιεν, *I used to ask them (I would ask them) what they said.* PLAT. AP. 22 B. Εἴ τις ἰδοίεν πῆ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσθησαν ἄν, *whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases).* THUC. vii. 71. Πολλάκις ἠκούσαμεν ἄν τι κακῶς ἡμᾶς βουλευσάμενους μέγα πρᾶγμα, *we used very often to hear you, etc.* AR. LYS. 511. Εἴ τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγοι μηδὲν ἔχων σαφὲς λέγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπανήγεν ἄν πάντα τὸν λόγον, *he always brought the whole discussion back to the main point.* XEN. MEM. iv. 6, 13. ^c Ὅποτε προσβλέπειε τινος τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τοτὲ μὲν εἶπεν ἄν· ὦ ἄνδρες, κ.τ.λ. τοτὲ δ' αὖ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄν ἔλεξεν. ID. CYR. vii. 1, 10. So HDT. ii. 109, iii. 51 and 148.

This construction must be distinguished from the potential indicative with ἄν (243). See, however, 249. For the iterative imperfect and aorist with ἄν transferred to the infinitive, see 210.

163. The Ionic iterative imperfect and aorist in -σκον and -σκόμην express the repetition of such actions as the ordinary imperfect and aorist express. *E.g.*

Ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ παῖδας ἐμὸς πόδας ὤκως Ἀχιλλεὺς πέρνασχε', ὃν τιν' ἔλεσκε. II. xxiv. 751. Ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπὶ ὀκτὴ πῆχας, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος. HDT. ii. 13.

164. Herodotus sometimes uses the iterative forms in -σκον and -σκόμην with ἄν in the construction of 162. He uses this form of the aorist in only two passages, in both with ἄν. *E.g.*

Φοιτεύουσα κλαίεσκε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο. iii. 119. Ἐς τοῦτους ὀκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλείπεσκε ἐν τῷ προστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, λάβεσκε ἄν Ἑλληνίδα ἰσθῆτα. iv. 78. So λάβεσκον ἄν, iv. 130. See Krüger, II. § 53, 10, 5.

In subordinate clauses very rarely: X. Ag. 2. 24. I
19-29. Eur. p. Ins



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DEPENDENCE OF MOODS AND TENSES.

165. In dependent sentences, where the construction allows both the subjunctive and the optative, the subjunctive is used if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if it is secondary. (See 21.) *E.g.*

Πράττουσιν ἃ ἂν βούλωνται, they do whatever they please; but ἐπράττον ἃ βούλοιντο, they did whatever they pleased.

166. In like manner, where the construction allows both the indicative and the optative, the indicative follows primary, and the optative follows secondary tenses. *E.g.*

Λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦτο βούλωνται, they say that they wish for this; ἔλεξαν ὅτι τοῦτο βούλοιντο, they said that they wished for this.

167. To these fundamental rules we find one special exception. In indirect discourse of all kinds (including sentences denoting a *purpose* or *object* after *ἵνα, ὅπως, μή,* etc.) either an indicative or a subjunctive may depend upon a secondary tense, so that the mood and tense actually used by the speaker may be retained in the indirect form. (See 667, 1.) *E.g.*

Εἶπεν ὅτι βούλεται, for εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιτο, he said that he wished (i.e. he said βούλομαι). Ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, for ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, he feared lest it should happen (i.e. he thought, φοβοῦμαι μὴ γένηται). (See 318.)

168. An only *apparent* exception occurs when either a potential optative or indicative with *ἂν*, or an optative expressing a wish, stands in a dependent sentence. In both these cases the original form is retained without regard to the leading verb. It is obvious that a change of mood would in most cases change the whole nature of the expression. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν, I do not know how any one could show this more clearly. DEM. xxvii. 48. Δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστήσαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν ἰσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε. DEM. iv. 17. Εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οἴεσθε αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξειν; DEM. xxviii. 21.

A few other unimportant exceptions will be noticed as they occur.

169. It is therefore important to ascertain which tenses (in all the moods) are followed, in dependent sentences, as primary tenses by the indicative or subjunctive, and which as secondary tenses by the optative.

INDICATIVE.

170. In the indicative the general rule holds, that the present,

perfect, future, and future perfect are primary, and the imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist are secondary tenses.

171. But the historical present is a secondary tense, as it refers to the past; and the gnomic aorist is a primary tense, as it refers to the present. *φ. 21. 3³*

See HDT. i. 63 (under 33), where the optative follows an historical present; and DEM. ii. 10, THUC. i. 70, XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 2 (under 155), where the subjunctive follows gnomic aorists.

172. The imperfect indicative in the protasis or apodosis of an unfulfilled condition (410) and in its potential use (243), when it refers to present time, is a primary tense. *E.g.*

Ἐγγραφον ἂν ἡλίκα ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσω, εἰ εὖ ᾔδειν, *I would tell you in my letter how great services I would render you, if I knew, etc.* DEM. xix. 40. Πάνυ ἂν ἐφοβούμην, μὴ ἀπορήσωσι λόγων. PLAT. Symp. 193 E. Ἐφοβούμην ἂν σφόδρα λέγειν, μὴ δόξω, κ.τ.λ., *I should be very much afraid to speak, lest I should seem, etc.* PLAT. Theaet. 143 E. Ταῦτ' ἂν ἤδη λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε. DEM. xxiii. 7 (for the construction here see 336). See XEN. An. v. 1, 10; DEM. xvi. 12.

173. On the other hand, the aorist indicative in the same constructions (172), and also the imperfect when it refers to the past, are secondary tenses. *E.g.*

Ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἂν ἔδεισας παρακινδυνεύειν, μὴ οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ ποιήσοις. PLAT. Euthyph. 15 D. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων ἀποδοῖς εἰκῆ τὴν ἂν ἐπίστευσεν, ἵν' εἰ τις γίγνοιτο διαφορά, κομίσασθαι ῥαδίως παρ' ὑμῖν δύνηται. DEM. xxx. 20. (Here the subjunctive δύνηται is properly used after a past tense (318), but the optative shows that the leading verb is secondary.) See ἵνα γίγνοιτο, after an imperfect with ἂν, PLAT. Men. 89 B.

Χρῆν ἐπείρεσθαι κότερα τὴν ἐπιτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγει ἀρχὴν, *he ought to have asked whether the oracle meant his own or Cyrus's empire.* HDT. i. 91.

SUBJUNCTIVE AND IMPERATIVE.

174. All the tenses of the subjunctive and imperative are primary, as they refer to future or to present time (89). *E.g.*

Ἐπεσθ' ὅπῃ ἂν τις ἡγῆται, *follow whithersoever any one leads the way.* THUC. ii. 11. Σκοπῶμεν εἰ πρέπει ἢ οὐ. PLAT. Rep. 451 D.

175. But when a subjunctive depends upon a past tense, as often happens in final clauses (318), it may be followed by an optative; as in XEN. Hell. vi. 5, 21, ἦγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὐταίαν, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πηρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὡς φείγων ἀπαγάγοι, *he led on, wishing to lead off his soldiers before they even saw the enemies' fires, that no one might say that he had led them off in flight* (187). With the other reading, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴποι, the example would illustrate 176 A (below).



OPTATIVE

176. As the optative refers sometimes to the future and sometimes to the past, it exerts upon a dependent verb sometimes the force of a primary, and sometimes that of a secondary tense.

A. When it refers to the past, as in general suppositions with *εἰ* and relatives after past tenses, or when it takes its time from a past verb (as in a final clause), it has the force of a secondary tense.

B. When it refers to the future, as in future conditions, in its use with *άν*, and in wishes, it is properly to be considered primary. In many cases, however, a double construction is here allowed. On the principle of assimilation the Greeks preferred the optative to the subjunctive in certain clauses depending on an optative, the dependent verb referring to the future like the leading verb, and differing little from a subjunctive in such a position. A dependent indicative is, however, very seldom assimilated to a leading optative. Such assimilation of a dependent verb to an optative takes place (1) *regularly* in protasis and conditional relative clauses depending on an optative of future time; (2) *seldom* in final and object clauses after *ίνα*, *όπως*, *μή*, etc.; (3) *very rarely* in the case of the indicative in indirect quotations or questions, but (4) more freely in the case of the subjunctive in indirect questions.

These four classes of sentences which depend on an optative referring to the future are treated separately below (I.-IV.)

177. I. (*a*) In protasis and conditional relative sentences depending upon an optative which *refers to the future*, the optative rather than the subjunctive is regularly used to express a future condition. *E.g.*

Εἴης φορητός οὐκ άν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, you would be unendurable, if you should be prosperous. AESCH. Prom. 979. Ἄνδρὶ δέ κ' οὐκ εἴξευ μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, ὅς θνητός τ' εἶη καὶ ἔδοι Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν. IL xiii. 321. Πῶς γάρ άν τις, ἃ γε μή ἐπίσταιτο, ταῦτα σοφός εἶη; for how could any one be wise in those things which he did not understand? XEN. Mem. iv. 6, 7. Δέοιτο άν αὐτοῦ μένειν, ἔστε σὺ ἀπέλθοις. Id. Cyr. v. 3, 13. Εἰ ἀποθνήσκει μὲν πάντα ὅσα τοῦ ζῆν μεταλάβοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀποθάνοι μένοι ἐν τούτῳ, ἄρ' οὐ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τελευτῶντα πάντα τεθνάναι; if all things partaking of life should die, and after dying should remain dead, must it not very certainly follow that all things would finally be dead? PLAT. Phaed. 72 C. Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὁ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι, may any other man also perish who shall do such things. OIL. i. 47. Ἐθναίην, ὅτε μοι μῆκετι ταῦτα μέλοι, may I die, when I (shall) no longer care for these!

ΜΙΜΝ. Fr. i. 2. (Here ὅταν μηκέτι μέλη might be used without change of meaning. See the second example under b.)

178. (b) On the other hand, the dependent verb is sometimes in the subjunctive or future indicative, on the ground that it follows a tense of future time, especially when the leading verb is an optative with ἄν used in its sense approaching that of the future indicative (235). *E.g.*

Ἦν οὖν μάθης μοι τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίην, *if then you should (shall) learn this for me, I would not pay, etc.* AR. Nub. 116. Ἦν σε ἀφέλωμαι, κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην. Id. Ran. 586. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἂν εἰς Ἀθηναίων λείπηται, οὐδέποτε ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ πόλει, *I would never advise the city to make this peace, as long as a single Athenian shall be (should be or was) left.* DEM. xix. 14. (Here ἕως λείποιτο would be the common form.) Ὡςπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λειπεῖν ἢν ἂν ταχθῆ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, *as each one of you would be ashamed to leave the post at which he may be (might be) placed in war.* AESCHIN. iii. 7. (Here ἢν ταχθείη would be the more common expression.) Τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἶη, εἰ ταῦτα δυνηθεῖς μὴ πράξει, *it would be one of the strangest things if, when he gets the power, he fails (shall fail) to do this.* DEM. i. 26.

179. It will be understood that no assimilation to the optative can take place when the protasis is present or past, as a change to the optative here would involve a change of time. See 561.

180. II. (a) In final and object clauses with ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ὄφρα, and μή, the subjunctive (or future indicative) is generally used after a potential optative with ἄν or after an optative in protasis referring to the future. *E.g.*

Ἦ ῥά κε νῦν ἄμ' ἡμῖν οἴκαδ' ἔποιο, ὄφρα ἴδῃ, κ.τ.λ. Od. xv. 431. So Od. vi. 57, xvi. 87; Il. xxiv. 264. Δι' ὧτος ἂν παῖρα συμφέροισι, ὥς ὀρούσῃ. SOPH. El. 1439. Τίς αὐτὸν ἂν καλέσειεν, ὥς ἴδῃ με; EUR. Bacch. 1258. Ὀκνοίην ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, μὴ καταδύσῃ; φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὄθεν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν. XEN. An. i. 3, 17. Τίς οὐκ ἂν φεύγοι, ἵνα μὴδ' ἄκων αὐτῇ περιπέσῃ; DEM. xxv. 33. Οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνήσῃαι τὸ στρατεῖν, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὥς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. XEN. An. iii. 1, 38. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως εἰρήνη ἔσται φανεροὶ εἶητε ἐπιμελούμενοι. Id. Vect. v. 10 (see 180, b).

(b) The only examples of the optative here are one in Aristophanes, one in Plato, and six in Xenophon¹:—

Διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκότως βούλοιντ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐξολωλέναι, ἵνα τὰς τελετὰς λάβοιεν. AR. Pac. 411. Οὐκ ἂν πω πάνυ γε μέγα τι εἶη, εἰ βουκόλους . . . προσθεῖμεν, ἵνα οἱ γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρουρον ἔχοιεν

¹ See Weber, *Abzichssätze*, pp. 220, 221; 245-247. I have assumed that Weber's collection of examples is complete.



βοῦς. PLAT. REP. 370 D. Πειρὸν μὴ πρόσω ἡμῶν εἶναι, ἵνα, εἰ τοῦ καιρὸς εἴη, ἐπιφανείην. XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 17. So Cyr. i. 6, 22; An. ii. 4, 3, iii. 1, 18 (with various readings in last two). Ἡ φυλακὴ γελοία τις ἂν φαίνοιτο, εἰ μὴ σύγε ἐπιμελοῖο ὅπως ἐξωθέν τι εἰσφέροιτο. XEN. Oecon. vii. 39. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν αὐτόνομον γένοιτο φανεροὶ εἴητε ἐπιμελούμενοι. XEN. Vect. v. 9; but in the next sentence, ὅπως εἰρήνη ἔσται (see 180, a).

181. (c) After an optative in a wish twelve examples of these clauses with the optative and ten with the subjunctive are cited from Homer and the lyric and tragic poets. These are

Τάχιστα μοι ἔνδον ἑταῖροι εἴεν, ἵν' ἐν κλισίῃ λαρὸν τετυκοίμεθα δόρπον. Od. xiv. 407. So xviii. 368, xx. 79. (Subjunctive in II. xvi. 99, xxiv. 74; Od. iv. 735, xviii. 202.) So THEOG. 885, 1119; PIND. Py. v. 120 (?). (Subj. PIND. Nem. viii. 35.) Ἐλθοι ὅπως γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἔμοι λυτήριος. AESCH. Eum. 297. Γενοίμαν ἵν' ὕλαεν ἔπεισι πόντον πρόβλημ' ἀλικίστον, τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως προσείποιμεν Ἀθήνας. SOPH. Aj. 1217; so Ph. 324 and Tr. 953. (Subj. SOPH. Tr. 1109.) Εἰ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίσι, ὡς πάνθ' ὁμαρτῆ τῶν ἔχουσιντο γυνάτων. EUR. Hec. 836; so Hipp. 732. (Subjunctives in EUR. Hel. 174, Suppl. 621, I.T. 439, Ion. 671.)

182. No case of either subjunctive or optative after an optative in a wish in prose is cited by Weber. Perhaps one may be found in DEM. xviii. 89, where Cod. Σ reads, ὦν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μεταδοίεν ὦν ἡμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτωτα βουλόμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοίεν ἡμῖν ὦν αὐτοὶ προήρηται, which can best be translated, *in which (hopes) may they be disappointed; and may they (rather) share the blessings for which you, who wish for the best, pray the Gods, lest they involve you in the evils which they have chosen for themselves.* Μή with the subjunctive in this sense occurs twice in Demosthenes, xix. 225, xxxviii. 26. The alternative, if we keep this reading, is to make μὴ μεταδοίεν an independent wish, as if it were μηδὲ μεταδοίεν, the usual reading.

183. In relative sentences expressing a purpose the future indicative is regularly retained after optatives and even after past tenses of the indicative (566). For exceptional cases of the optative in this construction see 573 and 574, with 134.

184. III. In indirect quotations and questions depending upon an optative which refers to the future, the indicative is the only form regularly used to represent an *indicative* of the direct discourse. *E.g.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτό γ' εἶποις, ὡς ἔλαθεν. AESCHIN. ii. 151. Ἐκείνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε Λεπτίνης, ὡς αἱ λειτουργίαι εἰς πένητος ἀνθρώπου εἶρχονται (187). DEM. xx. 18; so xvi. 4. Εἰ ἀποδειχθείη τίνα χρὴ ἡγείσθαι τοῦ λαοῦ. XEN. AN. iii. 2, 36.

185. But in DEM. xvi. 5 we find the optative in an indirect quotation: οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνο γ' ἂν εἶποιμεν, ὡς ἀναλλάξασθαι βουλοίμεθ' ἀντιπάλους Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Θηβαίων. There are no other

readings, and we must call it an exceptional case of assimilation (*we could not say this, that we wished, etc.*) unless we emend it either by reading βουλόμεθα (as proposed by Madvig, *Bemerk.* p. 21) or by inserting ἄν. In PLAT. Rep. 515 D, we find in the best Mss. τί ἂν οἶε αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγοι ὅτι τότε μὲν ἑώρα φλυαρίας, νῦν δὲ ὀρθότερα βλέπει; *what do you think he would say, if any one should tell him that all that time he had been seeing foolish phantoms, but that now he saw more correctly?* (Some Mss. read βλέπει.)

In II. v. 85, Τυδείδην οὐκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετεΐη, the optative represents μέτεστιν in the direct question; but οὐκ ἂν γνοίης here refers to the past, meaning *you would not have known* (442).

186. IV. In indirect questions depending on an optative, the optative may represent an interrogative subjunctive (287) of the direct question. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐξελθὼν ὃ τι χρῶο σαυτῷ, *if you should withdraw, you would not know what to do with yourself.* PLAT. Crit. 45 B. Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ὃ τι χρήσαιο σαυτῷ, ἀλλ' ἰλιγγιώης ἂν καὶ χασμῷ οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι εἴποις. Id. Gorg. 486 B. The direct questions here were τί χρῶμαι;—τί χρήσωμαι;—τί εἴπω; The subjunctive can always be retained in this construction, even after past tenses (677).

INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

187. The present, perfect, and future of the infinitive and participle, and the aorist infinitive when it is not in indirect discourse, regularly denote time which is relative to that of the leading verb. They therefore merely *transmit* the force of that verb, as primary or secondary, to the dependent clauses. *E.g.*

Βούλεται λέγειν τί τοῦτό ἐστιν, *he wishes to tell what this is.* Ἐβούλετο λέγειν τί τοῦτο εἶη, *he wished to tell what this was.* Φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι τί ἐστίν, *he says he has heard what it is.* Ἐφη ἀκηκοέναι τί εἶη, *he said he had heard what it was.* Φησὶ ποιήσειν ὃ τι ἂν βούλησθε, *he says he will do whatever you may wish.* Ἐφη ποιήσειν ὃ τι βούλοισθε, *he said he would do whatever you might wish.*

Μένουσιν βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι τί ἐστι. Ἐμενον βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι τί εἶη. Μένουσιν ἀκηκοότες τί ἐστίν. Ἐμενον ἀκηκοότες τί εἶη, *they waited, having heard what it was (τί ἐστίν);* Μένουσιν ἀκουσόμενοι τί ἐστίν. Ἐμενον ἀκουσόμενοι τί εἶη.

Βούλεται γνῶναι τί τοῦτό ἐστιν, *he wishes to learn what this is.* Ἐβούλετο γνῶναι τί τοῦτο εἶη, *he wished to learn what this was.*

Οὐδενὶ πώποτε τοῦτων δεδώκατε τὴν δωρεάν ταύτην οἷδ' ἂν δοίητε, ἐξείναι τοῖς ἰδίους ἐχθροῖς ὑβρίζειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, ὅπότ' ἂν βούληται καὶ ὃν ἂν δίνηται τρόπον. DEM. xxi. 170. Οἷθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδέπωποτε συνεχώρηθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε, *never was this granted you, etc., to do whatever you pleased.* Id. ix. 23. Here ποιεῖν denotes a habit,



and is followed by the optative (532); if the leading verb were συγχευεῖται, we should have ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε. Compare the two subjunctives in the preceding example.

188. The present infinitive and participle representing the imperfect (without ἂν), and the perfect representing the pluperfect, are secondary tenses in themselves, without regard to the leading verb. *E.g.*

Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθε δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν, εἴ τις τι λέγοι; *how unwillingly do you think they heard it, when any one said anything?* DEM. vi. 20. So PLAT. Rep. 430 A. See these and other examples under 119.

For the perfect see XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 27, and THUC. v. 49, under 123.

189. The aorist infinitive in indirect discourse is a past tense in itself, and is therefore secondary. *E.g.*

Φησὶ γινῶναι τί τοῦτο εἶη, *he says that he learned what this was.*
Ἐφη γινῶναι τί τοῦτο εἶη, *he said that he had learned what this was.*

Φησὶ γὰρ ὁμολογήσαι με τοῦ κλήρου τῷ παιδί τὸ ἡμικλήριον μεταδώσειν εἰ νικήσαιμι τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτόν (*he says I promised, μεταδώσω ἰάν νικήσω*). ISAE. xi. 24. Θαλῆν Θράττά τις θεραπευτὴς ἀποσκῶψαι λέγεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ προθυμοῖτο εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ λαθάνοι αὐτόν. PLAT. Theaet. 174 A. Ἄρα σοι δοκῶ οὐ μαντικῶς ἂ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἀγάθων θαυμαστῶς ἔροί ἐγὼ δ' ἀπορήσοιμι; Id. Symp. 198 A. In all these cases the optative depends on the aorist infinitive as a past tense.

190. The aorist participle properly refers to time past relatively to the leading verb. It is therefore secondary when the leading verb is past or present, so that the participle refers to time absolutely past; but it may be primary when the leading verb is future, if the participle refers to time absolutely future. *E.g.*

Ἵστε ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδοιμεν, *you know that we came that we might see this.*

Ψήφων δὲ δείσας μὴ δεηθείη ποτὲ
ἰν' ἔχοι δικάζειν, αἰγιαλὸν ἔνδον τρέφει,
and once he took fright lest he might sometime lack pebbles (for votes) to enable him to be a judge, and so he keeps a beach on the premises. AR. Vesp. 109. Πρὸς ὄργην ἐκφέρει, μεθεῖσά μοι λέγειν ἂ χρήζοιμι, *you rush into a passion, after you gave me leave to say what I wished (i.e. ἂ ἂν χρήζης).* SOPH. El. 628.

Ἐπειπὼν τᾶλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι, ᾤχετο. THUC. i. 90. Τῇ μάστιγι τυπτέσθω πληγὰς ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, κηρύξαντος ὧν ἐνεκα μέλλει τύπτεσθαι, *i.e. let the crier flog him, after proclaiming (having proclaimed) for what he is to be flogged.* PLAT. Leg. 917 E.

191. The tenses of the infinitive and participle with ἂν are followed, in dependent clauses, by those constructions that would follow the finite moods which they represent, if these stood in the same position. See Chapter III.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICLE ἄΝ.

192. The adverb ἄν (with the epic κέ, Doric κά) has two uses, which must be distinguished.


1. In one use, it denotes that the action of the verb to which it is joined is dependent upon some condition, expressed or implied. This is its force with the secondary tenses of the indicative, and with the optative, infinitive, and participle: with these it belongs strictly to the verb, to which it gives a potential force, like our *would*.

2. In its other use, it is joined regularly to εἰ, *if*, to relative and temporal words, and sometimes to the final particles ὡς, ὅπως, and ὅφρα, when any of these are followed by the subjunctive. Here, although as an adverb it qualifies the verb, it is so closely connected with the relative or particle, that it often coalesces with it, forming εἰάν, ἦν, ἄν, ὅταν, ὀπόταν, ἐπειδάν, ἐπάν or ἐπήν (Ionic ἐπεάν).

These statements include only the constructions which are in good use in Attic Greek. For the epic use of κέ or ἄν with the subjunctive in a potential sense (as with the optative) see 201, 1; for κέ or ἄν with the future indicative see 196.

193. There is no word or expression in English which can be used separately to translate ἄν. In its first use (192, 1) we express it by the form of the verb which we use; as ἐλθοι ἄν, *he would go*; ἦλθεν ἄν, *he would have gone*. In its second use, with the subjunctive, it generally has no force that can be made perceptible in translation.

The peculiar use of ἄν can be understood only by a study of the various constructions in which it occurs. These are enumerated below, with references (when it is necessary) to the more full explanation of each in Chapter IV.



100.1.117 κειδ βούλο.σε φα βούλοσε.

γ. α D. 21.51

194. No theory of the origin of either *ἄν* or *κέ* has yet helped to explain their meaning, however valuable the discussion of the question may have been to comparative philology. It seems to be clear that *κέ* is the older particle; it occurs 621 times in Homer while *ἄν* occurs 155 times; in Pindar the two are nearly balanced; *ἄν* has a preference for negative sentences, being very often attached to the negative; *ἄν* is more emphatic, as appears indeed from its fixed accent, while *κέ* is enclitic; *κέ* is much more frequent than *ἄν* in relative clauses in Homer.¹ But, practically, it is still safe to assume that the two particles are used in substantially the same sense in all epic and lyric poetry. In Herodotus and Attic Greek only *ἄν* is used.

INDICATIVE WITH "ΑΝ.

195. The present and perfect indicative are never used with *ἄν*.

When this seems to occur, there is generally a mixture of constructions; as in PLAT. Leg. 712 E, ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω νῦν ἐξαιφίης ἄν ἐρωτηθεὶς οὕτως ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, where *ἄν* was used with a view to a following οὐκ ἄν εἶποιμι or some such construction, for which οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν was substituted. The meaning is, *if I should suddenly be asked, I could not say*, etc. In Plato, and more frequently in Aristotle, *κἂν εἰ* (= καὶ ἄν, εἰ) may be used like καὶ εἰ, without regard to the mood of the verb which is to follow, to which *κἂν* really belongs. See PLAT. Men. 72 C, *κἂν εἰ πολλαί εἰσιν, ἐν γέ τι εἶδος ταῦτόν πάσαι ἔχουσι*, i.e. *even if they are many, still (it would seem to follow that) they all have one and the same form*. So Rep. 579 D, Soph. 247 E. See ARISTOT. Pol. iii. 6, 1, *κἂν εἰ πλείους*, followed by *εἰσίν*.

196. The future indicative is often used with *κέ* or *ἄν* by the early poets, especially Homer. The addition of *ἄν* seems to make the future more contingent than that tense naturally is, sometimes giving it a force approaching that of the optative with *ἄν*. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἴθ', ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτερίων δώσω, ὄπι-
 μέναι καὶ σὴν κεκλήθαι ἄκοιτιν, *I will give you one of the younger Graces*,
 etc. Il. xiv. 267. Καὶ κέ τις ὦδ' ἐρέσει Τρώων ἱπερηγορέοντων, and
 some one will (or may) thus speak. Il. iv. 176. Ὅ δέ κεν κεχολώ-
 σεται ὃν κεν ἴκωμαι, and he may be angry to whom I come. Il. i. 139.
 Εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοῖς ἄν ἐγὼν ἐπιόψομαι· οἱ δὲ πιθέσθων. Il. ix. 167.
 Παρ' ἔμοι γε καὶ ἄλλοι, οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι, others, who will honour

¹ See Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, pp. 265-267. For Pindar, see Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. pp. 446-455, where may be found a complete enumeration of the passages in Pindar containing either *ἄν* (30 cases) or *κέ* (33 cases).

me. II. i. 174. *Εἰ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔλθοι καὶ ἴκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, αἰψά κε σὺν ᾧ παιδί βίας ἀποτίσεται ἀνδρῶν.* Od. xvii. 539. Here ἀποτίσεται κε, which may be aorist subjunctive (201, 1), is used nearly in the sense of the optative, corresponding to the optatives in the protasis.

Κέ is much more common with the future than ἄν.

197. The use of ἄν with the future indicative in Attic Greek is absolutely denied by many critics, and the more careful revision of the texts has greatly diminished the number of examples cited in support of it. Still, in several passages, even of the best prose, we must either emend the text against the Mss., or admit the construction as a rare exception. *E.g.*

Αἰγυπτίους δὲ οὐχ ὀρώ ποία δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μάλλον ἄν κολάσεσθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὐσης. XEN. AN. II. 5, 13. Ἐφη οὖν τὸν ἐρωτώμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἦκει, φάναι, οὐδ' ἄν ἦξει δεῦρο, he said that the one who was asked replied, "He hasn't come, and he won't come this way." PLAT. Rep. 615 D. (The only other reading is ἦξει. The colloquial style here makes ἄν less objectionable; see SOPH. Ant. 390, quoted in 208.) Ἐφη λέγων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς, εἰ διαφευξοίμην, ἤδη ἄν ἡμῶν οἱ υἱεῖς πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρήσονται. Id. Ap. 29 C. Κἂν ἔτ' ἔτι φόνιον ὄψομαι αἶμα (so the Mss.). EUR. El. 484.

See 208 and 216, on the future infinitive and participle with ἄν.

198. The most common use of ἄν with the indicative is with the secondary tenses, generally the imperfect and aorist, in the apodosis of an unfulfilled condition (410) or in a potential sense (243).

199. The imperfect and aorist indicative are sometimes used with ἄν in an iterative sense (162), which construction must not be confounded with that just mentioned (198).

SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE WITH ἄν.

200. In Attic Greek ἄν is regularly used with the subjunctive in protasis and in conditional relative sentences, and sometimes in final clauses with ὡς and ὅπως, being always closely joined with the particle or the relative; but never in independent sentences. See 325, 381, and 522.

201. 1. In epic poetry, when the independent subjunctive has nearly the sense of the future indicative (284), it sometimes takes κέ or ἄν. This forms a future potential expression, nearly equivalent to the future indicative with κέ or ἄν, and sometimes approaching the optative with κέ or ἄν. *E.g.*

• 222A: ? Ein $\frac{dV}{dt}$ ist ...

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Εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσωιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, *and if he does not give her up, I will take her myself.* Il. i. 324; see also i. 137.

See 285 and 452. For the variety of nearly equivalent future potential forms which the Homeric language presents, reduced to one in Attic Greek, see 235.

2. The epic language has *κέ* or *ἄν* with the subjunctive in the constructions of 192, 2; but its use of *κέ* or *ἄν* in conditions is less strict, and that with final particles is more free, than the Attic use of *ἄν*.

See 323-328; 450-454; 468-471; 538-541.

202. The optative with *ἄν* forms the apodosis of the less vivid future condition (like the English form with *would* or *should*), or has a potential sense. *E.g.*

Εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσειεν, ἄθλιος ἂν εἶη, *if he should do this, he would be wretched.* Ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην αὐτόν, *I should like to ask him.* (See 233 and 455.)

For construction of *ἄν* or *κέ* with *εἰ* or the final particles and the optative, see 460; and 329, 330, 349, 350, 351.

203. As the future optative came into common use after the future indicative with *ἄν* (196) was nearly extinct, it was never used with *ἄν*.

INFINITIVE WITH ἄν.

204. The infinitive can be used with *ἄν* in all cases in which a finite verb would have *ἄν* if it stood in its place.

This is found chiefly in indirect discourse, in which each tense of the infinitive with *ἄν* represents the *corresponding tenses* of the indicative or optative with *ἄν* in the direct form. The context must decide whether the indicative or optative is represented in each case.

205. (*Present.*) The present infinitive, which represents also the imperfect (119), when used with *ἄν*, may be equivalent either to the imperfect indicative with *ἄν* or to the present optative with *ἄν*. It can represent no other form, as no other form of these tenses has *ἄν* joined with the verb in a finite mood. *E.g.*

Φησὶν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἂν εἶναι, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπραξαν, *he says that they would (now) be free, if they had done this* (εἶναι ἂν representing ἦσαν ἂν). Φησὶν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἂν εἶναι, εἰ τοῦτο πράξειαν, *he says that they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this* (εἶναι ἂν representing εἴσαν ἂν). Οἴεσθε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἂν φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν τῶν ξύλων; *do you think he would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber?* DEM. xlix.

35. (Here the direct discourse would be ἐφύλαττεν ἂν καὶ ἐλάμβανε.)

Μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο, μὴ ἂν τοῖς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας, εἰ μὴ τι ἰδίκουν οἷς ἐπήεσαν, ξυστρατεῖν, *they used us as an argument, that people who had an equal vote with themselves (like us) would not be serving with them against their will, unless those whom they attacked were guilty of some wrong.* THUC. iii. 11. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν, *for I think it would not be a thankless labour (οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι).* XEN. AN. ii. 3, 18.

206. (*Perfect.*) The perfect infinitive, which represents also the pluperfect (123), when used with *ἄν*, may be equivalent either to the pluperfect indicative with *ἄν* or to the perfect optative with *ἄν*. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι παρέσχοντο, . . . πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἂν ἐαλωκέναι (sc. φήσειεν ἂν τις); *if those at Marathon and Salamis had not exhibited those deeds of valour in their behalf, any one would say that all these would have been captured by the barbarians.* DEM. xix. 312. (Here ἐαλωκέναι ἄν represents ἐάλωκεσαν ἄν.) Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἠγοῦμαι αὐτοῖς δίκην ἀξίαν δεδωκέναι, εἰ ἀκροασάμενοι αὐτῶν καταψηφίσαισθε, *but I do not believe they would (then) have suffered sufficient punishment, if you after hearing them should condemn them.* LIS. xxvii. 9. (Here the protasis in the optative shows that δεδωκέναι ἄν represents δεδωκότες ἄν εἶεν (103); but if the protasis were εἰ κατεψηφίσασθε, *if you had condemned them*, δεδωκέναι ἄν would represent ἐδεδώκεσαν ἄν, *they would have suffered*.) See also, in xxvii. 8, οὐκ ἂν ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ δίκην δεδωκέναι, representing perfect optatives with *ἄν*. Ἄνδραποδώδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκλήσθαι (ἠγγέιτο). XEN. Mem. i. 1, 16. (Here κεκλήσθαι ἄν represents κεκλημένοι ἄν εἶεν.)

These constructions are of course rare, as are the forms of the finite moods here represented.

207. (*Aorist.*) The aorist infinitive with *ἄν* may be equivalent either to the aorist indicative with *ἄν* or to the aorist optative with *ἄν*. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἠγγέισθ' αὐτὸν κἄν ἐπιδραμεῖν; *do you not believe that (if this had been so) he would even have run thither? i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐπέδραμεν;* DEM. xxvii. 56. Ἄνευ δὲ σεισμῶ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι (οὐκ ἂν ξυμβῆναι representing οὐκ ἂν ξυνέβη), *but unless there had been an earthquake, it does not seem to me that such a thing could by any chance have happened.* THUC. iii. 89. Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἠλπίζεν ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξέλθειν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τρυβῆναι (i.e. ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξέλθοιεν καὶ οὐκ ἂν περιίδουεν). Id. ii. 20. Οὐδ' ἂν κρατῆσαι αὐτοῦς τῆς γῆς ἠγοῦμαι (i.e. κρατήσειαν ἄν). Id. vi. 37.

208. (*Future.*) The future infinitive with *ἄν* can be equivalent only to the Homeric construction of the future indicative with *ἄν*. But as *ἄν* is not found in Homer with the future infinitive, this construction rests chiefly on the authority of passages in Attic writers, and is subject to the same doubts and suspicions

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has they been allowed (Mouchant)

as the future indicative with *άν* in those writers. (See 197.) Unless we exterminate the latter, there can be no objection to this as its representative. In the following passages it is still retained on the best Ms. authority.

Νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥαδίως άν σφίσι τάλλα προσχωρήσειν. THUC. ii. 80. (Here the direct discourse would regularly have had either the future indicative without *άν*, or the aorist optative with *άν*.) The same may be said of THUC. v. 82, *νομίζων μέγιστον άν σφᾶς ὠφελήσειν* (where one Ms. reads by correction *ὠφελῆσαι*). See also THUC. vi. 66; viii. 25 and 71; and PLAT. Crit. 53 D; Crat. 391 A. *Σχολῆ ποθ' ἤξειν δευρ' άν ἐξηύχων ἐγώ, I declared that I should be very slow to come hither again.* SOPH. ANT. 390. (Here the colloquial style may account for ἤξειν άν, as for ἤξει άν in PLAT. Rep. 615 D, unless we take άν with ἐξηύχων.) See 197.) In PIND. Ol. i. 108, we have *εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι, ἐτι γλευκτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι σὸν ἄρματι θεῶ κλείξειν.*

As the future optative is never used with *άν* (203), this can never be represented by the future infinitive with *άν*.

209. The infinitive with *άν* is rare in the early poets, occurring but once in Homer, Il. ix. 684 (quoted under 683), and three times in Pindar, Pyth. vii. 20 (present), Pyth. iii. 110 (aorist), and Ol. i. 108 (future, quoted in 208).

210. The infinitive with *άν* sometimes represents an iterative imperfect or aorist indicative with *άν* (162). This must be carefully distinguished from the potential use. *E.g.*

Ἀκοῖω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε ἐμβαλόντας άν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πάλιν, I hear that the Lacedaemonians at that time, after invading and ravaging the country, used to return home again. DEM. ix. 48. (Here *ἀναχωρεῖν άν* represents *ἀνεχώρουν άν* in its iterative sense, *they used to return*.) *Φασὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐρεπτόμενον τὰ πῶν ἐχόντων ἀνέρων οὐκ άν ἐξελεθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σπίνης· τοῖς δ' ἀντιβολεῖν άν ὁμοίως, they say that, when he was feeding on men of wealth, he never would get away from the meal-tub; and they all alike used to implore him (οὐκ άν ἐξῆλθεν, οἱ δὲ ἠντιβόλουν άν).* AR. Eq. 1295.

211. The infinitive with *άν*, in the cases already mentioned, stands in indirect discourse after a verb of *saying* or *thinking*. Sometimes, however, it is found in other constructions, where the present or aorist infinitive (without *άν*) would be expected. In such cases there is an approach to the usage of indirect discourse, so far at least that the infinitive with *άν* has the force of the corresponding tense of the indicative or optative. *E.g.*

Τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο, ὥστε ἥδιστα άν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ῥίπτειν, so that they would most gladly have thrown themselves into cold water (ρίπτειν άν here being equivalent to ἔρριπτον άν). THUC. ii. 49. *Μιᾶς τρέφει πρὸς νυκτὸς, ὥστε μίη' ἐμὲ μίη' ἄλλον,*

ὅστις φῶς ὄρῃ, βλάψαι ποτ' ἄν, so that you could harm (βλάβειας ἄν) neither me nor any other who beholds the light. SOPH. O.T. 374. So Tr. 669. Ἐφθασαν παρελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίαν, ὥστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ παντάσῃν ἀπεστερηκέαι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῖεν, μὴ ἄν ἔτι σφᾶς ἀποτειχίσαι, so as to be no longer themselves obstructed by them, and so as to have deprived them absolutely of the power of ever again walling them in, even if they should be victorious. THUC. vii. 6. Ὑσομεν τὴν νίκτᾳ πᾶσαν· ὥστ' ἴσως βουλήσεται κἂν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τυχεῖν ὧν μᾶλλον ἢ κρίναι κακῶς, we will vain all night long, so that perhaps he will wish to have the luck to be (that he might by chance find himself) in Egypt rather than to judge unfairly. AR. Nub. 1130. (Here τυχεῖν ἄν follows βούλομαι like the future infinitive in THUC. vi. 57 : see 113.) We have ἐλπίζω followed by the infinitive and ἄν in THUC. vii. 61, τὸ τῆς τύχης κἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίσαντες στῆναι, hoping that fortune may take sides with us (σταίῃ ἄν). See also SOPH. El. 1482, ἀλλά μοι πάρες κἂν σμικρὸν εἰπεῖν, but permit me at least to say a little (that I might say even a little, εἴπομι ἄν).

See the corresponding use of the future infinitive in similar expressions, where there is the same approach to indirect discourse (113).

212. Even the infinitive with the article occasionally takes ἄν, as in ANT. v. 8, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς διδάξω, οὐ τῷ φείγειν ἄν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἡμέτερον, this I will teach you, not because I would avoid your people. In SOPH. Ant. 236, τῆς ἐλπίδος τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἄν ἄλλο, the hope that I could not suffer anything else, the construction is practically that of indirect discourse (794).

PARTICIPLE WITH ἄν.

213. When the participle is used with ἄν, each tense represents the corresponding tenses of the indicative or optative with ἄν.

The participle with ἄν is not, like the infinitive with ἄν, found chiefly in indirect discourse ; but ἄν is more frequently added to an *attributive* or a *circumstantial* participle (822) to give it a potential force equivalent to that of the indicative or optative with ἄν. The participle with ἄν is not found in Homer or Pindar.

214. (*Present.*) The present participle (like the present infinitive) with ἄν represents the imperfect indicative or the present optative with ἄν. *E.g.*

Οἶδα αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἄν ὄντας, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπραξαν, I know they would (now) be free, if they had done this. Οἶδα αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἄν ὄντας, εἰ τοῦτο πράξειαν, I know they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this. (In the former ὄντας ἄν represents ἦσαν ἄν, in the latter εἶσαν ἄν.) Τῶν λαμβανόντων δίκην ὄντες ἄν δικαίως (i.e. ἦμεν ἄν), whereas we should justly be among those who inflict punishment.

non-sense ~~non-~~

- apodosis with verb omitted.



18.96 πόλλ' ἂν ἐχούτων μνησ. Κακῆσαι ... οὐκ εἰποῖον ταῦτα
paleisant

DEM. Ivii. 3. Ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων (ὁμῶν) ἐπιβοηθεῖν, when you would have been unable to bring aid (ἀδύνατοι ἂν ἦτε). THUC. i. 73. Πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, although I might be able to say many other things about it, I omit them. DEM. xviii. 258. Ἄπο παντός ἂν φέρων λόγου δικαίου μηχάνημα ποικίλον (i.e. ὅς ἂν φέροις), thou who wouldst derive, etc. SOPH. O. C. 761.

215. (Aorist.) The aorist participle with ἄν represents the aorist indicative or the aorist optative with ἄν. *E.g.*

Οὔτε οὐτα οὔτε ἂν γενόμενα λογοποιούσιν, they relate things which are not real, and which never could happen (i.e. οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο). THUC. vi. 38. Ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γεγονὸς οὐδ' οἶδα εἰ γενόμενον ἄν, (a thing) which has not occurred in our day, and I doubt whether it ever could occur (γένοιτο ἄν). PLAT. REP. 414 C. Ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως ἂν ἀφεθεῖς, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τοιῦτων ἐποίησε, προέιλτο ἀποθανεῖν, whereas he might easily have been acquitted, etc. XEN. MEM. iv. 4, 4. Καὶ εἰ ἀπήχθησθε ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροῦς γενομένους τοῖς ἐνυμμάχοις, καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν, κ.τ.λ. (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐγένεσθε, καὶ ἠναγκάσθητε ἄν), if you had become odious as we have, we are sure that you would have been no less oppressive to your allies, and that you would have been forced, etc. THUC. i. 76. Ὅρων τὸ παρατεῖχσμα ἀπλοῦν ὄν καὶ, εἰ ἐπικρατήσῃ τις τῆς ἀναβάσεως, ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτὸ ληφθῆν (i.e. ῥαδίως ἂν ληφθείη), seeing that it would easily be taken, etc. Id. vii. 42. So ὡς τάχ' ἂν συμβάντων, DEM. xxiii. 58 (see 918).

216. (Future.) A few cases of the future participle with ἄν, representing the future indicative with ἄν, are found in Attic writers. These rest on the same authority as those of the future indicative and the future infinitive with ἄν (197 and 208). *E.g.*

Ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε, ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσοντος ἄλλα, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλακίς τεθνάναι (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσω ἄλλα): so all Mss. PLAT. AP. 30 B. Τοὺς ὄτιοῦν ἂν ἐκείνῳ ποιήσαντας ἀνηρηκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔσσεσθε. DEM. xi. 342. (Here most Mss., including Σ, have ποιήσαντας, but A has ποιήσαντας.) Πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ὕως ἐρωτήσων κάθηται, many a one has long been sitting here who perhaps would be very glad to ask (so all Mss.). DEM. ix. 70.

217. The participle with ἄν can never represent a protasis, because there is no form of protasis in the finite moods in which ἄν is separable from the conditional particle. (See 224.)

POSITION OF Ἄν.

218. 1. When ἄν is used with the subjunctive, if it does not coalesce with the relative or particle into one word (as in ἐάν, ὅταν, etc.), it is generally separated from it only by such monosyllables as μίν, δέ, τέ, γάρ, καί, νί, πέρ, etc., rarely τις.

See examples under 444 and 529.

2. In Homer and Hesiod two such words may precede *κέ*; as *εἰ περ γάρ κεν, εἰ γάρ νύ κε, εἰ γάρ τις κε, ὅς μὲν γάρ κε*. This is rare with ἄν in prose; see DEM. iv. 45, ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἄν. Exceptional are ὅποι τις ἄν, οἶμαι, προσθῆ, DEM. ii. 14; ὅ τι ἄλλο ἄν δοκῆ ὑμῖν, XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 52. The strange καθ' ὧν μηνύη ἄν τις, ANT. v. 38, is now corrected to ἄν μηνύη, but still stranger is ὅποσον ἢ φάρυγξ ἄν ἡμῶν χανδάνη (?) AR. Ran. 259.

219. When ἄν is used with the optative or indicative, it may either stand near the verb, or be attached to some other emphatic word. Particularly, it is very often placed directly after interrogatives, negatives, adverbs of *time, place, etc.*, and other words which especially affect the sense of the sentence. *E.g.*

Ἄλλὰ τίς δὴ θεῶν θεραπεία εἴη ἄν ἡ δσιότης; PLAT. Euthyph. 13 D. Ἄλλ' ὁμῶς τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ἄν εἴποις. Id. 14 A. Οὐκ ἄν δὴ τόνδ' ἄνδρα μάχης ἐρύσαιο μετελθῶν, Τυδείδην, ὃς νῦν γε ἄν καὶ Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο; II. v. 456. Πῶς ἄν τὸν αἰμυλώτατον, ἐχθρὸν ἄλημα, τοὺς τε διστάρχας ὀλέσσαις βασιλῆς, τέλος θάνομι καυτός. SOPH. Aj. 389. Πολλὰ κὰν ἄκων ἔδρων. Id. O. T. 591. Τάχ' ἄν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν. THUC. ii. 63.

220. 1. By a peculiar usage, ἄν is often separated from its verb by such verbs as οἶμαι, δοκῶ, φημί, οἶδα, etc. In such cases care must be taken to connect the ἄν with the verb to which it really belongs. *E.g.*

Καὶ νῦν ἡδέως ἄν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι, and now I think I should gladly take part (ἄν belonging to κοινωνῆσαι). XEN. Cyr. viii. 7, 25. So AESCHIN. iii. 2 (end). Οὐδ' ἄν ὑμεῖς οἴδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, nor would you (I am sure) have ceased fighting. DEM. vi. 29. Πότερα γὰρ ἄν οἴσθε ῥᾶον εἶναι; DEM. xlix. 45. Ἐκλέξαντα ἄ μήτε προῆδει μήτε οἶδ' ἄν φήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, selecting what nobody knew beforehand and nobody thought would be mentioned to-day. DEM. xviii. 225. (Here ῥηθῆναι ἄν = ῥηθείη ἄν. If ἄν were taken with φήθη, the meaning would be, what nobody would have thought had been mentioned.) Τί οὖν ἄν, ἔφην, εἴη ὁ Ἔρως; PLAT. Symp. 202 D.

2. Especially irregular are such expressions as οὐκ οἶδα ἄν εἰ, or οὐκ ἄν οἶδα εἰ, followed by an optative or indicative to which the ἄν belongs. *E.g.*

Οὐκ οἶδ' ἄν εἰ πείσαιμι, I do not know whether I could persuade him. EUR. Med. 941. (The more regular form would be οὐκ οἶδα εἰ πείσαιμι ἄν.) So Alc. 48. Οὐκ ἄν οἶδ' εἰ δυναίμην. PLAT. Tim. 26 B. Οὐκ οἶδ' ἄν εἰ ἐκτρησάμην παῖδα τοιοῦτον. XEN. Cyr. v. 4, 12. So οὐκ ἄν οἶδ' ὅ τι ἄλλο εἶχον ψηφίσασθαι, I do not know what other vote I could have given (τί ἄλλο εἶχον ἄν ψηφίσασθαι); DEM. xlv. 7.

221. (Τάχ' ἄν.) Among the words to which ἄν is very frequently joined is τάχα, perhaps (i.e. quickly, soon), the two forming τάχ' ἄν, which expression is sometimes supposed to

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mean *perhaps*. But τάχ' ἄν cannot be used unless the ἄν belongs in its ordinary sense to the verb of the sentence.

Thus τάχ' ἄν γένοιτο means *it might perhaps happen*, and τάχ' ἄν ἐγένετο means *it might perhaps have happened*; but the latter can never mean *perhaps it happened*, like ἰσως ἐγένετο. Τάχα alone often means *perhaps*, as in XEN. AN. v. 2, 17. Aristotle writes τάχα and ἄν separately in the same sense as τάχ' ἄν; as τάχα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν ταύτην ὑπολάβοι, ETH. NIC. i. 5, 6.

222. Ἄν never begins a sentence, or a clause before which a comma could stand. But it may directly follow a parenthetical clause, provided some part of its own clause precedes. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ὃ μὲλ' ἄν μοι σιτίων διπλῶν ἴδει, AN. PAC. 137. So τὸ μέλλον, ἐπεὶ γένοιτ', ἄν κλίσις (or without the commas), *the future you can hear when it comes*, AESCH. AG. 250. *D. 12. 5*

REPETITION OF ἌΝ.

223. Ἄν is sometimes used twice, or even three times, with the *same verb*. This may be done in a long sentence, to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses. It may also be done in order to emphasise particular words with which ἄν is joined, and to make them prominent as being affected by the contingency. *E.g.*

Ὅστ' ἄν, εἰ σθένης λάβοιμι, δηλώσοιμ' ἄν οἱ αὐτοῖς φρονῶ. SOPH. EL. 333. Οὐ τᾶν ἐλόντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν. AESCH. AG. 340. Ἄλλοις γ' ἄν οὖν οἴομεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἄν μάλιστα εἰ τι μετριάζομεν. THUC. i. 76. (See 220.) Οὔτ' ἄν κελίταιμ', οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ θέλοισ ἐπιπράσσειν, ἐμοῦ γ' ἄν ἠόεως δρόφης μετὰ. SOPH. ANT. 69. Λέγω καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείωτ' ἄν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα ἄν εἰτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα ἀνταρκες παρέχεσθαι. THUC. ii. 41. (Here ἄν is used three times, belonging to παρέχεσθαι.) Ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὦν οὐκ ἄν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὔτ' ἄν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὔτ' ἄν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. XEN. AN. i. 3, 6. (Here ἄν is used three times, belonging to εἶναι.) Οὐκ ἄν ἠγέωθ' αὐτὸν κἂν ἐπιδραμεῖν; DEM. xxvii. 56.

224. A participle representing a protasis (472) is especially apt to have an emphatic ἄν near it. This, by showing that the verb is to form an apodosis, tends to point out the participle as conditional in an early part of the sentence. *E.g.*

Νομίζατε τὸ τε φαῦλον καὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς ἄν ξυγκραθὲν μάλιστα ἄν ἰσχύειν, *believe that these, if they should be united, would be especially strong*. THUC. vi. 18. (Here ξυγκραθὲν, not with ἄν, is equivalent to εἰ ξυγκραθείη.) Ἀγῶνας ἄν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, προειπὼν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἄθλα προτιθεῖς μάλιστα ἄν

ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι, *it seems to me, said he, father, that if any one should proclaim contests, etc., he would cause, etc.* XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 18. (Here the protasis implied in the participles is merely emphasised by ἄν, which belongs to ποιεῖν.) See also λέγοντος ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε; (i.e. εἰ τις ἔλεγεν, ἐπίστευσαν ἄν;) *do you think they would have believed it, if any one had told them?* DEM. vi. 20. (Here ἄν stands near λέγοντος only to point this out as the protasis to which its own verb πιστεῦσαι is the apodosis, with which ἄν is not repeated.)

225. (a) Repetition of κέ is rare; yet it sometimes occurs. *E.g.*

Τῷ κε μάλ' ἢ κεν ἔμεινε καὶ ἐσσίμενός περ ὁδοῦ,
ἢ κέ με τεθνηῖαν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπεν. Od iv. 733.

(b) On the other hand, Homer sometimes joins ἄν and κέ in the same sentence for emphasis. *E.g.*

Καρτεραί, ἄς οὔτ' ἄν κεν Ἄρης ὀνόσαιτο μετελθῶν
οὔτε κ' Ἀθηναίη λιοσσοός. Il. xiii. 127.

226. When an apodosis consists of several *co-ordinate* clauses with the same mood, ἄν is generally used only in the first and understood in the others, unless it is repeated for emphasis or for some other special reason. *E.g.*

Οἶδ' ἄν ἐμὲ, ἠγίκα δεῦρο ἀποπλεῖν ἐβουλόμην, κατεκάλυεν, οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα λέγειν τοῦτῳ προσέταπτεν, ἐξ ἧν ἠκισθ' ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλετ' ἐξίέναι. DEM. xix. 51. (Here ἄν is understood with προσέταπτεν.) Οὔτω δὲ ὄρων οὐδὲν ἄν διάφορον τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦτον ἴοιεν ἀμφότεροι. PLAT. Rep. 360 C. Οὐκοῦν κἂν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀναγκάζοι αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλγεῖν τε ἄν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ φεύγειν ἀποστρεφόμενον (οἶει); Ib. 515 E. (Κἂν belongs to the infinitives; 223.) See also XEN. An. ii. 5, 14. Πάντα ἤρει ὁ Φίλιππος, πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐμοῦ καὶ θρυλοῦντος αἰεὶ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἄν εἰς κοινὸν γνώμην ἀποφαινομένου, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀγνοοῦντας διδάσκοντος, τελευτῶντος δὲ ὡς ἄν πρὸς πεπρακότηας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπους οἰδὲν ἵπποστελλομένου. DEM. xix. 156. The clauses with ὡς represent (1) ὡς ἔλεγον ἄν εἰ ἐφαινόμην, *as I should have spoken if I had been merely informing my colleagues*; (2) ὡς ἔλεγον (ἄν) εἰ ἀγνοοῦντας ἐδίδασκον, *as I should have spoken if I had been instructing ignorant men*; (3) ὡς λέγοιμι ἄν, *as I should speak to men who had sold themselves, etc.* In the second clause, the construction remaining the same, ἄν is omitted; but in the third, where an optative is implied, ἄν reappears.

In PLAT. Rep. 398 A, we find ἄν used with two *co-ordinate* optatives, understood with a third, and repeated again with a fourth to avoid confusion with a dependent optative in a relative clause. Ἄν may be understood with an optative even in a separate sentence, if the construction is continued from a sentence in which ἄν is used with the optative; as in PLAT. Rep. 352 E: Ἔσθ' ὄφρ' ἄν ἄλλῃ ἰδοῖς ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς; Οὐ δῆτα. Τί δέ; ἀκούσαις ἄλλῃ ἢ ὤσιν; So with πράττοι after γάρ, Ib. 439 B.

repeated in each house: D. 18. 173



len § 905. a. 3, ^{4030100,} e' mais sily

Itan-S. with p. 131, 144.

ELLIPTICAL USES OF "Αν.

227. "Αν is sometimes used elliptically without a verb, when one can be supplied from the context. *E.g.*

Οἱ οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν πρὸ τοῦ (sc. ἔρρεγκον), *the slaves are snoring; but they wouldn't have been doing so at this hour in old times.* AR. Nub. 5. Ὡς οὐτ' ἄν ἀστῶν τῶνδ' ἄν ἐξείποιμι τω, οὐτ' ἄν τέκνοισι τοῖς ἰμοῖς (sc. ἐξείποιμι), στέργων ὄμωσ. SOPH. O. C. 1528. Τί ἄν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος (sc. πράξαι), εἰ τὰδ' ἤνικεν; *but what think you Priam would have done if he had accomplished what you have?* AESCH. Ag. 935. Σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἄν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχῆς δ' ἴσως (sc. οὔσα). EUR. Alc. 182: cf. AR. Eq. 1252. (See 483.)

So πῶς γὰρ ἄν (sc. εἴη); *how could it?* πῶς οὐκ ἄν; and similar phrases; especially ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ (also written as one word, ὥσπερανεῖ), in which the ἄν belongs to the verb that was originally understood after εἰ; as φοβούμενος ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ παῖς, *fearing like a child* (originally for φοβούμενος ὥσπερ ἄν ἐφοβείτο εἰ παῖς ἦν). PLAT. GOR. 479 A. See DEM. xviii. 194: τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία πράξαντα . . . τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιώτο, *what are we to do? (We are to do) just what a shipowner would do (ποιοῖ ἄν) if any one should blame him for the wreck of his ship, etc.* See φήσκειν ἄν, which explains the omitted verb, just afterwards.

228. Κἄν in both its meanings (as καί with the adverb ἄν, and as καί with ἄν = εἰῶν) may stand without a verb. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα χρὴ δοκεῖν πεσεῖν ἄν κἄν ἀπὸ μικροῦ κακοῦ. SOPH. Aj. 1077. (Here κἄν, for καὶ ἄν, which we may express by *even* or *though it be*, belongs to πεσεῖν understood.) Ἰκανῶς οὖν τοῦτο ἔχομεν, κἄν εἰ πλεοναχῆ σκοποῖμεν; *are we then satisfied of this (and should we be so) even if we were to look at it in various ways?* PLAT. Rep. 477 A. (We must supply ἰκανῶς ἔχομεν with κἄν.) See different cases of κἄν εἰ in 195, in which a verb follows to which ἄν cannot belong.

Καὶ ὅποι τις ἄν, οἶμαι, προσθῆ κἄν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεί, *and, I think, wherever we add even (though it be) a little power, it all helps.* DEM. ii. 14. (Here κἄν = καὶ ἄν τις προσθῆ, *even though we add.*) Μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι, κἄν πέντ' ἔτη, *measure me out some peace, even if it be only for five years (καὶ ἄν μετρήσῃς).* AR. Ach. 1021.

229. "Αν may be used with a relative without a verb, as it is with εἰ (in ἄν = εἰ ἄν) in the last examples (228). So in XEN. AN. i. 3, 6, ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἄν καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε (i.e. ὅπῃ ἄν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴητε), *be of this mind, that I shall go wherever you go.*

CHAPTER IV.

USE OF THE MOODS.

230. This chapter treats of all constructions which require any other form of the finite verb than the simple indicative in absolute assertions and direct questions (2). The infinitive and participle are included here so far as either of them is used in indirect discourse, in protasis or apodosis, and in other constructions (as with *πρίν* and *ὥστε*) in which the finite moods also are used.

231. These constructions are discussed under the following heads:—

- I. The potential optative and indicative.
- II. The imperative and subjunctive in commands, exhortations, and prohibitions—subjunctive and indicative with *μή* and *μή οὐ* in cautious assertions.—*Ὅπως* and *ὅπως μή* with the independent future indicative or subjunctive.
- III. The subjunctive (like the future indicative) in independent sentences.—The interrogative subjunctive.
- IV. *Οὐ μή* with the subjunctive or future indicative.
- V. Final and object clauses after *ἵνα*, *ὡς*, *ὅπως*, *ὄφρα*, and *μή*.
- VI. Conditional sentences.
- VII. Relative and temporal sentences, including consecutive sentences with *ὥστε*, etc.
- VIII. Indirect discourse.
- IX. Causal sentences.
- X. Expressions of a wish.





SECTION I.

The Potential Optative and Indicative.

232. We find fully established in the Homeric language a use of the optative and the past tenses of the indicative with *ἄν* or *κέ*, which expresses the action of the verb as dependent on circumstances or conditions; as *ἔλθοι ἄν*, *he might (could or would) go*; *ἦλθεν ἄν*, *he might (could or would) have gone*. Such an optative or indicative is called *potential*.

I. POTENTIAL OPTATIVE.

233. It has already been seen (13) that Homer sometimes uses the optative in a weak future sense, without *κέ* or *ἄν*, to express a concession or permission. Such neutral forms seem to form a connecting link between the simple optative in wishes and the optative with *ἄν*, partaking to a certain extent of the nature of both. (For a full discussion of these forms and their relations, see Appendix I.) Such expressions seem to show that the early language used forms like *ἔλθοιμι* and *ἴδοιμι* in two senses, *I may go* and *I may see*, or *may I go* and *may I see*, corresponding to *ἔλθω* and *ἴδω* in their two Homeric senses *I shall go* and *I shall see* (284), or *let me go* and *let me see* (257).

234. The neutral optatives like Il. iv. 18 are rare even in Homer, the language having already distinguished the two meanings in sense, and marked them in most cases by external signs. The optative expressing what may happen in the future took the particle *κέ* or *ἄν*, and was negated by *οὐ*, denoting the relations which we express by our potential mood with *may, can, might, could, would, and should*. Thus *ἔλοίμῃ κε ἢ κεν ἀλοίην*, *I may slay or I may be slain*, Il. xxii. 253; *ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὐ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρήσσαιτο*, *a man cannot contend against the will of Zeus*, Il. viii. 143.¹ On the other hand, the simple optative (without *κέ* or *ἄν*) was more and more restricted to the expression of a wish or exhortation, and was negated by *μή*; as *μή γένοιτο*, *may it not happen*, *πίθοιό μοι*, *listen to me* (Od. iv. 193), as opposed to *οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο*, *it could not happen*. The potential forms *ἔλθοιμι ἄν*

¹ When the idea of *ability, possibility, or necessity* is the chief element in the expression, and is not (as above) merely auxiliary, it is expressed by a special verb like *δύναμαι, δεῖ, or χρῆ*. Especially, the idea of *obligation* is generally expressed by *δεῖ* or *χρῆ* with the infinitive; as *τοῦδε χρῆ κλέειν*, *him we must obey*, Soph. Ant. 666.

and ἴδοιμι ἄν differ from the more absolute future indicative and the old subjunctive forms ἔλθω and ἴδω, *I shall go* and *I shall see*, by expressing a future act as dependent on some future circumstances or conditions, which may be more or less distinctly implied. The freedom of the earlier language extended the use of the potential optative to present and sometimes even to past time. See 438 and 440.

235. In most cases the limiting condition involved in the potential optative is not present to the mind in any definite form, and can be expressed in English only by such words as *perchance*, *possibly*, or *probably*, or by the auxiliaries *could*, *would*, *should*, *might*, etc. with the vague conditions which these imply (like *if he should try*, *if he pleased*, *if he could*, *if what is natural should happen*, etc.) Sometimes a more general condition is implied, like *in any possible case*; as οὐκ ἂν δεχοίμην τοῦτο, *I would not accept this (on any terms)*; here the expression becomes nearly absolute, and may often be translated by our future, as οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, *I will not give up the throne* (AR. Kan. 830), or (in positive sentences) by *must*, as πάντες θαυμάζοιεν ἂν τοῦτο, *all must admire this*.

The optative thus used with no conscious feeling of any definite condition, but still implying that the statement is conditioned and not absolute, is the simplest and most primitive potential optative. It is equivalent to the Latin potential subjunctive, as *credas, dicas, cernas, putes*, etc., *you may believe, say, perceive, think*, etc. The Homeric language has six forms, all expressing futurity with different degrees of absoluteness and distinctness; as ὄψομαι, ὄψομαι κε, ἴδομαι, ἴδομαι κε, ἰδοίμην, ἰδοίμην κε (or ἄν), containing every step from *I shall see* to *I should see*. Of these only the first and the last (with a tradition of the second) survived the Homeric period, and the others (especially the fifth) were already disappearing during that period (240), being found unnecessary as the language became settled, and as the optative with *κέ* or *ἄν* became more fixed as a future potential form.

236. In the following examples of the potential optative no definite form of condition is present to the mind:—

Ἔμοι δὲ τότε ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη, *but it would at that time (be likely to) profit me far more*. Il. xxii. 108. Φερίγωμεν ἔτι γὰρ κεν ἀλύξαιμεν κακὸν ἡμῶν, *let us flee; for perchance we may still escape the evil day*. Od. x. 269. Πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καὶ κεν διοῖστέυσσας, *the rocks are close together: you might perhaps shoot an arrow across the space*. Od. xii. 102. So Od. xxiii. 125. Οὐκοῦν πάροις ἂν τήνδε δωρεάν ἐμοί; *would you then grant me this favour?* AESCH. Prom. 616. So



πάν γὰρ ἂν πύθοιό μου, *for you can learn anything (you please) from me.* Ib. 617. Τί τόνδ' ἂν εἶποις ἄλλο; *what else could you say of this man?* SOPH. ANT. 646. So ANT. 552 and 652. Πολλὰς ἂν εὐροις μηχανάς, *you can find many devices.* EUR. AND. 85. Ἐψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθείην, *I will follow you and in no case will I be left behind.* HDT. iv. 97. Οἱ μὲν (sc. λέγοντες) ὡς οὐδενὶ ἂν τρόπῳ ἔλθοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. THUC. vi. 35. Ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις. XEN. AN. i. 9, 3. So MEM. i. 3, 5, iii. 5, 1 and 7. Δίς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης, *you cannot step twice into the same river (saying of Heraclitus).* PLAT. CRAT. 402 A. Οὐ μὲν ὅτι καλλίων ὁδὸς οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτο, *there is none and there could be none.* Id. PHIL. 16 B; so 64 B. Ἀκούοις ἂν, *you can hear.* Id. REP. 487 E. Δειξάτω ὡς οἱ Θετταλοὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλείθεροι γένοιντο ἄσμενοι, *let him show that they would not now gladly become free.* DEM. ii. 8. Ἡδῶς δ' ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐροίμην Λεπτίνην, *but I would gladly ask Leptines.* Id. xx. 129. Εἰ ἠγνόησε ταῦτα, γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, *if he did not know this,—and it might easily so happen.* Ib. 143. Οὐτ' ἂν οὗτος ἔχοι λέγειν οὐθ' ὑμεῖς πεισθείητε. Id. xxii. 17. Ποῖ οὖν τραποίμεθ' ἂν ἔτι; *in what other direction could we possibly turn?* PLAT. EUTHYD. 290 A. Οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, *I will not give up the throne.* AR. RUN. 830. So οὐκ ἂν δεχοίμην, AESCH. EUM. 228. Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσασατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς; *who would not admire the valour of these men? (i.e. every one must admire their valour).* DEM. xviii. 204.

Βουλοίμην ἂν, *I should like*, is used like *velim*. For ἐβουλόμην ἂν, *vellem*, see 246.

237. The potential optative in the second person may have the force of a mild command or exhortation. *E.g.*

Σὺ μὲν κομίζοις ἂν σεαυτὸν ἢ θέλεις, *you may take yourself off whither you please* (a milder expression than κόμιζε σεαυτόν). SOPH. ANT. 444. So ANT. 1339. Κλύοις ἂν ἤδη, Φοῖβε προσταγήριε, *hear me now.* Id. EL. 637. Χωροῖς ἂν εἴω. Id. PH. 674.

So probably II. ii. 250: τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις, *therefore you must not take kings upon your tongue and talk (or do not take, etc.)*

238. Occasionally the potential optative expresses what may hereafter prove to be true or to have been true. *E.g.*

Ποῦ δῆτ' ἂν εἶεν οἱ ξένοι; *where may the strangers be? (i.e. where is it likely to turn out that they are?)* SOPH. EL. 1450. Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ (sc. σοφία) φησίλη τις ἂν εἴη, *for it may turn out that my wisdom is of a mean kind.* PLAT. SYMP. 175 E. Ἑλλήνων τινὰς φασὶ ἀρπάσαι Ἑυρώπην· εἶσαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες, *and these would prove to be Cretans (or to have been Cretans).* HDT. i. 2. Αἴται δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλὰ εἶσαν, *and these (the islands) would not prove to be many.* THUC. i. 9.

This has nothing to do with the Homeric use of the optative with *κέ* or *ἂν* in a present or a past sense (438; 440). See the similar use of the subjunctive with *μή* after verbs of fearing (92).

239. The potential optative may express every grade of potentiality from the almost pure future οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην, *I will not give up (under any circumstances)*, to οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐς κακὸν πέσοιμί τι, *I could not justly fall into any trouble*, SOPH. Ant. 240, where δικαίως points to the substance of a limiting condition, *if justice should be done*. From this the step is but slight to such cases as οὔτε ἐσθίουσι πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν· διαρραγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, *they do not eat more than they can carry; for (if they should) they would burst*, XEN. Cyr. viii. 2, 21, where εἰ . . . ἐσθίοιεν is necessary to complete the sense and is clearly understood from the preceding words. A final step in the same direction is taken when the condition is actually stated as part of the sentence. As ἔλθοι ἂν means *he would go* (under some future circumstances), if these limiting circumstances are to be definitely expressed it is natural to use the corresponding form of condition, εἰ with the optative, as εἰ κελεύσεις ἔλθοι ἂν, *if you should command he would go*. The protasis is thus assimilated to the apodosis in form, as it conforms to it in sense and general character. So when a conclusion is to follow such a condition as εἰ κελεύσεις, the corresponding optative with ἂν, i.e. the potential optative, is naturally chosen, although nothing but regard to harmony and symmetry makes either *if you should command he will go* or *if you command he would go*, or the equivalent Greek forms, objectionable. In fact, these very forms are far more common in the more fluid Homeric language than in the fixed and regular style of Attic prose. There is, therefore, no necessary or logical bond of union between two forms like εἰ κελεύσεις and ἔλθοι ἂν. This connexion is, indeed, far more the effect of assimilation in form, as appears especially when the apodosis contains an optative in a wish; as in ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιοῦτά γε ῥέζοι, *may another perish also who shall do the like* (Od. i. 47), where if ἀπολείσθω had been used we should naturally have had ῥέζῃ.

For examples of the optative with ἂν or κέ with a definite protasis expressed or implied in the context, see 455 and 472.

240. The use of ἂν or κέ with the potential optative had already become fixed in the Homeric language. A few cases of "neutral optatives" in Homer, which seem to show an early potential use without κέ or ἂν, have been given above (13). Besides these, a few more distinctly potential optatives without ἂν or κέ occur in Homer, but they are exceptions to the general usage even there. Such are the following:—

οὐ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι. II. xix. 321. Τούτου γε σπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πρὸς αἰθομένοιο ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν. II. x. 246. 'Ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων ἀμείνονας δωρήσαιο. II. x. 556: see Od. iii. 231. Χερμαῖων λάβε, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἀνδρῶ φέροισιν. II. v. 302: so xx. 285.



Οὐ τις πείσειε γυναῖκα. Od. xiv. 122. So also Il. vii. 48, xiv. 190, xv. 45, 197.

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See, further, HES. Theog. 723 and 725; PIND. Ol. x. 21, Py. iv. 118.

241. Some cases of the optative without *ἄν* occur with the indefinite *ἔστιν ὅς* in Homer, and with *ἔστιν ὅστις*, *ἔστιν ὅπως*, *ἔστιν ὅποις*, in the Attic poets. These form a class by themselves. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς σῆς γε κίνας κεφαλῆς ἀπαλάλκοι. Il. xxii. 348. Οὐ γὰρ ἔην ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἠγήσαιο. Il. ii. 687. Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλά. AESCH. Ag. 620. Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμ' ἢ σοι. Id. Prom. 292. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐνὸς κείραιτό νιν. Id. Cho. 172. "Ἔστ' ὄν ὅπως Ἀλκρηστis ἐς γῆρας μόλοι; EUR. Alc. 52. "Ἔσθ' ὅποις τις στείλας παραλύσαι ψυχάν; Ibid. 113.

242. On the other hand, a few other cases in the Attic poets are mere anomalies, even if we admit that the text is sound. *E.g.*

Τεῶν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατὰσχοι; *what transgression of man can check thy power?* SOPH. Ant. 605. Ἄλλ' ὑπέρολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι; AESCH. Cho. 594. Πῶς ὄν τὰδ', ὡς εἶποι τις, ἐξημάρτανες; i.e. *as one might say.* (?) EUR. Andr. 929. Θάσσον ἢ λέγοι τις πύλους ἐστήσαμεν. Id. Hipp. 1186. Ὡσπερ εἶποι τις τόπος, *as one would say τόπος.* (?) AR. Av. 180.

The cases cited from Attic prose are now generally admitted to be corrupt. See Krüger, ii. 54, 3, Anm. 8.

II. POTENTIAL INDICATIVE.

243. As the potential optative represents a future act as dependent on future circumstances (234), so the potential indicative originally represents a past act as dependent on past circumstances. Therefore, while *ἦλθεν* means *he went*, *ἦλθεν ἄν* means *he would have gone (under some past circumstances)*. It is probable that no definite limiting circumstances were present to the mind when this form first came into use, so that *ἦλθεν ἄν* naturally signified merely that *it was likely, possible, or probable that he went* or (as we express it) that *he might have gone or would have been likely to go*, sometimes that *he must have gone*.

In this sense it appears as a past form of the potential optative, *e.g.* of *ἔλθοι ἄν* in the sense *he might perchance go* or *he would be likely to go* (in the future). The same relation appears in Latin, where *credas, putes, cernas, dicas, you would be likely to believe, think, etc.*, are transferred to past time as *crederes, putares, cerneres, diceres, you would have believed, thought, etc.*¹ Here *putet* and

¹ We are probably justified in assuming that the past meaning which here appears in *crederes, etc.* is the original meaning of the Latin imperfect subjunctive in this use, as it certainly is that of the Greek imperfect indicative with *ἄν*. See 435.

putaret are precisely equivalent to οἴοιτο ἄν, *he would be likely to think*, and ᾤετο ἄν, *he would have been likely to think*.

244. We find the potential indicative in its simplest use (last mentioned)—with no reference to any definite condition, but merely expressing past possibility, probability, or necessity—in all classes of Greek writers. *E.g.*

Οἶδ' ἄν ἐτι φράδμων περ ἀνὴρ Σαρπηδόνα διὸν ἔγνω, *no longer would even a shrewd man have known Sarpedon*. II. xvi. 638. Ὑπό κεν ταλασιφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν, *fear might have seized even a man of stout heart*. II. iv. 421. See other Homeric examples below.

Ἄλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνιδος τάχ' ἄν ὀργῇ βιασθὲν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ φρενῶν, *but this reproach may perhaps have come from violence of wrath, etc.* SOPH. O. T. 523. (Here τάχ' ἄν ἦλθε expresses past possibility, with no reference to any definite condition, unfulfilled or otherwise.) Θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὔτω φίλον τάχ' ἄν τι μνηϊοῦσιν εἰς γένος πάλαι, *for perchance it may have been thus pleasing to Gods who of old bore some wrath against our race*. Id. O. C. 964. (According to the common punctuation τάχ' ἄν would be taken with μνηϊοῦσιν, = οἱ τάχ' ἄν τι ἐμήμιον, *who may perchance have borne some wrath*, see PLAT. Phaedr. 265 B, below; but the analogy of O. T. 523 favours the other interpretation.) Πρὸς ποῖον ἄν τόνδ' αὐτὸς οἴδισσεν εἶπλε; *i.e. who might this man have been to whom Ulysses was sailing?* Id. Ph. 572. Ὁ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάιος εἶναι, *every man who saw this drama (the "Seven against Thebes") would have been eager to be a warrior*. AR. Ran. 1022. (This is the past form of πᾶς ἄν τις ἐρασθεῖν δάιος εἶναι, *every one would be eager*, having no more reference to an unfulfilled condition than the latter has.) Διέβησαν, ὡς μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ λέγεται, ἐπὶ σχεδίων, τάχα ἄν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἐσπλεύσιντες, *i.e. while they probably crossed on rafts, they may perhaps have crossed in some other way by sailing* (διέβησαν with τάχα ἄν in the latter clause meaning they may have, or might have, perhaps crossed under other (possible) circumstances). THUC. vi. 2. Ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἄν τις ἐκείνο ἰδὼν, *and any one would have been encouraged who saw that*. XEN. Hell. iii. 4, 18. Θᾶπτον ἢ ὡς τις ἄν ᾤετο, *sooner than one would have thought*. Id. An. i. 5, 8. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἄν τις ὅσου ἄξιον εἶη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα, *there any one might have learned, etc.* Id. Cyr. vii. 1, 38. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἣ ἄν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, *talking to you at that age at which you would have been most likely to have put trust in them*. PLAT. Ap. 18 C. Ἴσως μὲν ἀληθοῦς τινος ἐπαπτόμενοι, τάχα δ' ἄν καὶ ἄλλοτε παραφερόμενοι, μυθικόν τινα ἕμνον προσεπαῖσαμεν Ἔρωτα, *while perhaps we were clinging to some truth, although perchance we may have been led aside into some error* (παραφερόμενοι ἄν = παρεφερόμεθα ἄν), *we celebrated Eros in a mythical hymn*. Id. Phaedr. 265 B. Τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἄν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῦτω τῷ καιρῷ; *for with what wish even could you possibly have been summoning them at this time?* DEM. xviii. 24. Πῶς ἄν ὁ μὴ πυρῶν μηδ' ἐπιδημῶν ἐγώ τί σε ἠδίκησα; *i.e. how was I*

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πῦς δὲ πῖς ἴδῃ, how could anyone have known T. 7. 44. 1.
Ἐγὼ πῖς δὲ πῖς 3. 3. 70





likely to do you any wrong? Id. xxxvii. 57. Τὸν χορὸν συνέλεξα ὡσπερ ἂν ἤδιωτα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίγνετο, I collected the chorus in the way which was likely to be most agreeable and convenient to both. ANT. vi. 11.

Two Homeric examples are peculiar in their reference to time :—

Ἄλλὰ τάχιστα πείρα ὅπως κεν δὴ σὴν πατρίδα γαίαν ἴκηαι· ἢ γάρ μιν ζῶν γε κινήσειαι, ἢ κεν Ὀρέστης κτείνειν ὑποφθάμενος, σὺ δέ κεν τάφου ἀντιβολήσῃς, but strive with all speed to come to your fatherland; for either you will find him (Aegisthus) alive (and so can kill him yourself), or else Orestes may have already killed him before you come, and then you can go to his funeral. Od. iv. 544. (Here ἢ κεν κτείνειν, by a change in the point of view, expresses what will be a past possibility at the time of the arrival of Menelaus, to which time the following optative is future.) Καὶ γὰρ Τρῳᾶς φασὶ μαχητὰς ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας, οἳ κε τάχιστα ἔκριναν μέγα ρεῖκος, for they say that the Trojans are men of war, who would most speedily have decided a mighty strife (implying that they would therefore speedily decide any impending strife). Od. xviii. 261. (This was said by Ulysses before he went to Troy. See 249.)

245. In most cases of the past tenses of the indicative with ἂν there is at least an implied reference to some supposed circumstances different from the real ones, so that ἦλθεν ἂν commonly means *he would have gone* (if something had not been as it was). When we speak of a past event as subject to conditions, we are apt to imply that the conditions were not fulfilled, as otherwise they would not be alluded to. This reference to an unfulfilled condition, however, does not make it necessary that the action of the potential indicative itself should be unreal, although this is generally the case. (See 412.) The unfulfilled past condition to which the potential indicative refers may be as vague and indistinct as the future condition to which the potential optative refers (235); as *if he had wished, if he had tried, if it had been possible, in any case*, and others which are implied in our auxiliaries *might, could, would, should*, etc., but are seldom expressed by us in words. Compare οὐδὲν ἂν κακὸν ποιήσειαν, *they could do no harm* (i.e. *if they should try*), with οὐδὲν ἂν κακὸν ἐποίησαν, *they could have done no harm* (i.e. *if they had tried*). E.g.

Οὐ γάρ κεν δυνάμεσθα θηράων ἰψηλάων ἀπόσασθαι λίθον, for we could not have moved the stone from the high doorway. Od. ix. 304. Μένουμι ἂν ἢ ἤθελον δ' ἂν ἐκτὸς ὦν τυχεῖν, I will remain; but I should have preferred to take my chance outside. SOPH. Aj. 88. Τοῖτον τίς ἂν σοι τάνδρὸς ἀμείνων εὐρέθῃ; who could have been found, etc.? Ib. 119. Ἐκλυον ἂν ἐγὼ οἶδ' ἂν ἤλπισ' αἰδάν, I heard a voice which I could never even have hoped to hear. Id. El. 1281. Δὺ' ἐξέλεξας, οἷν ἐγὼ ἤκιστ' ἂν ἤθελισ' ὀλωλότοιν κλίειν. Id. Ph. 426. Κλίειν ἂν οἶδ' ἄπαξ ἐβουλόμην, I should have wished not to hear it even once. Ib. 1239. Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἔτεκεν ἂν ἡ Διὸς δάμαρ Λητώ τσοῦαίτην

ἀμαθίαν, under no circumstances would Leto have been the mother of so great ignorance. EUR. I. T. 385. Οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμην, by which I might have been exposed. AR. Ran. 959. Τότε ὄψε ἦν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων, it was then dark, and they would not have seen the show of hands (in voting). XEN. Hell. i. 7, 7. Ποίων δ' ἂν ἔργων ἢ πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν; from what acts, etc., would they have shrunk back (i.e. if they had been required of them)? ISOC. iv. 83. Πρὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν χρημάτων ἐτιμησάμην τοσοῦτον δύνασθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν· ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς πλείστον ἀπελείφθημεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἀπελαύσαμεν αὐτῆς· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ οὕτως ἔχει, βουλοίμην ἂν παῖσασθαι τοὺς φλαραροῦντας. Id. xiii. 11. Οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τοῦτοις ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι, these who could have done him no harm, but who might perhaps have guarded themselves against suffering any. DEM. ix. 13. Τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, but the case would then have been decided on its own merits. Id. xviii. 224: so 101. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἰβριστικώτερον ἄνθρωπος ἡμῖν ἐχρήσατο; Id. xix. 85. Οἱ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν κατέλιπεν ὄνειδος. Id. xlv. 35. Ἄ δ' ἡμῖν δικαίως ἂν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης, ταῦτ' ἂνθ' ὧν ἀπέδοιτο αὐτοὶ λογιζέσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ἂν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, ἐκείνα δὲ τοῖτοις ἂν προσῆν εἰ μὴ διὰ τούτους, but (it is not right) to set off against what they themselves sold what would justly have been ours by the peace; but these would have been ours all the same (in any case), while the others would have been added (or would now be added) to them had it not been for these men. Id. xix. 91. (Here ὑπῆρχεν ἂν and ἦν ἂν refer to an actual fact, the possession of certain places; the apodosis προσῆν ἂν refers to something which was prevented from becoming a fact. This passage shows the natural steps from the potential form to the apodosis. See 247.)

246. When no definite condition is understood with the potential indicative, the imperfect with ἂν regularly refers to past time, according to the older usage (435), like the aorist; as in the examples above.

The imperfect referring to present time, which is common in apodosis after Homer (410), appears in these potential expressions chiefly in a few simple phrases, especially in ἐβουλόμην ἂν, *vellem, I should wish, I should like (also I should have liked)*. Even in Homer the construction with ὄφελον and the infinitive (424), which includes a form of potential indicative (415; 416), sometimes refers to present time. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῖτον τάγαθόν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος. νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ἵπάρχει οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ, and I should like it if they spoke the truth; for (were that so) no small part of this advantage would be mine: but this is not true of them, etc. LYS. xii. 22. Μειδίαν, ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἔνεκεν ζῆν, *Midias, whom for many reasons I*

is not "would it have done him no harm" is not correct
cause it would imply that they had done him harm, which was
the case. here it's an. simply denotes the consequences
about implying whether it was or was not fulfilled.



should like to have alive. AESCHIN. iii. 115. See LYCURG. 3. (For *ἔβουλόμην ἄν* as past, see SOPH. Ph. 1239, quoted in 245.) See also AR. Nub. 680, *ἐκείνο δ' ἦν ἄν καρδόπη, Κλεωνόμην*, and this would be *καρδόπη*, etc.

For *ὄφελον* and the infinitive as present in Homer, see 424.

247. It is but a slight step from the potential forms quoted in 245 and 246 to those which form the conclusion to an unfulfilled condition definitely implied in the context. After Homer the imperfect with *ἄν* may here refer to present time. *E.g.*

Ἄλλὰ κε κείνα μάλιστ' ἰδὼν ὀλοφύραο θυμῷ, but you would have lamented most in your heart if you had seen this (*ἰδὼν = εἰ εἶδες*). Od. xi. 418. *Οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν, ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρπτο*, nor would he by himself have escaped, but Hephaestus rescued him. Il. v. 22. *Ἄλλ' εἰκάσαι μὲν, ἠδύς· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κέρα πολιωτεφῆς ὄδ' εἶρπε*, but, as it seems, he has good news; for (otherwise) he would not be coming with head thus thickly crowned. SOPH. O. T. 83; so O. C. 125, 146. *Πολλοῦ γὰρ ἄν τὰ ὄργανα ἦν ἀξία*, for instruments would be worth much (if they had this power). PLAT. Rep. 374 D. *Ἦγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτι ἄν ἐποιεῖτε*, for there was nothing that you could have done (if you had not kept the peace). DEM. xviii. 43. *Σημίον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν δεῦρ' ἦκον ὡς ἡμᾶς*, for (otherwise) they would not have come hither to you. Id. xix. 58. *Τότε Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντα ἄν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν*, in that case she (Athens) would have had the blame of having betrayed all to Philip. Id. xviii. 200. See other examples in 472.

248. The final step is taken when an unreal condition is expressed as part of the sentence, forming the protasis to which the potential indicative is the apodosis; as *ἦλθεν ἄν εἰ ἐκέλευσα*, he would have gone if I had commanded him. The dependent protasis, by a natural assimilation, has a past tense of the indicative corresponding to the form of the apodosis. On the other hand, when an unreal condition has been expressed, as *εἰ ἐκέλευσα*, the potential indicative is the natural form to state what would have been the result if the condition had been fulfilled. (See 390, 2; and 410.) The potential indicative does not change its essential nature by being thus made part of an unreal conditional expression, and it is not necessarily implied that its action did not take place (see 412). Although the latter is generally implied or inferred, while the reverse seldom occurs, still it is important to a true understanding of the nature of the indicative with *ἄν* to remember that it is not essential or necessary for it either to refer to an unreal condition or to denote in itself what is contrary to fact.

For a periphrastic form of potential indicative with *ἔδει*, *χρῆν*, etc., with the infinitive, see 415.

For the Homeric use of the present optative with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as a present potential form (like the later imperfect with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$), see 438.

For the rare Homeric optative with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ in the sense of the past tenses of the indicative with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, see 440.

249. From the primitive use of the past tenses of the indicative to express what *was likely to occur under past circumstances*, we may explain the iterative use of these tenses with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (162), which is generally thought to have no connection with the potential indicative with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. Thus $\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$, meaning originally *he would have gone (under some past circumstances)*, might easily come to have a frequentative sense, *he would have gone (under all circumstances or whenever occasion offered)*, and hence to mean *he used to go*. See SOPH. PH. 443, $\delta\varsigma \text{ οὐκ } \acute{\alpha}\nu \text{ εἶλετ' εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν, ὅπου μηδεὶς ἐψῆ}$, (Thersites) *who used never to be content to speak but once when all forbade him (lit. when nobody permitted him)*. Originally $\text{οὐκ } \acute{\alpha}\nu \text{ εἶλετο}$ would mean *he would not have been content (under any circumstances)*, hence *he was never content*. The optative $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta$ (532) shows the nature of the expression here. See the examples under 162, and the last example under 244.

This construction is not Homeric; but it is found in Herodotus and is common in Attic Greek. There is no difficulty in understanding it as an offshoot of the potential indicative, when it is seen that the latter did not involve originally any denial of its own action.

SECTION II.

The Imperative and Subjunctive in Commands, Exhortations, and Prohibitions.—Subjunctive and Indicative with $\mu\etá$ and $\mu\etá \text{ οὐ}$ in Cautious Assertions.— Ὅπως and $\text{ὅπως } \mu\etá$ with the Independent Future Indicative, etc.

IMPERATIVE IN COMMANDS, ETC.

250. The imperative is used to express a command, an exhortation, or an entreaty. *E.g.*

$\text{Λέγε, speak thou. Φεῦγε, begone! Ἐλθέτω, let him come. Χαίρωντων, let them rejoice. Ἐρχεσθον κλισίην Πηληιάδω Ἀχιλλῆος. II. i. 322. Ζεῦ, θεωρὸς τῶνδε πραγμάτων γενοῦ. AESCH. Cho. 246.}$

For prohibitions, *i.e.* negative commands, see 259 and 260.

251. The imperative is often emphasised by $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$ or $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, φέρε, ἴθι, δεῦρο or $\text{δεῦτε, come, look here}$; or by $\text{εἰ δ' } \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$ (474). Ἄγε, φέρε, and ἴθι may be singular when the imperative is plural, and in the second person when the imperative is in the third. *E.g.*



18. 173 εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δοθὲν ἐκεῖ ἀκούσατε
Portgate Trans. Camb. Philol. Soc. 3. 1. 50-55.

Εἶπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε, φίλον τέκος, ὅς τις ὄδ' ἐστίν. Π. iii. 192.
 Ἄλλ' ἄγε μίμνετε πάντες, ἐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί. Π. ii. 331. Βάσκ' ἴθι, οὔτε δνειρε, θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν. Π. ii. 8. Ἄγε δὴ ἀκούσατε. ΧΕΝ. Αρ. 14. Ἄγετε δειπνήσατε. ΧΕΝ. Hell. v. 1, 18. Φέρ' εἰπέ δὴ μοι. ΣΟΦ. Ant. 534. Φέρε δὴ μοι τόδε εἰπέ. ΠΛΑΤ. Crat. 385 B. Ἴθι δὴ λέξον ἡμῖν πρῶτον τούτο. ΧΕΝ. Mem. iii. 3, 3. Ἴθι νυν παρίστασθον. ΑΡ. Ran. 1378. Ἴθι νυν λιβανωτὸν δεῦρό τις καὶ πῦρ δότω. ΙΒ. 871. Καί μοι δεῦρο, ὦ Μέλητε, εἰπέ. ΠΛΑΤ. Αρ. 24 C. Δεῦτε, λείπετε στέγας. ΕΥΡ. Med. 894. *καὶ γὰρ ἔν τῷ λόγῳ*

252. The poets sometimes use the *second* person of the imperative with πᾶς in hasty commands. *E.g.*

Ἄκουε πᾶς, *hear, every one!* ΑΡ. Thes. 372. Χόρει δεῦρο πᾶς ἐπηρέτης· τόξενε, παῖε· σφενδόνην τίς μοι δότω. ΙΔ. Av. 1186. Ἄγε δὴ σιώπα πᾶς ἀνήρ. ΙΔ. Ran. 1125.

253. The imperative is sometimes used by the dramatists after οἷσθ' ὃ and similar interrogative expressions, the imperative being really the verb of the relative clause.¹ The difficulty of translating such expressions is similar to that of translating relatives and interrogatives with participles. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' οἷσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον; τῷ σκέλει θένε τὴν πέτραν, *but do you know what you must do?—strike the rock with your leg!* ΑΡ. Av. 54. Οἷσθ' ὃ μοι σύμπραξον; *do you know what you must do for me?* ΕΥΡ. Her. 451. Οἷσθά νυν ἄ μοι γενέσθω; δεσμὰ τοῖς ξένουσι πρόσθε, *do you know what must be done for me?—put bonds on the strangers.* ΙΔ. I. T. 1203. Οἷσθ' ὡς ποίησον; *do you know how you must act?* ΣΟΦ. O. T. 543. (Compare ΕΥΡ. Cyc. 131, οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δράσεις; *do you know what you are to do?*)

The English may use a relative with the imperative, as in *which do at your peril*. See ΗΔΤ. i. 89, κάτῳσον φυλάκουσ, οἱ λεγόντων ὡς ἀναγκάως ἔχει. So ΣΟΦ. O. C. 473.

A peculiar interrogative imperative is found in μὴ ἐξέστω; *is it not to be allowed?* ΠΛΑΤ. Polit. 295^e; and ἐπανερωτῶ εἰ κείσθω, *I ask whether it is to stand*, ΙΔ. Leg. 800 E. (See 291.)

254. The imperative sometimes expresses a mere assumption, where something is supposed to be true for argument's sake. *E.g.*

Πλούτεϊ τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλει, μέγα, καὶ ζῆ τυράννον σχῆμ' ἔχων, *i.e. grant that you are rich and live in tyrant's state (lit. be rich, etc.)* ΣΟΦ. Ant. 1168. Προσεπιάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης, *suppose that both the ruler and the private man address one in a friendly way.* ΧΕΝ. Hier. viii. 3.

FIRST PERSON OF SUBJUNCTIVE AS IMPERATIVE.

255. The want of a first person in the imperative is supplied

¹ See Postgate in *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, III. 1, pp. 50-55.

by the first person of the subjunctive, which expresses both positive and negative exhortations and appeals (the negative with *μή*). Ἄγε, ἄγετε, εἰ δ' ἄγε, φέρε, ἴθι, δεῦρο, and δεῦτε (251) may precede this subjunctive; so sometimes ἔα, *permit, let*.

256. The first person plural is most common, and generally expresses an exhortation of the speaker to others to join him in doing or in not doing some act. *E.g.*

Ἴωμεν, *let us go*; *μή ἴωμεν, let us not go.* Οἰκαδέ περ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἔωμεν, *let us sail homeward with our ships, and leave him.* Il. ii. 236. Ἄλλ' ἄγε μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα, *but come, let us no longer talk thus.* Il. xiii. 292; so ii. 435. Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα θοῦριδος ἀλκῆς. Il. iv. 418. Εἰ δ' ἄγετ' ἀμφὶ πόλιν σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθῶμεν. Il. xxii. 381; so 392. Δεῦτε, φίλοι, τὸν ξεῖνον ἐρώμεθα. Od. viii. 133. Μὴ δὴ πω λύωμεθα ἵππους, ἀλλ' ἰόντες Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν. Il. xxiii. 7. Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, πλέωμεν, ὀρμάσθω ταχύς. SOPH. Ph. 526. Ἐπίσχετον, μάθωμεν. Ib. 539. Φέρε δὴ διαπεράνωμεν λόγους. EUR. And. 333. Δεῦρό σου στέψω κάρα. Id. Bacch. 341. Ἐπίσχες, ἐμβάλωμεν εἰς ἄλλον λόγον. Id. El. 962. Παρῶμέν τε οἶν ὥσπερ Κύρος κελεύει, ἀσκῶμέν τε δι' ὧν μάλιστα δυνησόμεθα κατέχειν ἃ δεῖ, παρέχωμέν τε ἡμῶς αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 5. Μὴ ποτε φῶμεν ἔνεκα τούτων μηδὲν μᾶλλον ποτε ψυχὴν ἀπόλλισθαι. PLAT. Rep. 610 B. Ἐα δὴ νῦν ἐν σοὶ σκεψώμεθα. Id. Soph. 239 B.

257. The less common first person singular is, in *affirmative* exhortations, generally preceded by a word like ἄγε, etc. (251), or by some other command, and the speaker appeals to himself to do something or to others for permission to do it. In *negative* appeals with *μή* the first person singular is rare and poetic; the speaker may call on others to avert some evil from himself, or he may utter a threat or a warning. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἴδωμαι, *come, let me count the things and see.* Od. xiii. 215. Ἄλλ' ἄγεθ' ὑμῖν τεύχε' ἐνεῖκω θωρηχθῆναι. Od. xxii. 139. Θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἄϊδαο περήσω, *bury me as quickly as possible; let me pass the gates of Hades.* Il. xxiii. 71. Ἄλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήια τεύχεα δύω. Il. vi. 340. Φέρε ἀκούσω, *come, let me hear.* HDT. i. 11. Σίγα, πνοῶς μάθω· φέρε πρὸς οὓς βάλω. EUR. H. F. 1059. Ἐπίσχετ', αὐδῆν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκμάθω. Id. Hipp. 567. Λέγε δὴ, ἴδω. PLAT. Rep. 457 C.

Μὴ σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κειχέω, *let me not find you at the ships!* Il. i. 26. Μὴ σευ ἀκούσω εὐχομένου. Il. xxi. 475. Ἄλλά μ' ἔκ γε τήσδε γῆς πάρθμεινον ὡς τάχιστα, μήδ' αὐτοῦ θάνω. SOPH. Tr. 801. Ὡ ξεῖνοι, μή δῆτ' ἀδικηθῶ. Id. O. C. 174.

258. In the first person (255-257) both present and aorist subjunctive are used with *μή*, the distinction of 259 applying only to the

6



C. R. 9 (1895) *Annales Jussieu* (fomatiales)
C. R. 19 (1905) *Naylor & Headlam*

μεγείεις ύμιν προσδοκησάτα. ἀφελ. 17 ε.
σολυ εις σαση εν Ηο σελ Α. J. P. 13. 425

second and third persons. In affirmative exhortations the second and third persons of the subjunctive are not regularly used, the imperative being the only recognised form. But in *SOPH. Ph. 300*, φέρ', ὧ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθης (if the text is sound), the positive μάθης seems strangely to follow the analogy of the negative μὴ μάθης. Nauck reads μάθε here. See also τὸ ψάφισμα ἀνατεθῆ in an inscription quoted in Appendix I. p. 385.

IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE IN PROHIBITIONS.

259. In prohibitions, in the second and third persons, the *present* imperative or the *aorist* subjunctive is used with μὴ and its compounds. The distinction of tense here is solely the ordinary distinction between the present and aorist (87), and has no reference to the moods. *E.g.*

Μὴ ποιεὶ τοῦτο, *do not do this (habitually), or do not go on doing this (or stop doing this)*; μὴ ποιήσης τοῦτο, (simply) *do not do this*. Ἐξαῦδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόψ, ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω. *Il. i. 363*. Ἄτρείδη, μὴ ψεύδε' ἐπιστάμενος σάφα εἰπεῖν. *Il. iv. 404*. Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ πῶ τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς. *Il. iv. 234*. Εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῳ νημερτέα, μῆδ' ἐπικεύσης. *Od. xv. 263*. Ἦδη νῦν σὺ παιδὶ ἔπος φάο, μῆδ' ἐπίκευθε (compare the last example). *Od. xvi. 168*. Μηκέτι νῦν δῆθ' αἰθὶ λεγώμεθα, μῆδ' ἔτι δηρὸν ἀμβαλλώμεθα ἔργον. *Il. ii. 435*. Μὴ δὴ με ἔλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἑάσης κείσθαι. *Il. v. 684*. Κλύθι μῆδὲ μεγέρης. *Od. iii. 55*. Μὴ πως ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κέρμα γέννησθε, *do not become prey and spoil to hostile men*. *Il. v. 487*. Μὴ ποτε ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσης ἀγλαίην. *Od. xix. 81*. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τῇ γῇ τῆδε μὴ βαρὴν κότον σκήψησθε, μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μῆδ' ἀκαρπίαν τεύξεητε. *AESCH. Eum. 800*. Ὅν μὴτ' ὀκνεῖτε, μὴτ' ἀφήτ' ἔπος κακόν. *SOPH. O. C. 731*. Μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μῆδένα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βλάπτοντας ἡμᾶς λίσσατε. *DEM. iii. 10*. (Here θέσθε would not be allowed; but λίσσατε, an affirmative command, is regular.) Μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δικάσητε· μὴ βοηθήσητε τῷ πεπονθότι δεινά· μὴ εὐορκεῖτε. *Id. xxi. 211*. Μὴ πρίγ, παῖ, δῖδα. *AB. Nub. 614*. Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με βούλεσθαι λαθεῖν. *ISOC. v. 93*. Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω μ' ἄγνοεῖν. *Id. iv. 73*.

260. The *third* person of the aorist imperative is sometimes used with μὴ in prohibitions; but the *second* person with μὴ is very rare and only poetic. *E.g.*

Μῆδ' ἢ βία σε μηδαμῶς νικησάτω. *SOPH. Aj. 1334*. Μῆδέ σοι μελησάτω. *AESCH. Prom. 332*; so 1002. Καὶ μηδεὶς ἡμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως. *PLAT. Ap. 17 C*.

Τῷ μὴ μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίη ἐνθεο τιμῇ. *Il. iv. 410*; see *Od. xxiv. 248*. Μὴ πω καταδέσσο μῶλον Ἄρῃος. *Il. xviii. 134*. Μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, μὴ μ' ἔλγῃς ἀνευ δορός in *SOPH. Peleus, Frag. 450*, is *parodied* in *AB. Thes. 870*, μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐλπίδος.

INDEPENDENT SUBJUNCTIVE WITH *μή* IMPLYING FEAR (HOMERIC).

261. In the following Homeric examples the independent subjunctive with *μή* expresses apprehension, coupled with a desire to avert the object of fear, both ideas being inherent in the construction. The third person is the most common here.

Μὴ δὴ νῆας ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φεικτὰ πέλωνται, may they not (as I fear they may) seize the ships and make it no longer possible to escape. Il. xvi. 128. *Μὴ δὴ μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ, may the gods not bring to pass (as I fear they may) bitter woes for my soul.* Il. xviii. 8. *Μὴ τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ κακὸν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, may he not (as I fear he may) in his wrath do anything to harm the sons of the Achaeans.* Il. ii. 195. *Ὡ μοι ἐγὼ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὔτε ἀθανάτων.* Od. v. 356. *Μὴ πῶς μ' ἐκβαίνοντα βάλῃ λίθακι προτὶ πέτρῃ κῆμα μέγ' ἀρπάξαν, μελέῃ δέ μοι ἔσsetai ὄρμη, I fear that some great wave may dash me against a solid rock, and my effort will (then) be in vain: the expression of fear being merged in an assertion.* Od. v. 415. See also Il. xxi. 563; Od. v. 467, xvii. 24, xxii. 213. *Τῶν εἴ κεν πάντων ἀντήσομεν, μὴ πολίτικρα καὶ αἰνὰ βίας ἀποτίσσεια ἔλθῶν, i.e. I fear you may punish their violence only to our bitter grief (and may you not do this).* Od. xvi. 255. *Μὴ τι κακὸν ῥέξωσι καὶ ἡμέας ἐξελάσωσιν, ἄλλων δ' ἀφικώμεθα γαίαν, may they not (as I fear) do us some harm and drive us out, and may we not come to some land of others.* Od. xvi. 381. *Μὴ μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰὼν, ὁ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλειήσει, I fear I may approach him as I come, while he will not pity me.* Il. xxii. 122 (see Od. v. 415, above). *Μὴ τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσιν κτήματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τηρῆσθην ὄδῶν ἔλθῃς.* Od. xv. 12.

The present subjunctive occurs in Od. xv. 19, *μή τι φέρηται*, and in xvi. 87, *μή μιν κερτομέωσιν*. See also *πέλωνται* in Il. xvi. 128, above. (See 258.)

In these examples sometimes the fear itself, and sometimes the desire to avert its object, is more prominent.

262. (a) By prefixing *δεῖδω* or *φοβοῦμαι* to any of the subjunctives with *μή* in 261, we get the full construction with verbs of fearing; as *δεῖδω μή νῆας ἔλωσι, I fear they may seize the ships*, in which *μή ἔλωσι* represents an original construction which at first followed *δεῖδω* paratactically—*I fear: may they not seize the ships*—and afterwards became welded with it as a dependent clause. So if *δεῖδω* were removed from a sentence like *δεῖδω μή τι πάθῃσιν*, Il. xi. 470, we should have an independent clause like those quoted above. See *μή δαμάσῃ* and *δεῖδω μή γένομαι*, Od. v. 467 and 473.

(b) In like manner, by prefixing other verbs than those of fearing to such clauses, the original negative final clause with *μή* is developed; as *μαχοῦμεθα μή νῆας ἔλωσι, we will fight that they*





may not seize the ships. Again, if the leading clause were removed from a sentence like αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ, μή παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήγης χήρην τε γυναῖκα, *remain here on the tower, lest you make your child an orphan and your wife a widow*, Il. vi. 431, there would remain *μή* . . . θήγης, *do not make, or may you not make*, in the originally independent form, like the clauses with *μή* in 261. (See 307.)

263. (*Μή οὐ with the Subjunctive.*) The clause with *μή* expressing desire to avert an object of fear, in its original simple form as well as in the developed final construction, may refer to a negative object, and express fear that something *may not* happen. Here *μή οὐ* is used with the subjunctive, like *ne non* in Latin.

Thus *μή νῆας ἔλωσι* being *may they not seize the ships*, *μή οὐ νῆας ἔλωσι* would be *may they not fail to seize the ships*, implying fear that they *may not* seize them. Homer has one case of *μή οὐ* after a verb of fearing: *δεῖδω μή οὐ τίς τοι ὑπόσχηται τόδε ἔργον*, Il. x. 39. He has several cases of *μή οὐ* in final clauses and one in an object clause (354). Il. i. 28, *μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῦ*, is often cited as a case of independent *μή οὐ*, meaning *beware lest the staff and fillet of the God shall prove of no avail to you*. So Delbrück (I. p. 119), who nevertheless quotes Il. i. 565, *ἀλλ' ἀέκωσα κάθησο ἐμῷ δ' ἐπιπέθεο μύθη, μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν ὄσοι θεοὶ εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ*, as containing a dependent final clause. In the two other cases of *μή οὐ* with the subjunctive in Homer, Il. xv. 164 (an object clause, see 354), and xxiv. 569 (final), the dependence of the clause with *μή οὐ* is even more obvious; and in Il. xxiv. 584 we have in *μή οὐκ ἐρίσαιτο* the decisive proof that this clause is felt to be dependent in the change from the subjunctive to the optative after a past tense. It is therefore more than doubtful whether *μή οὐ χραίσμη* in Il. i. 28 is not dependent on *μή σε κίχίω* in vs. 26. Plato in paraphrasing this passage (Rep. 393 E) takes the clause as final and dependent (see 132). But, whether we have a case of independent *μή οὐ* with the subjunctive in Homer or not, there can be no doubt that this is the original form from which came the dependent final clause with *μή οὐ*.

264. After Homer we find no examples of the independent clause with either *μή* or *μή οὐ* until Euripides, who has independent *μή* in Alc. 315 (*μή σοῖς διαφθείρη γάμοις*), Orest. 776 (*μή λάβωσι σ' ἄσμενοι*), H. F. 1399 (*αἶμα μή σοῖς ἐξομόρξωμαι πέπλοις*), and *μή οὐ* in Tro. 982 (*μή οὐ πείσῃς σοφοίς*), besides Rhés. 115 (*μή οὐ μόλῃς*). Aristophanes, Eccl. 795, has a doubtful *μή οὐ λάβῃς* (Heindorf and Meineke, for Mss. *λάβοις*). Besides these six cases, we have in Plato three of *μή* with the subjunctive implying apprehension in the Homeric sense (261): Euthyd. 272 C (*μή οἶν τις ὀνειδίσῃ*), Symp. 193 B (*μή μοι ὑπολάβῃ*), Leg. 861 E (*μή τις οἴηται*).

Euripides and Herodotus are the first after Homer to use *μή οὐ* in dependent clauses of fear (306).

SUBJUNCTIVE WITH μή AND μή οὐ IN CAUTIOUS ASSERTIONS.

265. In Herodotus v. 79 we have ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μή οὐ τοῦτο ἦ τὸ μαντήιον, *but I suspect rather that this may prove not to be the meaning of the oracle.* This is the first example of a construction, very common in Plato, used also by Aristotle, and found once in Demosthenes, in which μή with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something *may be* (or *may prove to be*) true, and μή οὐ with the subjunctive a suspicion that something *may not be* true; the former amounting to a cautious assertion, the latter to a cautious negation. Examples from Plato are:—

Μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, *I am afraid the truth may be too rude a thing to tell.* Gorg. 462 E. Μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα σκέμματα ἦ τῶν ραδίως ἀποκτινίντων, *I suspect these may prove to be considerations for those, etc.* Crit. 48 C. Μὴ φαῦλον ἦ καὶ οὐ καθ' ὁδόν, *I think it will be bad and not in the right way (i.e. μή οὐ ἦ).* Crat. 425 B. Ἀλλὰ μή οὐχ οὕτως ἔχῃ, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦ εἰδῶτα τίθεσθαι (i.e. μή ἦ). Crat. 436 B. Ἀλλὰ μή οὐ τοῦτ' ἦ χαλεπὸν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, *but I suspect this may not be the hard thing, to escape death.* Ap. 39 A. Ἡμῖν μὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκεπτέον ἦ, *I am inclined to think we have nothing else to consider.* Crit. 48 C. Μὴ οὐ δέη ὑπολογίζεσθαι, *I think there will be no need of taking into account, etc.* Crit. 48 D. Μὴ οὐκ ἦ διδασκτὸν ἀρετή, *it will probably turn out that virtue is not a thing to be taught.* Men. 94 E. Ἀλλὰ μή οὐχ οἷοι ἡμεῖς ὤμεν, *but I think we shall not prove to be of this kind.* Symp. 194 E.¹

See also Aristotle, Eth. x. 2, 4, μὴ οὐδὲν λέγουσιν (v. l. λέγουσιν), *there can hardly be anything in what they say.* (See 269.)

In DEM. i. 26 we have μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ, *I am afraid it may be too harsh a thing to say.*


The present subjunctive here, as in dependent clauses of fear (92), may refer to what *may prove* true.

266. In these cautious assertions and negations, although no desire of the speaker to avert an object of fear is implied, there is always a tacit allusion to such a desire on the part of some person who is addressed or referred to, or else an ironical pretence of such a desire of the speaker himself.

267. The subjunctive with μή in this sense is sometimes found in dependent clauses. *E.g.*

"Ὅρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἦ τοῦ σφίξεν καὶ σφίξεσθαι, *see to it lest (it prove true that) these may be different things,* etc. PLAT. Gorg. 512 D. The common translation, *see whether they may*

¹ Other examples in Plato are Phaed. 67 B, 69 A; Theæt. 188 D; Crat. 429 C, 432 A, 432 B, 435 C, 438 C, 440 C; Men. 89 C, 94 B; Lys. 209 A, 219 D, 220 A; Symp. 214 C; Parm. 130 D, 132 B, 134 E, 136 D; Leg. 635 E; Theag. 122 B; Amat. 137 B. See Weber (pp. 191, 192), who gives these examples in Plato, with HET. v. 79 and DEM. i. 26, as the only cases of independent μή or μή οὐ in this peculiar sense before Aristotle.



Enshyd. 290 E.

apoc. 25 A

not be different, gives the general sense, but not the construction, which is simply that of μή ἄλλο τι ἢ (265) transferred to a dependent clause.

268. In a few cases Plato has μή with the subjunctive in a cautious question with a negative answer implied. As μή ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο means *this may possibly be something else*, so the question μή ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο; means *can this possibly be something else?* The four examples given by Weber are:—

Μή τι ἄλλο ἢ παρὰ ταῦτα; *can there be any other besides these?* Rep. 603 C. Ἄρα μή ἄλλο τι ἢ θάνατος ἢ τοῦτο; *is it possible that death can prove to be anything but this?* Phaed. 64 C. So μή τι ἄλλο ἢ ἢ, κ.τ.λ.; Parm. 163 D. Ἄλλὰ μή ἐμὴ περιεργία ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτῆσαι σε περὶ τοῦτον; *but can it be that even asking you about this is inquisitiveness on my part?* Sisyph. 387 C (this can be understood positively, it may be that it is, etc.).

In XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 12, the same interrogative construction occurs with μή οὐ: μή οὐν οὐ δύναμαι ἐγὼ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργα ἐξηγήσασθαι; *do you suspect that I shall be unable to explain the works of Justice?*

In PLAT. Phil. 12 D we have πῶς γὰρ ἡδονὴ γε ἡδονῇ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοιώτατον ἂν εἴη; *for how could one pleasure help being most like another?* Here εἴη ἂν takes the place of ἢ, and πῶς shows that the original force of μή is forgotten.

INDICATIVE WITH μή AND μή οὐ IN CAUTIOUS ASSERTIONS.

269. The present or past tenses of the indicative with μή or μή οὐ may express a similar cautious assertion or suspicion about a present or past act. As φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάσχει (or ἔπαθεν) means *I fear that he is suffering (or suffered)*, so μὴ πάσχει or μὴ ἔπαθεν may mean *I suspect he is suffering* or *I suspect he suffered*, and μὴ οὐ πάσχει or μὴ οὐκ ἔπαθεν may mean *I suspect he does not (or did not) suffer.* (Cf. 265.) *E.g.*

Μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ ζῆν ὀποσονδὴ χρόνον, τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα εὐτέον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ φιλοψυχητέον (i.e. καὶ μὴ οὐ φιλ.), *for I am of the opinion that this, merely living for a certain time, is what one who is truly a man should disregard, and that he should not be fond of life.* PLAT. Gorg. 512 D. (This passage is often strangely emended and explained.) Ἄλλ' ἄρα μὴ οὐ τοιαύτην ὑπολαμβάνεις σὺν τῇ μάθησιν ἔσεσθαι, *I suspect that you do not think your learning will be like this.* Id. Prot. 312 A. Ἄλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο οὐ καλῶς ὠμολογήσαμεν, *but perhaps we did not do well in assenting to this.* Id. Men. 89 C. (This may be interrogative (268): *can it be that we did not do well, etc.?*)

So Aristotle, Eth. x. 1, 3, μὴ ποτε δὲ οὐ καλῶς λέγεται, *but it may be that this is not well said*: compare x. 2, 4, quoted in 265.

270. Apart from independent sentences with μή οὐ (263-269), this double negative occurs chiefly in ordinary clauses after verbs of fearing where the object of fear is negative (305; 365).

"Ὅπως AND ὅπως μὴ WITH THE INDEPENDENT
FUTURE INDICATIVE, ETC.

271. The Athenians developed a colloquial use of ὅπως or ὅπως μὴ with the future indicative to express either a positive exhortation or command or a prohibition. Thus ὅπως τοῦτο ἐρεῖς, *see that you say this*, is a familiar way of saying εἰπέ τοῦτο. So ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο ἐρεῖς is equivalent to μὴ τοῦτο εἴπῃς. This expression was probably suggested and certainly encouraged by the common Attic construction of ὅπως and the future after verbs of *striving, taking care*, etc. (339); so that it is common to explain this form by an ellipsis of σκόπει in σκόπει ὅπως τοῦτο ἐρεῖς, *see to it that you say this*. But we may doubt whether any definite leading verb was ever in mind when these familiar exhortations were used (see 273).

272. The earliest example is AESCH. Prom. 68, ὅπως μὴ σαυτὸν οἰκτιεῖς ποτε, *beware lest at some time you may have yourself to pity*, which conveys a warning, like μὴ σε κηλείω, Il. i. 26. In AESCH. Ag. 600, we have the first person singular with ὅπως (used like the subjunctive in 257): ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν σπεύσω δέξασθαι (not mentioned by Weber). In Sophocles there is only one case, O. T. 1518, γῆς μ' ὅπως πέμψεις ἀποικόν, *send me forth an exile from the land* (like πέμψον με). Five examples in Euripides are simple exhortations, as ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔσει, *but see that you are a man*, Cycl. 595; so also Cycl. 630, H. F. 504, I. T. 321, Or. 1060 (with doubtful construction): one conveys a warning, Bacch. 367, Πενθέως δ' ὅπως μὴ πένθος εἰσοίσει δόμοις τοῖς σοῶνι, *beware lest Pentheus bring sorrow (πένθος) into your house*.

273. We find the greater part of the examples of 271 in the colloquial language of Aristophanes,¹ who often uses the imperative and ὅπως with the future as equivalent constructions in the same sentence. *E.g.*

Κατάθου σὺ τὰ σκεῖν ταχέως, χῶπως ἐρεῖς ἐνταῦθα μηδὲν ψεῦδος, *put down the works quickly, and tell no lies here*. Ran. 627. Ἄλλ' ἔμβα χῶπως ἀρεῖς τὴν Σώτειραν. Ib. 377. See also Eq. 453, 495, Eccl. 952, Ach. 955. Νῦν οὖν ὅπως σώσεις με, *so now save me*. Nub. 1177. Ὅπως παρέσει μοι καὶ σὺ καὶ τὰ παιδιά, *be on hand, you and your children* (an invitation). Av. 131. Ἄγε νῦν ὅπως εἰθέως ἰφαρπάσει. Nub. 489.

274. (Examples from Prose.) Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἀξιοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, *prove yourselves men worthy of freedom*. XEN. AN. i. 7, 3.

¹ See Weber, pp. 85, 95, 113, 124, for the history of this usage. Weber cites 41 examples from Aristophanes, besides Ach. 343; 13 from Plato, whose extraordinary use of the independent sentence with μὴ has been noticed; 7 from Xenophon, 9 from Demosthenes, 2 from Lysias, and one from Isæus.

Independent features under a χ^2 test to compare between
two "populations"



Ὅπως μοι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ ἔρεις ὅτι ἐστί τὰ δώδεκα δις ἕξ, *see that you do not tell me that twice six are twelve*. PLAT. Rep. 337 B; so 336 D. Φέρε δὴ ὅπως μεμνησόμεθα ταῦτα. Id. Gorg. 495 D. Ὅπως γε, ἂν τι τοιούτων γίγνηται, τοιούτους ἐπαινέσεσθε καὶ τιμῆσετε καὶ στεφανώσετε, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ καὶ μέντοι κἂν τι τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅπως τοιούτοις ὀργιείσθε. DEM. xix. 45. Ὅπως τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲν ἔρεις, *see therefore that you say nothing about the war*. Ib. 94.

One case occurs in Herodotus in iii. 142. (See also 280, below.)

275. Although the second person is naturally most common in these expressions, the first and third persons also occur. *E.g.*

Ὅπως δὲ τὸ σίμβολον λαβόντες ἔπειτα πλησίον καθεδούμεθα. AR. Eccl. 297. Οἱμοὶ τάλας, ὁ Ζεὺς ὅπως μὴ μ' ὀψεται, *don't let Zeus see me!* Id. Av. 1494. Καὶ ὅπως, ὡς περ ἐρωτῶσι προθύμως, οὕτω καὶ ποιῶν ἐθελήσουσιν. DEM. viii. 38. (See also 278.)

276. Ἄγε and φέρε (251) sometimes introduce this construction. See examples above (273 and 274).

277. In a few cases the prohibition with ὅπως μὴ takes the form of a warning. Besides AESCH. Prom. 68 and EUR. Bacch. 367, quoted above, see XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 18, ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστιγοῦμενος, *look out that you are not flogged to death*. So PLAT. Prot. 313 C, quoted in 283.

278. Ὅπως μὴ with the future indicative or the subjunctive sometimes occurs in independent sentences implying a desire to avert something that is not desired, like μὴ with the subjunctive in Homer and sometimes in Attic Greek (261; 264). *E.g.*

Ὅπως μὴ αἰσχροὶ μὲν φανοῦμεθα ἀσθενεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα, *let us not appear base and be weak (as I fear we may)*. XEN. Cyr. iv. 2, 39. Ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκάσωμεν (so most Mss.) αὐτοὺς, κἂν μὴ βοῦλωνται, ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι, *there is danger of our compelling them to become brave, even against their will*. Ib. iv. 1, 16. Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲ τὸ χωρίον ἡδέως ὀρώσιν ἐνθα κατέκανον ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμάχους, *and let us not allow them even to enjoy the sight of the place where they slew our allies*. Ib. v. 4, 21. Ὅπως μὴ φήσῃ τις ἡμᾶς ἡδιπαθεῖν, *take care lest any one say of us, etc.* Id. Symp. iv. 8. Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ οἶχ οἶός τ' ἔσομαι, *προθυμούμενος δὲ γέλωτα ὀφλήσω, but I am afraid that I shall not have the power, but that in my zeal I shall make myself ridiculous*. PLAT. Rep. 506 D. So Men. 77 A.

279. These cases (278) are analogous to those of ὅπως μὴ with the future indicative or the subjunctive after verbs of fearing, in place of the simple μὴ (370). They are also a connecting link between the subjunctive with μὴ in prohibitions and the rare future indicative with μὴ in the same sense; as ταίτην φυλάξετε τὴν πίστιν, καὶ μὴ βουλήσεσθε εἰδέναι, *hold fast to this security, and do not wish to know, etc.*, DEM. xxiii. 117 (see other examples in 70).

280. In a few cases ὅπως μὴ with the subjunctive expresses a cautious assertion, where the simple μὴ is generally used (265). *E.g.*

Καὶ ὅπως μή ἐν μὲν τοῖς ζωγραφήμασιν ἢ τοῦτο, and it may be that this will prove true in the case of pictures. PLAT. CRAT. 430 D. Weber (p. 264) quotes HDL. vi. 85 for this sense: ὅπως ἐξ ὑστέρης μή τι ἴμῖν, ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσητε, πανάλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσι, it is not unlikely that they will turn about and bring some fatal harm on your country; but this can be understood like the examples in 278.

281. Ὡς ἂν σκοποὶ νῦν ἢ τε τῶν εἰρημένων, mind now and guard what I have said (i.e. be watchful to do it), SOPH. ANT. 215, must be brought under this head (271). In the early stage of the Attic construction of ὅπως with the future, of which only two cases occur in Aeschylus and one in Sophocles (272), ὡς ἂν ἦτε was here used like ὅπως ἔσειθε. Compare ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραχθῆ, XEN. HIPPI. ix. 2 (see 351).

282. In AR. ACH. 313 is the single case of ὅπως μή with a present tense, expressing a suspicion and apprehension concerning a present ground of fear: ἀλλ' ὅπως μή 'ν τοῖς τρίβουκιν ἐγκάθηνταιί ποιν λίθοι, but I am afraid they now have stones hidden somewhere in their cloaks. This bears the same relation to the common ὅπως μή with the future (272) that φοβοῦμαι μή πάσχωσιν, I fear that they are suffering (369, 1), bears to φοβοῦμαι μή πάσχωσιν, I fear that they may suffer (365); and the same that μή τοῦτο ἐάτεον ἐστί (269) bears to μή σκεπτέον ἢ (265).

283. Positive independent sentences with ὅπως all have the future indicative, the regular form in dependent object clauses of this nature (339). Among the 33 independent clauses with ὅπως μή which are cited (excluding AR. ACH. 343) ten have the subjunctive, and four others have more or less Ms. support for the subjunctive. Of the ten, the two quoted in 280, and the three from Xenophon quoted in 278, are either in cautious assertions or in sentences implying fear or the averting of danger, where the subjunctive is the regular form. The other five express warning, and are quoted here:—

Ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο μή διδάξῃς μηδένα, but be sure that you teach this to nobody. AR. NUB. 824. Καὶ ὅπως γε μή ὁ σοφιστής ἐξαπατήσῃ ἡμᾶς, and do not let the sophist cheat us. PLAT. PROT. 313 C. Ἄλλ' ὅπως μή τι ἡμᾶς σφύλλῃ τὸ ἀεὶ τοῦτο. ID. EUTHYD. 296 A. Ὅπως μηδεὶς σε πείσῃ, do not let anybody persuade you, etc. ID. CHARM. 157 B. Καὶ ὅπως μή ποιήσῃτε ὁ πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἔβλαψεν, and see that you do not do what has often harmed you. DEM. iv. 20.

Four of these subjunctives are of the σ- class, easily confounded with the future indicative, and the judgment of scholars on these has depended to a great extent upon their opinion about the admissibility of the subjunctive with ὅπως and ὅπως μή in dependent object clauses (339). This question will be discussed in 364. But it may fairly be claimed, independently of the main question, that these cases of ὅπως μή with the subjunctive in prohibitions are supported by the analogy of μή with the subjunctive in the same sense. Thus μή διδάξῃς, do not teach, makes ὅπως μή διδάξῃς in the same sense much more



natural than the positive ὅπως διδάξῃς would be, for which there is no such analogy and little or no Ms. authority. On this ground the examples are given above as they stand in the Mss.

SECTION III.

Subjunctive, like the Future Indicative, in Independent Sentences.—Interrogative Subjunctive.

HOMERIC SUBJUNCTIVE.

284. In the Homeric language the subjunctive is sometimes used in independent sentences, with the force of a future indicative. The negative is οὐ. *E.g.*

Οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι, for *I never yet saw nor shall I ever see such men.* Il. i. 262. Ὑμῖν ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω, *I will enumerate the gifts before you all.* Il. ix. 121. Δίψομαι ἐς Ἄϊδαο καὶ ἐν νεκίεσσι φαείνω, *I will descend to Hades and shine among the dead* (said by the Sun). Od. xii. 383. (Here the future δίψομαι and the subjunctive φαείνω do not differ in force.) Μνήσομαι οἰδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο, *I will remember and will not forget the far-shooting Apollo.* Hymn. Ap. 1. Αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσομαι, οἰδέ νυ τόν γε γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα, i.e. *they shall not give his dead body the honour of a funeral pyre.* Il. xv. 349. Εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω, σῆμά τε οἱ χεύω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖξω, *I will raise a mound for him, and pray him funeral honours.* Od. ii. 222. Οὐ γάρ τις με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται Il. vii. 197. Καὶ ποτέ τις εἶπησιν, and *some one will say.* Il. vi. 459. (In vs. 462, referring to the same thing, we have ὡς ποτέ τις ἐρέει.) Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὄφτος ἀνὴρ οἰδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται, ὅς κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σφ' υἱεὶ χεῖρας ἐποίσει. Od. xvi. 437. Οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις· πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα, nor *will you bring him back to life; sooner will you suffer some new evil besides.* Il. xxiv. 551 (the only example of the second person).

285. This Homeric subjunctive, like the future indicative, is sometimes joined with *κέ* or *ἄν* in a potential sense. This enabled the earlier language to express an apodosis with a sense between that of the optative with *ἄν* and that of the simple future indicative, which the Attic was unable to do. (See 201 and 452.) *E.g.*

Εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώρῃσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, but *if he does not give her up, I will take her myself.* Il. i. 324. (Here ἔλωμαι κεν has a shade of meaning between ἐλοίμην κεν, *I would take*, and αἰρήσομαι, *I*

will take, which neither Attic Greek nor English can express. See 235, end.) Τὴν μὲν πέμψω, ἐγὼ δὲ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα, *her I will send; but I shall take Briseis*. II. i. 184. Νῦν δ' ἂν πολλὰ πάθῃσι φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἁμαρτῶν, *but now he must suffer much*, etc. II. xxii. 505. Ἔτις ὑπεροπλῆγισι τάχ' ἂν ποτε θνυμὸν ὀλέσσει, *by his own insolence he may perchance lose his life*. II. i. 205.

286. In the following cases the subjunctive and the optative with κέ or ἂν are contrasted:—

Ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίῃ, *one mortal he (a king) will hate, and another he may love*. Od. iv. 692. Εἴ τις σε ἴδοιτο, αὐτίκ' ἂν ἐξείποι Ἀγαμέμνονι, καὶ κεν ἀνάβλησις λίσιος νεκροῦ γένηται, *if any one should see you, he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and there might (may) be a postponement*, etc. II. xxiv. 653. Εἴ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πευρηθείης, οὐκ ἂν τοι χραισμῆσι βῶς καὶ ταρφέες ἰοί. II. xi. 386. Compare ἦν χ' ἑμῖν σάφα εἶπω ὅτε πρότερός γε πνθοίμην, *(a message) which I will (would) tell you plainly so soon as I shall (should) hear it*, Od. ii. 43, with ἦν χ' ἧμῖν σάφα εἶποι ὅτε πρότερός γε πύθοιτο, ii. 31,—both referring to the same thing.

INTERROGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE.

287. The first person of the subjunctive is used in *questions of appeal*, where the speaker asks himself or another *what he is to do*. The negative is μή. In Attic Greek this subjunctive is often introduced by βούλει or βούλεσθε, sometimes in poetry by θέλεις or θέλετε. *E.g.*

Εἶπω τοῦτο; *shall I say this?* or βούλει εἶπω τοῦτο; *do you wish that I should say this?* Μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶμεν (or ποιήσωμεν); *shall we not do this?* Τί εἶπω; or τί βούλεσθε εἶπω; *what shall I say? or what do you want me to say?*

Ἡ ἦ τ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω; τεῦ δόμαθ' ἴκωμαι; ἢ ἰθὺς σῆς μητρὸς ἴω καὶ σοῦ δόμοιο; *whither shall I go? to whose house shall I come?* etc. Od. xv. 509. Ἥ αὐτὸς κείθω; φάσθαι δέ με θνυμὸς ἀνώγει. Od. xxi. 194. ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; ποῖ φρενῶν ἔλθω, πάτερ; SOPH. O. C. 310. ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, πᾶ βῶ; πᾶ στῶ; πᾶ κέλσω; EUR. Hec. 1056. Ποῖ τράπωμαι; ποῖ πορευθῶ; Ib. 1099. Εἶπω τι τῶν εἰωθότων, ὧ δόσποτα; *shall I make one of the regular jokes?* AR. Ran. 1. Τίνα γὰρ μύθῃσι μείζω παράσχωμαι; *i.e. how shall I bring forward a greater witness?* DEM. xix. 240. Μηδ', εἰάν τι ὠνώμαι, ἔρωμαι ὀπόσον πωλεῖ; *may I not ask, etc.?* Μηδ' ἀποκρίνωμαι ὄν, ἂν τίς με ἐρωτᾷ νέος, εἰάν εἰδῶ; *and may I not answer, etc.?* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 36. Μηδ' ἀποκρίνωμαι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶπω; PLAT. Rep. 337 B. So μὴ φῶμεν; Ib. 554 B. Μεθ' ὅντα ἄνδρα πάνυ σφόδρα δέξασθε συμπότην, ἢ ἀπίωμεν; *will you invite him, or shall we go away?* Id. Symp. 212 E. Ἄρα μὴ αἰσχυρθῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεῖα μιμή-





present case in this country.

• /

παρθαι; shall we then be ashamed to imitate the king of the Persians? —we shall not be ashamed; shall we? XEN. Oec. iv. 4.

Ποῦ δὴ βούλει καθιζόμενοι ἀναγνώμεν; where wilt thou that we sit down and read? PLAT. Phaedr. 228 E. (So ib. 263 E.) Βούλει οὐκ ἐπισκοπῶμεν ὅπου ἤδη τὸ δυνατόν ἐστι; XEN. Mem. iii. 5, 1. Βούλει λάβωμαι δῆτα καὶ θίγω τί σου; SOPH. Phil. 761. Βούλεισθ' ἐπεισπέσωμεν; EUR. Hec. 1042. Θέλεις μείνωμεν αὐτοῦ κἀνακουσώμεν γόνων; SOPH. El. 81. Τί σοι θέλεις δῆτ' εἰκάθω; Id. O. T. 650. Θέλετε θηρασώμεθα Πενθίως Ἀγαύην μητῆρ' ἐκ βακχυμάτων, χάριν τ' ἀνακτι θῶμεν; EUR. Bacch. 719. Βούλεισθε τὸ ὅλον πρᾶγμα ἀφῶμεν καὶ μὴ ζητῶμεν; AESCHIN. i. 73.

So with κελεύετε: Ἄλλὰ πῶς; εἶπω κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργυεῖσθε; do you command me to speak, and will you not be angry? DEM. ix. 46.

In PLAT. Rep. 372 E, we find εἰ δ' αὖ βούλεισθε καὶ φλεγμαιοῦσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει, but if, again, you will have us examine an inflamed state, there is nothing to prevent. This shows that βούλεισθε is not parenthetical, but is felt to be the leading verb on which the subjunctive depends (see 288). In Phaed. 95 E, ἵνα μὴ τι διαφύγη ἡμᾶς, εἰ τέ τι βούλει προσθῆς ἢ ἀφέλῃς, the subjunctives may depend on ἵνα.

288. Εἰ βούλεισθε θεωρήσωμεν, if you wish us to examine, quoted in 287, shows that we have in βούλεισθε with the subjunctive a *parataxis* not yet developed into a leading and a dependent clause. It is probable that nothing like this was felt in the simple subjunctive as it is found in Homer. The original interrogative subjunctive is probably the interrogative form corresponding to the subjunctive in exhortations (256); ἔλθωμεν, let us go, becoming ἔλθωμεν; shall we go? (See Kuhner, § 394, 5.) When βούλει and βούλεισθε were first introduced in appeals to others, the two questions were doubtless felt to be distinct; as βούλεισθε; εἶπω; do you wish? shall I speak?—which were gradually welded into one, do you wish that I speak? Compare in Latin *cave facias*,—*visne hoc videamus?* etc. No conjunction could be introduced to connect βούλει or θέλεις to the subjunctive in classic Greek, as these verbs could have only the infinitive; but in later Greek, where ἵνα could be used after θέλω, the construction was developed into θέλετε ἵνα εἶπω; do you wish me to speak? See πάντα ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, N. T. MATTH. vii. 12. So θέλω ἵνα δῶς μοι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ. MARC. vi. 25. These forms appear in the New Testament side by side with the old construction without ἵνα; as τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; what wilt thou that I should do unto thee? with the answer, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω, that I may receive my sight, LUC. xviii. 41. So βούλεισθε ὑμῖν ἀπολύσω τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; IOH. xviii. 39.

From θέλετε ἵνα εἶπω; comes the modern Greek θέλετε νὰ εἶπω; will you that I speak? and probably also the common future θὰ εἶπω, I shall speak (if θὰ represents θέλω νά).

289. The *third* person of the subjunctive is sometimes used in these questions of appeal, but less frequently than the *first*, and chiefly when a speaker refers to himself by *τις*. *E.g.*

Πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρόν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; i.e. *shall we call you the city's enemy, or mine?* DEM. xviii. 124. Ἐἴτα ταῦθ' οἴτοι πεισθῶσιν ἰπὲρ αὐτῶν σε ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰ τῆς σῆς πονηρίας ἔργα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀναδέξωνται; i.e. *are these men to believe, etc.; and are they to assume, etc.?* Id. xxii. 64. Τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φῆ; Id. xix. 88. Πῶς τίς τοι πείθεται; *how can any one obey you?* Il. i. 150. Θίγατερ, ποὶ τις φροντίδος ἐλθῃ; SOPH. O. C. 170. Ποῖ τις οὖν φύγῃ; Id. Aj. 403. Πόθεν οὖν τις ταύτης ἀρξήται μάχης; PLAT. Phil. 15 D.

Πῶς οὖν ἐτ' εἶπῃς ὅτι συνέσταλμαι κακοῖς; EUR. H. F. 1417. the only case of the second person, is probably corrupt. Dindorf reads *ἂν εἶποις*.

290. The subjunctive is often used in the question *τί πάθω*; *what will become of me?* or *what harm will it do me?* literally, *what shall I undergo?* *E.g.*

Ἔμοι ἐγὼ, τί πάθω; τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται; Od. v. 465. So Il. xi. 404. Τί πάθω; τί δὲ δρῶ; τί δὲ μήγωμαι; AESCH. Sept. 1057. Τί πάθω τλήμων; Id. Pers. 912; AR. Pl. 603. Τί πάθω; τί δὲ μήσομαι; οἴμοι. SOPH. Tr. 973. Τὸ μέλλον, εἰ χρῆ, πείσομαι· τί γὰρ πάθω; I shall suffer what is to come, if it must be; for what harm can it do me? EUR. Ph. 895. (The difference between *τί πάθω*; and *πάσχω* in its ordinary use is here seen.) Ὁμολόγηκα· τί γὰρ πάθω; PLAT. Euthyd. 302 D. So in the plural, τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ἡμῶν τιμωρεῖν; HD. iv. 118.

291. (Negative *μή*.) The negative *μή* of the interrogative subjunctive is explained by the origin of the construction (288). If *ἔλθωμεν*; *shall we go?* is the interrogative of *ἔλθωμεν*, *let us go*, then *μὴ ἔλθωμεν*; *shall we not go?* is the interrogative of *μὴ ἔλθωμεν*, *let us not go*, and implies (addressed to others) *do you wish not to have us go?* This is still more evident when *βούλεσθε* is prefixed to the subjunctive (288). Similar to this interrogative form of the subjunctive of exhortation is the rare interrogative imperative (also negated by *μή*); as *ἂν ὁ μετὰ τέχνης γράψας ἀφίκηται, μὴ ἐξέστω δὴ ἕτερα προστάττειν*; i.e. *is he not to be allowed to give other orders?* PLAT. Polit. 295 E, where *μὴ ἐξέστω*; is the interrogative of *μὴ ἐξέστω*, *let him not be allowed*, as *μὴ ἔλθωμεν*; (above) is that of *μὴ ἔλθωμεν*, *let us not go*. See also the indirect question in PLAT. Leg. 800 E, *ἐπανερωσάτω πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς ὁδαῖς εἰ πρῶτον ἐν τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀρῆσκον κείσθω*, *I ask again, whether first this is to stand approved by us as one of our models for songs*. We cannot express such an imperative precisely in English; and there is the same difficulty with *οἷσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον*; etc., in 253. See also *ῶστε* with imperative forms (602).

292. 1. When the future indicative is used in the sense of the

3rd p. debit only. & more commonly used when 3rd is first person
The third person without vis is rare
fj^{is} almost - gū^{per}



... ..

only comes there be anything else incapable of admitting
which if common to, being a normal, will admit it." A. L. H.

interrogative subjunctive (68), it may be negated by μὴ; as πῶς οὐ μῆτε ψεύσομαι φανερώς; *how then shall I escape telling an open lie?* (where there is some Ms. authority for ψεύσωμαι), DEM. xix. 320 (see Shilleto's note).

2. A similar use of μὴ is found with the potential optative (with ἄν) in questions, if the idea of *prevention* is involved in it; as τί οὐκ οὐ σκοποῦμεν πῶς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ διαμαρτάνοιμεν; *why then do we not consider how we can avoid mistaking them?* (the direct question here would differ little from πῶς μὴ διαμαρτάνοιμεν;). XEN. Mem. iii. 1, 10. So πῶς ἂν τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν; *how can one help being excited when he speaks of Gods?* PLAT. Leg. 887 C. Sometimes such an optative with μὴ is in a second clause, preceded by a positive question, so that the harshness of μὴ ἄν with the optative is avoided; as τί ἂν λέγοντες εἰκὸς ἢ αἰτοὶ ἀποκκοῖμεν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους σκηπτόμενοι μὴ βοηθοῖμεν; *i.e. what good ground can we give for holding back ourselves, or what decent excuse can we make to our allies there for withholding our aid from them?* THUC. vi. 18. So τίνα ἂν τρόπον ἐγὼ μέγα δύναμην καὶ μηδεὶς με ἀδικοῖ; *in what way can I have great power and prevent any one from doing me wrong?* PLAT. Gorg. 510 D. See also ISOC. v. 8, xv. 6. In DEM. xxi. 35, πότῃρα μὴ δῶ διὰ τοῦτο δίκην ἢ μείζω δοίη δικαίως; *shall he escape punishment for this, or would he rather deserve a still greater penalty?*—δοίη is used as if οὐκ ἂν δοίη had preceded (Schaefer inserts κἂν).

In PLAT. Phaed. 106 D is the singular expression, σχολῆ γὰρ ἂν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο, εἴ γε τὸ ἀθάνατον αἰδίων ὄν φθορὰν δέξεται, *for hardly can anything else escape from admitting destruction if the immortal, which is eternal, is to admit it.* This differs from the preceding interrogative examples merely in the substitution of σχολῆ, *hardly*, for πῶς or τίνα τρόπον.

293. As οὐ cannot be used with the interrogative subjunctive, μὴ here sometimes introduces a question which expects an affirmative answer. See XEN. Mem. i. 2, 36, and PLAT. Rep. 337 B, 554 B, quoted in 287; and compare XEN. Occ. iv. 4 (*ibid.*), where a negative answer is expected. In PLAT. Rep. 552 E, we must read μὴ οἴωμεθα (not οἴομεθα, Herm.), *shall we not think?* as the answer must be affirmative (see Stallbaum's note).

SECTION IV.

Οὐ μὴ with the Subjunctive and the Future Indicative.

294. The subjunctive and the future indicative are used with the double negative οὐ μὴ in independent sentences, sometimes expressing a denial, like the future indicative

with οὐ, and sometimes a prohibition, like the imperative or subjunctive with μὴ. The compounds of both οὐ and μὴ can be used here as well as the simple forms.

For a discussion of the origin of this construction, and of the relation of the sentences of denial to those of prohibition, see Appendix II.

295. (*Denial.*) The subjunctive (usually the aorist), and sometimes the future indicative, with οὐ μὴ may have the force of an emphatic future with οὐ. Thus οὐ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, sometimes οὐ μὴ τοῦτο γενήσεται, means *this surely will not happen*. *E.g.*

(*Aor. Subj.*) Καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οἷ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλω, *I shall not be caught by any trick*. AESCH. Sept. 38. So Sept. 199, Supp. 228. Οὐ μὴ πίθηται, *he will not obey*. SOPH. Ph. 103. Οὐ γάρ σε μὴ γνῶσι. Id. El. 42. Καὶ οἷ τι μὴ λάχωσι τοῦδε συμμάχου. Id. O. C. 450. Οἷτοι σ' Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μὴ τις ἔβρισγῃ. Id. Aj. 560. 'Ο δ' οὐ πάρεστιν, οὐδὲ μὴ μόλῃ ποτέ, *but he is not here, and he never will come*. EUR. H. F. 718. Κοῦ μὴ ποθ' ἄλω. AR. Ach. 662. Τῶν ἤν κρατήρωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῆ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. HDT. vii. 53. So i. 199. Οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐσβάλωσιν. THUC. iv. 95; cf. v. 69. Οὐ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς ὄντινα βοῦλομαι ἀφικέσθαι. XEN. Cyr. vii. 3, 13. Ὡς οἱ Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέξωνται τοῖς πολεμίοις. Pb. iii. 2, 8 (see 296, b). Ἄν καθώμεθα οἴκοι, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. DEM. iv. 44; so ix. 75. Οἷτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οἷν μὴ γένηται ἄλλοιόν ἦθος πρὸς ἀρετήν, *for there is not, nor has there been, nor will there ever be, etc.* PLAT. Rep. 492 E. (Here οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται seems merely more emphatic than the ordinary οὐδὲ γενήσεται.)

(*Aor. Subj.* 2d Pprs.) Οὐ γὰρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον, *for you shall none the more escape your fate*. AESCH. Sept. 281. Ἄλλ' οὐ ποτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γε μὴ πάθῃς τόδε. SOPH. El. 1029. Οὐ μὴ ποτ' ἐς τὴν Σκύρον ἐκπλεύσῃς ἔχων. Id. Ph. 381. Ἄλλ' οὐ τι μὴ φύγῃτε λαιψηρῶ ποδί. EUR. Hec. 1039. Κοῦχὲ μὴ παύσησθε, *you will never cease*. AR. Iys. 704.

(*Pres. Subj.*) Ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δίο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνῃται βασιλεῖς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. XEN. An. ii. 2, 12. So οὐ μὴ δύνωνται, Id. Hier. xi. 15. Πρὸς ταῦτα κωκυρίζει καὶ σκκοφάντει, εἷ τι δύνασαι· ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ οἷός τ' ἦς, *but you will not be able*. PLAT. Rep. 341 B. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ δυνατὸς ᾧ. Id. Phil. 48 D. In the much-discussed passage, SOPH. O. C. 1023, ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὐς οὐ μὴ ποτε χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπέχωνται θεοῖς, *for there are others in eager pursuit; and they (the captors) will never (be in a condition to) be thankful to the Gods for escaping these and getting out of this land, the chief force is in φυγόντες, as if it were οὐ μὴ φύγωσι ὥστε ἐπειχέσθαι θεοῖς, the present subjunctive expressing a state of thankfulness.*



ος 55. οὐδὲ μή μιν ἐγὼ μωρήσομαι: οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. ?

(*Fut. Ind.*) Οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε. SOPH. EL 1052. Οὐ τοι μήποτε σ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδράνων, ὦ γέρον, ἀκοντά τις ἄξει. Id. O. C. 176; σο οὐκ οὐδὲν μὴ ὀδοιπορήσεις, O. C. 848. Μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω οὐ μὴ σ' ἐγὼ περιόψομαι ἀπελθόντ' (i.e. περιόψομαι ἀπελθόντα). AR. Ran. 508. Τοὺς πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε. AESCHIN. iii. 177.

296. Οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive or the future indicative can stand in various dependent sentences:—

(a) Especially in indirect discourse; as εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' σαφῶς ὅτι ταῦθ' . . . οὐ μὴ πιλιάθῃ. AR. Pac. 1302. So XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 5, Hell. iv. 2, 3; PLAT. Rep. 499 B. See also THUC. v. 69. We have οὐ μὴ with the future optative after ὡς, representing the future indicative of the direct form, in SOPH. Ph. 611: τά τ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἐθέσπισεν, καὶ τὰ πὶ Τροίας πέργαμ' ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσοιεν εἰ μὴ τόνδε ἄγουτο. (The direct discourse was οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσετε εἰάν μὴ τόνδε ἄγησθε.) In a similar construction in XEN. Hell. i. 6, 32, the future indicative is retained after a past tense: εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκιστάι αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος. In EUR. Phoen. 1590, we have the future infinitive of indirect discourse with οὐ μὴ: εἶπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μὴ ποτε, σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος, εὖ πράξειν πόλιν, representing οὐ μὴ εὖ πράξει πόλιν.

(b) In causal sentences with ὡς; as AR. Av. 461: λέγε θαρρήσας, ὡς τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ μὴ πρότερον παραβῶμεν, for we will not break the truce before you have spoken. So XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 8 (see 295).

(c) In consecutive sentences with ὥστε; as PLAT. Phaedr. 227 D: οὕτως ἐπιτεθίμηκα ἀκοῦσαι, ὥστ', εἰάν ποιῇ τὸν περίπατον Μέγαράδε, οὐ μὴ σου ἀπολειφθῶ.

In AESCH. Ag. 1640, τὸν δέ μὴ πειθάνορα ζεύξω βαρείαις οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον κριθῶντα πῶλον, and I will yoke him who is not obedient under a heavy yoke, (and I will let him run) by no means as a wanton colt in traces, οὔτι μὴ belongs grammatically to ζεύξω, though its position makes it affect the following words in sense: cf. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί, Ag. 931, where the force of μὴ falls on the words that follow it. See Paley's note on Ag. 1640 (1618).

297. (*Prohibition.*) In the dramatic poets, the second person singular of the future indicative (occasionally of the subjunctive) with οὐ μὴ may express a strong *prohibition*. Thus οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις means *you shall not prate*, or *do not prate*, being nearly equivalent to μὴ λάλει or μὴ λαλήσης. *E.g.*

ᾠ παῖ, τί θροεῖς; οὐ μὴ παρ' ὄχλῳ τάδε γηρύσει, do not (I beg you) speak out in this way before the people. EUR. Hipp. 213. ᾠ θύγατερ, οὐ μὴ μῦθον ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἐρεῖς. Id. Supp. 1066. Οὐ μὴ γυναικῶν δειλὸν εἰσοίσσεις λόγον, do not adopt the cowardly language of women. Id. And. 757. Οὐ μὴ ἐξεγερεῖς τὸν ὑπὸν κάτοχον κάκ-

κινήσεις κάναστήσεις φοιτάδα δεινὴν νόσον, ὦ τέκνον, *do not wake him and arouse, etc.* SOPH. Tr. 978. (Here οὐ μὴ belongs to three verbs.) Τί ποιεῖς; οὐ μὴ καταβήσει, *don't come down.* AR. Vesp. 397. Ποῖος Ζεὺς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσῃς· οἶδ' ἔστι Ζεὺς, *Zeus indeed! Don't talk nonsense; there isn't any Zeus.* Id. Nub. 367. (Here all Mss. have ληρήσῃς. See Nub. 296, quoted in 298; and section 301 below.)

298. A prohibition thus begun by οὐ μὴ with the future or subjunctive may be continued by μηδέ with another future form. An affirmative command may be added to the prohibition by a future or an imperative with ἀλλά or δέ. *E.g.*

Οὐ μὴ καλεῖς μ', ὠρθρωφ', ἱκετεύω, μηδέ κατερεῖς τοῦνομα, *do not call to me, I implore you, nor speak my name.* AR. Ran. 298. Οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα μηδ' ἄψει πέπλων, *do not bring your hand near me nor touch my garments.* EUR. Hipp. 606. Οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα, βακχεύσεις δ' ἴων, μηδ' ἐξομόρξει μωρίαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί, *do not bring your hand near me; but go and rage, and do not wipe off your folly on me.* Id. Bacch. 343. (Here μηδέ continues the original prohibition as if there had been no interruption.)

Οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοί, *do not prate, but follow me.* AR. Nub. 505. Οὐ μὴ διατρίψεις, ἀλλὰ γεύσει τῆς θύρας, *do not delay, but taste of the door.* Id. Ran. 462. Οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων, ὦ Ξανθία, ἀλλ' ἀράμενος οἴσεις πάλιν τὰ στρώματα. Ib. 524. Οὐ μὴ δυσμενῆς ἔσει φίλους, παύσει δέ θνητοῦ καὶ πάλιν στρέψεις κἄρα, . . . δέξει δὲ δῶρα καὶ παραιτήσει πατρός, *be not inimical to friends, but cease your rage, etc.* EUR. Med. 1151. Οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς μηδὲ ποιήσῃς (so all the Mss.) ἀπερ οἱ τριγοδαίμονες οὐδοὶ, ἀλλ' ἐνφύημει, *do not scoff, nor do what these wretches do; but keep silence!* AR. Nub. 296. (Here the imperative is used precisely like the future with ἀλλά or δέ in the preceding examples.)

The clause with μηδέ is here a continuation of that with οὐ μὴ, οὐ belonging to both. The future in the clause with ἀλλά or δέ is like that in πάντως τοῦτο δράσεις, *by all means do this*, AR. Nub. 1352 (see 69). A single οὐ μὴ may introduce a prohibition consisting of several futures connected by καί, as in SOPH. Tr. 978 (quoted in 297).

299. Sometimes οὐ with the future indicative in a question implying an affirmative answer (thus equivalent to an exhortation) is followed by μὴ or μηδέ with the future in a question implying a negative answer (and thus equivalent to a prohibition). Here there is no case of οὐ μὴ. *E.g.*

Οὐ σίγ' ἀνέξει, μηδέ δειλίαν ἀρεῖς; *will you not keep silence, and not become a coward?* SOPH. Aj. 75. (Here μὴ δειλίαν ἀρεῖς; is an independent question, *will you be a coward?* = *do not be a coward.*) Οὐ θάσσον οἴσεις, μηδ' ἀπιστήσεις ἐμοί; *will you not extend your hand and not distrust me?* Id. Tr. 1183. Οὐκ εἰ σὺ τ' οἴκοις, σὺ τε Κρέων κατὰ στέγας, καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλγος εἰς μέγ' οἴσετε; Id. O. T. 637.

Red sea Thompson 1354

Sett 2661 with for the year's reputation of overwork in



300. All the examples under 297 and 298 are usually printed as interrogative, in accordance with Elmsley's doctrine, stated in his note to *Eur. Med.* 1120 (1151) and in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1812. He explains οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; as meaning *will you not stop prating?* (lit. *will you not not prate?*); and when a second clause in the future with μῆδέ or ἀλλά follows, he extends the interrogative force of οὐ also to this. But this explanation requires an entirely different theory to account for οὐ μὴ in clauses of denial (295), where no question is possible. Moreover, the five examples of the second person of the subjunctive quoted under 295, taken in connection with those in 297 and 298, are sufficient to show the impossibility of separating the two constructions in explanation. One of the examples in 298 (*AR. Nub.* 296), where the imperative εὐφήμει follows in the clause with ἀλλά, seems decisive against the interrogative theory. The examples under 299 are really interrogative; but they consist practically of an exhortation followed by a prohibition (both being interrogative), and contain no construction with οὐ μὴ at all.

301. In most modern editions of the classics the subjunctive is not found in the construction of 297; and in many cases the first aorist subjunctive in -σῆς has been emended to the future, against the authority of the Mss., in conformity to Dawes's rule. (See 364.) Thus, in *AR. Nub.* 296 and 367 the Mss. have the subjunctive; and in 296, οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς could not be changed to οὐ μὴ σκώψεις, as the future of σκώπτω is σκώσομαι. Elmsley's emendation σκώψει, which is adopted by most editors, requires a greater change than should be made merely to sustain an arbitrary rule, which rests on no apparent principle. If both constructions (295 and 297) are explained on the same principle, there is no longer any reason for objecting to the subjunctive with οὐ μὴ in prohibitions; and it seems most probable that both future indicative and subjunctive were allowed in both constructions, but that the subjunctive was more common in clauses of denial, and the future in clauses of prohibition.

SECTION V.

Final and Object Clauses after "ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ὄφρα, and Μή.

CLASSIFICATION.—NEGATIVES.

302. The final particles are ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, and (in epic and lyric poetry) ὄφρα, *that, in order that.* To these must be added μὴ, *lest*, which became in use a negative final particle.

303. The clauses which are introduced by these particles, all of which are sometimes called *final clauses*, may be divided into three classes:—

A. Pure final clauses, in which the end or purpose of the action of any verb may be expressed; as *ἔρχεται ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδῃ*, *he is coming that he may see this*; *ἀπέρχεται ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο ἴδῃ*, *he is departing that he may not see this*; *ἦλθεν ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδοι*, *he came that he might see this*. Here all the final particles are used, but with different frequency in various classes of writers (see 311-314).

B. Object clauses with *ὅπως* or *ὅπως μὴ* after verbs of *striving*, etc.; as *σκόπει ὅπως γενήσεται*, *see that it happens*; *σκόπει ὅπως μὴ γενήσεται*, *see that it does not happen*. These clauses express the direct object of the verb of *striving*, etc., so that they may stand in apposition to an object accusative like *τοῦτο*; as *σκόπει τοῦτο, ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται*, *see to this, viz., that he does not see you*. They also imply the end or purpose of the action of the leading verb, and to this extent they partake of the nature of final clauses.

C. Clauses with *μή* after verbs of *fearing*, etc.; as *φοβοῦμαι μὴ τοῦτο γένηται*, *I fear that this may happen*; *έφοβήθη μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο*, *he feared that this might happen*. These clauses have in use become object clauses, though in their origin they are of a very different nature (262; 307).

304. Although the object clauses of class B partake slightly of the nature of final clauses, so that they sometimes allow the same construction (the subjunctive for the futuro indicative), still the distinction between classes A and B is very strongly marked. An object clause, as we have seen, can stand in apposition to a preceding *τοῦτο*; whereas a final clause would stand in apposition to *τούτου ἕνεκα*, as *ἔρχεται τούτου ἕνεκα, ἵνα ἡμῖν βοηθήσῃ*, *he comes for this purpose, viz., that he may assist us*. The two can be combined in one sentence; as *σποιδάζει ὅπως πλουτήσῃ, ἵνα τοῖς φίλοις εὖ ποιῇ*, *he is eager to be rich, that he may benefit his friends*.

Care must be taken not to mistake the nature of an object clause with *ὅπως* when its subject is attracted by the leading verb; as *σκόπει τὴν πόλιν ὅπως σωθήσεται* for *σκόπει ὅπως ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται*, *see that the city is saved*. So also when an object clause of the active construction becomes a subject clause in the equivalent passive form; as *ἐπράττετο ὅπως σιμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφισθε*, *it was brought about that*

λάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ γὰρ ἐκέλευεν ὅπως μὴ παρὰ κρούσασθαι
ἐμὸν ἔθασσάσθω D. 18. 276



you should vote to have an alliance made (ÆSCHIN. iii. 64), which represents the active construction *ἐπραττον ὅπως ψηφισέσθε*.

305. The regular negative after *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως*, and *ὄφρα* is *μή*; but after *μή*, *lest*, *οὐ* is used. *E.g.*

Ἀπέρχεται, ἵνα μή τοῦτο ἴδῃ, *he is departing that he may not see this*.
Φοβεῖται μή οὐ τοῦτο γένηται, *he is afraid that this may not happen*.

306. This use of *μή οὐ* (305) occurs in Homer in a few final clauses (263) and once after *δεῖδω* (Il. x. 39). After this it is confined to clauses after verbs of fearing, with the exception of XEN. Mem. ii. 2, 14, Cyneg. vii. 10, and the peculiar *μή οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι* in PLAT. Rep. 393 E (132). This use of *οὐ* after *μή* is naturally explained by the origin of the dependent clause with *μή* (262); but after *μή* had come to be felt as a conjunction and its origin was forgotten, the chief objection to *μή . . . μή* was probably in the sound, and we find a few cases of it where the two particles are so far apart that the repetition is not offensive. Such a case is XEN. Mem. i. 2, 7: *ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις φοβοῖτο μή ὁ γεγόμενος καλῶς κάγαθός τῳ τὰ μέγιστα ἐνεργητήσαντι μή τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔξοι*, where we should expect *μή οὐχ ἔξοι*. So THUC. ii. 13: *ὑποτοπήσας μή . . . παραλίπη καὶ μή διώσῃ*. So in a final clause, *μή . . . μή προσδέχοιτο*, PLAT. Euthyd. 295 D.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAUSES WITH *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως*, *ὄφρα*, AND *μή*.

307. The development of final clauses and of clauses with *μή* after verbs of fearing from an original *parataxis*, or co-ordination of two independent sentences, is especially plain in dependent negative clauses with the simple *μή*. Thus *ἀποστῆχε, μή τι νοήσῃ Ἥρῃ*, *withdraw, lest Hera notice anything* (Il. i. 522), presents the form of an original paratactic expression, which would mean *withdraw:—may not* (or *let not*) *Hera notice anything*, the latter clause being like *μή δὴ νῆας ἔλωσι*, *may they not take the ships* (Il. xvi. 128), and *μή δὴ μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα* (Il. xviii. 8). (See 261.) Such sentences as these last imply fear or anxiety lest the event may happen which *μή* with the subjunctive expresses a desire to avert; and in a primitive stage of the language they might naturally be preceded by a verb of fearing, to which the (still independent) subjunctive with *μή* would stand in the relation of an explanatory clause defining the substance of the fear. Thus *δεῖδω—μή νῆας ἔλωσι* would originally be two independent sentences, *I fear:—may they not take the ships*; but would in time come to be felt as a single sentence, equivalent to our *I fear that (lest) they may take the ships*. After *φοβοῦμαι μή τοῦτο πάθωω* (for example) was domesticated in the sense *I fear lest they may suffer this*, the second clause followed the ordinary course, and began to be felt as a thoroughly dependent clause; and when

the leading verb became past, the subjunctive became optative, as ἐφοβήθην μὴ τοῦτο πάθουεν, *I feared lest they might suffer this*. When this stage is reached, all feeling of the original independence may be said to have vanished and a dependent clause is fully established. As this decisive evidence of complete dependence is constantly found in the Homeric language, we cannot suppose that such an expression as δειδοῖκα μὴ τι πάθωσιν (Il. x. 538) was still felt to be composed of two independent sentences, although the original paratactic form is precisely preserved. Indeed, we have no evidence that the step from parataxis to hypotaxis was taken after the Greek language had an independent existence.¹

308. It was a simple and natural step to extend the construction thus established to present and past objects of fear, although we cannot assume for the primitive language such independent indicatives with μὴ as we find later (see 269). In Homer we find δειδοῖ μὴ θεὸν νημερτέα εἶπεν, *I fear that the Goddess spoke the truth* (Od. v. 300). This use was greatly extended in Attic Greek (see 369).

309. This simple construction of a dependent verb introduced by μὴ with no connecting conjunction remained the established form after verbs of fearing in all periods of the language; and occasional exceptions, like μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις, *do not fear that you will be at a loss* (371), οὐ φοβεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἀνόσιον πρᾶγμα τυγχάνῃς πράττων: (370), and οὐ φοβοῦμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι, *we are not afraid that we shall have the worst of it* (372), in place of the regular μὴ φορήσης, μὴ τυγχάνῃς, μὴ ἐλασσωθῶμεν, only prove the rule. The original independent sentence with μὴ, expressing an object of fear which it is desired to avert, like μὴ νῆμα ἔλωσι, is well established in Homer and appears occasionally in the Attic poets (261; 264). But in Plato it suddenly appears as a common construction, expressing, however, not an object of fear but an object of suspicion or surmise (265), so that μὴ with the subjunctive is a cautious expression of a direct assertion; as μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶπείν, *I rather think the truth may be too rude to tell* (Gorg. 462 E).

310. In like manner, the simple negative form of the pure final clause, as ἀπόρτιχε, μὴ τι νοίση Ἥρη (quoted above), was already established in Homer, the negative μὴ serving as a connective, so that the want of a final conjunction was not felt. Here also the feeling of dependence is shown by the subjunctive becoming optative when the leading verb is past; as in φείξομαι μὴ τίς με ἴδῃ and ἔφωγον μὴ τίς με ἴδῃ. But it is obvious that

¹ See Brugmann. *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 122.





only negative purpose could be expressed by this simple form, in which *μή* could serve as a connective. We find, it is true, a few positive sentences in which a purpose is implied by the mere sequence of two clauses; as *ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἰθὺς κίε Νέστορος ἱπποδάμοιο εὔδομεν* (subj.) *ἦν τινα μῆτιν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κέκευθεν*, i.e. *go straightway to Nestor: let us know what counsel he buries in his breast* (Od. iii. 17), and *θάπτε με ὅτι τάχιστα πύλας Ἄϊδαο περήσω*, *bury me as quickly as possible: let me pass the gates of Hades* (Il. xxiii. 71). But these disconnected expressions, with no particle to unite them, could never satisfy the need of a positive sentence of purpose. To supply this want, several final particles were developed, and were already in familiar use in Homer. These are *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως*, and *ὄφρα*, which will be discussed separately.

311. (*ἵνα*). *ἵνα* is the only purely final particle, having nothing of the relative character of *ὥς* and *ὅπως*, or of the temporal character of *ὄφρα*. Its derivation is uncertain. It appears in Homer as a fully developed final conjunction, and occasionally also in the sense of *where* (Od. ix. 136) and *whither* (Od. xix. 20). It is overshadowed in epic and lyric poetry by *ὄφρα*, and in tragedy by *ὥς*; but Aristophanes uses it in three-fourths of his final sentences, and in Plato and the orators it has almost exterminated the other final particles. As *ἵνα* is purely final, both in use and in feeling, it never takes *ἄν* or *κέ*, which are frequently found with the other final particles, especially with the relative *ὥς*.

312. (*ὥς*). 1. *ὥς* is originally an adverb of manner, derived from the stem *ὠ-* of the relative *ὅς*, like *οὔτως* from the stem of *οἶτος*. As a relative it means originally *in which way, as*; as an indirect interrogative it means *how*, whence comes its use in indirect discourse (663, 2). Since purpose can be expressed by a relative pronoun, which in Homer regularly takes the subjunctive (568), as *ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὅπως σπον, ὥς κέ με κείω' ἀγάγη*, *send me a good guide, to lead me thither* (Od. xv. 310), so can it be by the relative adverb of manner, as *κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φίλοις*, *divide the men in that way by which clan may help clan, etc., i.e. (so) divide them that clan may help clan, etc.* (Il. ii. 362). Here the original force of *ὥς* can be seen; but in Od. xvii. 75, *ἄρννον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα γυναίκας, ὥς τοι δῶρ' ἀποπέμψω*, *in order that I may send you the gifts*, the final force is as strong as if we had *ἵνα ἀποπέμψω*.

2. *ὥς*, however, always retained so much of its original relative nature that it could take *κέ* or *ἄν* in a final sentence with the subjunctive, like other final relatives, which in Homer hardly ever omit *κέ* before a subjunctive (568). Compare *ὥς κέ με κείω'*

ἀγάγη (above) with the equivalent ὡς κέ με κείω' ἀγάγη. The final clause thus receives a conditional *form*, with which it must have received originally more or less conditional force.¹ Thus an expression like πείθεο ὡς ἂν κῖδος ἄρῃαι probably meant originally *obey in whatever way you may gain glory*, or *obey in some way in which you may gain glory*, ὡς ἂν ἄρῃαι being chiefly a conditional relative clause (529); but before the Homeric usage was established, the final element had so far obliterated the relative, that the conditional force of ὡς ἂν must have been greatly weakened. The expression in Homer (Il. xvi. 84) may have meant *obey that (if so be) you may give me glory*. (See examples under 326.) The same is true of the less common use of κέ or ἂν with ὄφρα and ὅπως in Homer (327; 328). How far the original conditional force survived in the Attic ὡς ἂν and ὅπως ἂν with the subjunctive, especially in ὅπως ἂν of Attic prose, is a question which at this distant day we have hardly the power to answer, and each scholar will be guided by his own feeling as he reads the expressions. (See 326; 328; 348.) It certainly can be seen in some of Xenophon's uses of ὡς ἂν with the subjunctive; see Cyr. ii. 4, 28, and Eques. i. 16, quoted in Appendix IV.

3. Ὡς and ὡς κε with the subjunctive are used in Homer also in object clauses after verbs of *planning, considering, etc.* (341), where ὅπως with the future indicative is the regular Attic form. Ὡς (with ὡς ἂν) is by far the most common final particle in tragedy; it seldom occurs in Aristophanes and Herodotus; while in Attic prose it almost entirely disappears,² except in Xenophon, with whom it is again common, though less so than ὅπως or ἵνα. (See Weber's tables in Appendix III.)

313. (Ὅπως.) 1. Ὅπως is related to ὡς as ὅποτε to ὄτε, being the adverb of the relative stem ὁ- and the indefinite stem πο-combined.³ Like ὡς, it is originally a relative adverb, meaning *as*; and it can always be used in this sense, as in οὕτως ὅπως

¹ See Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* iv. p. 422.

² Weber (p. 174) quotes two passages of Demosthenes as examples of final ὡς with the future indicative, a construction otherwise unknown in Attic prose: ὡς δὲ σαφῶς γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐγὼ ἱμῖν ἐρῶ, xxiv. 146; and ὡς δὲ καταφανὲς ἔσται ὅτι πρότερον ἀναισχυροῦντες περμεγένοιο, ἀναγγίλωσκε τὰς μαρτυρίας, xliii. 42. But compare the common formula of the orators ὡς ἢ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβὲ τὴν μαρτυρίαν (or λάλει τοῖς μάρτυρας), e. g. in DEM. xxvii. 28, with the occasional full form, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ταῦτα ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβὲ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, DEM. xlv. 19; so xviii. 305. See also ὡς εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε (sc. ἵνα εἰδῆτε), XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 33. This common ellipsis shows that in DEM. xliii. 42 we can easily supply a final clause like ἵνα εἰδῆτε before ὡς καταφανὲς ἔσται, *that you may know how it is to be established, etc.* In xxiv. 146 there is no need even of an ellipsis, as we can translate *how you are to know that I speak the truth, I will explain to you*.

³ See Delbrück, *Conj. u. Opt.* p. 61.



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δύνανται, *thus as they can*, THUC. vii. 67. Then it is used in indirect questions, in the sense of ὅπως τρόπος, *how, in what way*, and is followed by the future indicative; as σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἢ πόλις σωθήσεται, *to see how the city can be saved*. So τοῖς γεγενημένοις πονηροῖς, ὅπως μὴ δώσουσι δίκην, ὅδον δείκνυσσι, *he shows those who have been rascals how they can avoid suffering punishment* (= ὅπως τρόπος μὴ δώσουσι), DEM. xxiv. 106. Then, by a slight modification in sense, it may denote also the object to which the striving, etc., is directed; so that σκοπεῖν (or σκοπεῖν τοῦτο) ὅπως ἢ πόλις σωθήσεται may mean *to see (to this, viz.) that the city shall be saved*. Here, however, the subjunctive is sometimes allowed, as the interrogative force of ὅπως is lost sight of and its force as a final particle, *in order that*, begins to appear. From this it becomes established as a final particle, and denotes the purpose in ordinary final clauses. From the original force of ὅπως as a relative, used in indirect questions in the sense of *how*, we must explain its occasional use in indirect questions in the sense of ὡς (706).

The interrogative force of ὅπως can be seen from passages in which other interrogative words take its place in the same sense; as DEM. xvi. 19, σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται (φίλοι), *to see in what way they can be prevented from becoming friends*; and THUC. i. 65, ἔπρασεν ὅπη ὠφελία τις γενήσεται, *he negotiated to have some help come (how some help should come)*. So THUC. iv. 128, ἔπρασεν ὅπη πρόσω τάχιστα τοῖς μὲν ξυμβήσεται τῶν δὲ ἀπαλλάξεται.¹

2. Although ὅπως is fully established in the Homeric language, both in its half-interrogative use after verbs of *planning*, etc. (341), and also in its final sense, it seldom occurs in Homer in either construction. It first becomes frequent in the Attic poets. In Thucydides and Xenophon it is the most common final particle; and in these writers, as in tragedy, its final use greatly exceeds its use in object clauses. The latter, however, far exceeds the final use in Herodotus, Plato, and the orators; but here ἵνα has gained almost undisputed possession of the field as a final particle.

3. Ὅπως never takes κέ or ἄν in pure final clauses in Homer. Ὅπως ἄν with the subjunctive appears for the first time in final clauses in Aeschylus (328), and afterwards maintains itself vigorously by the side of the simple ὅπως. In object clauses ὅπως κε with the subjunctive is found in a few places in Homer, and ὅπως ἄν in a few in the Attic poets, while ὅπως ἄν in these clauses in prose is found chiefly in Plato and Xenophon (348).

314. (Ὅφρα.) The most common final particle in Homer

¹ See Madvig's *Syntax*, § 123.

is *ὄφρα*, which is originally a temporal particle, meaning *while* (*so long as*) and then *until*. From the last meaning the final force was naturally developed, as the idea of *until*, when it looks forward to the future, may involve that of aiming at an object to be attained, as in English *we shall fight until we are free*. Another temporal particle meaning both *while* and *until*, *ἕως*, is used in a final sense in a few passages of the *Odyssey* (614, 2). Both of the temporal uses of *ὄφρα* appear in full vigour in Homer; but its final character must have been more distinctly marked at an earlier period than that of either *ὡς* or *ὅπως*, so that it seldom took either *κέ* or *ἄν* before the subjunctive.

Ὅφρα is found only in epic and lyric poetry.

315. (*Negative Final Clauses.*) The need of these final particles was first felt, as has been shown (310), in positive clauses of purpose, as a negative purpose could always be expressed by the simple *μή*, which thus became in use a conjunction. Still the final particles were as well suited to negative as to positive final clauses, and they could always be prefixed to *μή*, which thus was restored to its natural place as a negative adverb. Thus *φείξομαι ἵνα μή τις με ἴδῃ* has the same meaning as the older *φείξομαι μή τις με ἴδῃ*, *I shall flee, that no one may see me*.

The history of the Greek language shows a gradual decrease of final *μή* and an increase of the final particles with *μή* in negative final clauses.¹ The tendency in this direction was so strong that *ὅπως μή* sometimes took the place of *μή* even after verbs of *fearing*, to express the object of the fear (370), while it became the regular form after verbs of *striving*, etc., to express the object aimed at (339).

The different origin of the negative final clause (with *ἵνα μή*, etc.) and of the clause with *μή* explains the fact that, while clauses introduced by the final particles are negated by *μή*, those introduced by *μή*, *lest*, are negated by *οὐ*. (See 306.)

316. Finally, the Attic Greek took the last step in developing the final clause, by using the past tenses of the indicative with *ἵνα*, *ὡς*, and *ὅπως* to express a purpose which failed of attainment because of the failure of the action of the leading sentence; as *τί μ' οὐκ ἔλπειας, ὡς μήποτε τοῦτ' ἔδειξα*; *why did you not kill me, that I might never have shown this?* (See 333.)

¹ In Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets we find 131 cases of simple *μή* and 50 of the final particles with *μή*; in tragedy the proportion is 76 : 59; in Aristophanes it is 8 : 55; in Herodotus, 8 : 53. In Attic prose (except in Plato and Xenophon) the simple *μή* in final clauses almost vanishes. Thucydides has only 4 or 5 cases; the ten orators only 4 (Demosthenes 2, Isocrates 1, Isaeus 1); Plato 24; and Xenophon 12.



in Anitokh \rightarrow
- c. μ in pure (except ρ etc. + X_m) almost uncered



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A. PURE FINAL CLAUSES.

317. Pure final clauses regularly take the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if the leading verb is secondary. *E.g.*

Νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα. Π. ii. 381. ^{ἵνα α, ἵνα}
 Σοὶ δ' ὧδε μνηστῆρες ὑποκρίνονται, ἵν' εἰδῆς αὐτὸς σὺ θυμῷ εἰδῶσι
 δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί. Od. ii. 111. Εἶπω τι δῆτα κἄλλ', ἵν' ὀργίξῃ
 πλέον; SOPH. O. T. 364. Καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἰρέται, οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ
 καλῶς ἐπιμελῆται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράτ-
 τωσι. XEN. Mem. iii. 2, 3. Δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἵνα
 μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ. Id. An. iii. 2, 27. Πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας,
 ἵνα μῶδὲν ἀλλ' εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε. DEM. xviii. 318. (Here
 the final clause depends on some implied expression like *I say this*)
 Ὄρουσθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτουι φῶς φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν. Od. v. 2. Φίλος
 ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην.
 XEN. An. ii. 6, 21. Τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω (hist. pres.), ἵν' οὕτω
 γίγνοιενθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ. DEM.
 xviii. 27.

Βουλὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθηρόμεθ', ἢ τις ὀνήσει, ὡς μὴ πάντες ὡς, ὡς
 ὀλωνται ὀδισσαμένοιο τεοῖο. Π. viii. 36. Διανοεῖται αὐτὴν (γέ-
 φυραν) λῦσαι, ὡς μὴ διαβῆτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῆτε. XEN.
 An. ii. 4, 17. Πέφνε δ' Εὐρυτον, ὡς Αὐγέαν λάτριον μισθὸν πρᾶσ-
 σοιτο. Pind. Ol. x. (xi.) 31. Καί σ' ἐξέπεμπον, ὡς μόνῃ κλύοις.
 SOPH. Ant. 19. Ἐπεμψα ὡς πύθοιτο. Id. O. T. 71. Τοῦτο οὐπερ
 ἕνεκα φίλων φέτο δέισθαι, ὡς σινεργοῖς ἔχοι. XEN. An. i. 9, 21.

Τὸν δὲ μνηστῆρες λοχῶσιν, ὅπως ἀπὸ φύλον ὀληται ἐξ Ἰθάκης. οἴσω, δὲ
 Od. xiv. 181. Μέθεσ τὸδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθῃς. SOPH.
 El. 1205. Εἰς καιρὸν ἦκεῖς, ὅπως τῆς δίκης ἀκούσῃς. XEN. Cy.
 iii. 1, 8. Παρακαλεῖς ἰατροῖς, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. Id. Mem. ii. 10,
 2. Οἴμαι δὲ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς αὐτοῖς χοροῦς κρί-
 νωσιν οἱ πολῖται, οἷδ' ὅπως τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐλητὰς ἐπαινώσιν, οἷδ'
 ὅπως τοῖς αὐτοῖς ποιητὰς αἰρῶνται, οἷδ' ἵνα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡδωνται,
 ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς νόμοις πείθωνται. Id. Mem. iv. 4, 16. Ἐν χεῖρεσ-
 σιν ἔθηκεν, ὅπως ἔτι πῆμα φύγοιμι. Od. xiv. 312. Ἀφικόμην, ὅπως
 σοῦ πρὸς δόμοις ἐλθόντος εὖ πράξαιμί τι. SOPH. O. T. 1005.
 Ἐπρὸς βεῖοντο ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιεν ὅτι μεγίστη
 πρόφασις εἶη τοῦ πολεμεῖν. THUC. i. 126.

Κεφαλὴν κατανεύσομαι, ὄφρα πεποιθήσῃς. Π. i. 524. Ὅρσοο δὴ ^{ὄφρα, δὲ}
 νῦν, ξεῖνε, πόλινδ' ἴμεν, ὄφρα σε πέμψω. Od. vi. 255. Αἰτᾶρ ἐμοὶ
 γέρας αἰτίχ' ἐτοιμάσατ', ὄφρα μὴ οἶος Ἀργείων ἀγέραστος ἔω. Π. i.
 118. Δόμον Φερσεφόνας ἐλθέ, ὄφρ' ἰδοῖσ' υἱὸν εἶπῃς. PIND. Ol. xiv.
 20. Ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθα κατέσχετ' ἐπειγόμενός περ ὀδοῖο, ὄφρ' ἔταρον
 θάπτοι καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρα κτερίσειεν. Od. iii. 284.

Ἄλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αἰτίς ἀπόστιχε, μὴ τι νοήσῃ Ἥρῃ· ἐμοὶ δὲ κε ^{ἵνα γ, ἵνα}
 ταῦτα μελήσεται ὄφρα τελέσσω. Π. i. 522. Οὐ δῆτ' αὐτὸν ἄξεις
 δεῦρο, μὴ τις ἀναρπάσῃ; SOPH. Aj. 986. Λωσιτελεῖ εἶσαι ἐν τῷ

παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτον πολέμιον προσθώμεθα. XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 12. Λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπιέναι βούλοιο, μὴ ὁ πατήρ τι ἀχθοιο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιο. Ib. i. 4, 25. Λοῦσαι κέλετ', ὡς μὴ Πρίαμος ἴδοι υἴον, μὴ ὁ μὲν ἀχνημένη κραδίη χόλον οὐκ ἐρύσαιτο. Il. xxiv. 582. See

For the relative frequency of the final particles, see Appendix III.

318. As final clauses after past tenses express some person's previous purpose or motive, they allow the double construction of indirect discourse (667, 1); so that, instead of the optative, they can have the *mood* and *tense* which the person himself would have used in conceiving the purpose. Thus we can say either ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδοι, *he came that he might see*, or ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃ, *because the person himself would have said ἐρχομαι ἵνα ἴδω, I come that I may see.*

Hence the subjunctive in final clauses after past tenses is very common, in some writers even more common than the regular optative. *E.g.*


Ἐπεκλώσαντο δ' ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα ἦσι καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῆ. Od. viii. 579. Ἀχλὺν δ' αὐ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆεν, ὄφρ' ἐν γιγνώσκῃς ἡμῶν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. Il. v. 127. Ἀριστεὺς ξυμβούλευεν ἐκπλεῖναι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ σῖτος ἀντίσχη. THUC. i. 65. Ἦλθον πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι τὸ Ἀττικὸν (ναυτικὸν) προσηγόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται. Id. i. 31. Ἐχώρον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλευτέροις οἴσι προσφέρωνται καὶ σφίσι ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνωνται, ἀλλ' ἥσσους ὦσι. Id. ii. 3. Καὶ ἐπίτηδες σε οὐκ ἤγειρον, ἵνα ὡς ἤδιστα διδάγῃς. PLAT. Crit. 43 B. Πλοῖα κατέκαυσεν ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῆ. XEN. An. i. 4, 18. Ταῦτας ἵνα κωλύθῃ οἱ νόμοι συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵνα κυρίας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ποιήτε. DEM. xix. 1. Καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθη, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτὰ πάθητε. Id. iii. 6. (Here the purpose was conceived in the form ἵνα μὴ ταῦτὰ πάθωσιν.)

319. This principle applies also to clauses with ὅπως after verbs of *striving* (339) and with μὴ after verbs of *fearing*, etc. (365).

320. This is a favourite construction with certain authors, especially Thucydides, who also, on the same principle, prefers the indicative and subjunctive to the optative in ordinary indirect discourse after past tenses (670). The early poets, on the other hand, especially Homer, use it very sparingly.¹

¹ Weber, p. 243, gives a comparison of the usage of various writers, showing that the proportion of subjunctives to optatives after past tenses in pure final clauses and after verbs of fearing is as follows:—in *Homer* 35 : 156, *Pindar* 2 : 10, *Aeschylus* 2 : 9, *Sophocles* 2 : 23, *Euripides* 31 : 65, *Aristophanes* 13 : 37, *Herodotus* 86 : 47, *Thucydides* 168 : 60, *Lysias* 22 : 19, *Isocrates* 21 : 17, *Isaeus* 8 : 17, *Demosthenes* 40 : 40, *Aeschines* 13 : 7, *Plato* 22 : 79, *Xenophon* 45 : 265. In all writers before Aristotle 528 : 894. In the Attic writers and Herodotus, excluding Xenophon, the two are just equal, 441.

to pay depend on cost of living index



9. 387 ..der optatis die beabzichtigte Handlung gleichsam in
:der Ferne nicht

321. The subjunctive thus used for the optative makes the language more vivid, by introducing more nearly the original form of thought of the person whose purpose is stated. As the two forms are equally correct, we sometimes find both in the same sentence, just as we find the indicative and optative interchanged in indirect discourse (670; see 677 and 690). *E.g.*

Ἐξακοσίους λογάδας ἐξέκριναν, ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν εἴησαν φύλακες καὶ ἦν ἐς ἄλλο τι δεῖν, ταχὺ ξυνεστῶτες παραγίγνωνται, i.e. they selected them, that they might be guards of Epiridae, and that they might be on hand if they should be needed for anything else. THUC. vi. 96. Παρانیσχον δὲ φρυκτοῖς, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ καὶ μὴ βοήθοιεν, they raised fire-signals at the same time, in order that the enemy's signals might be unintelligible to them, and that they (the enemy) might not bring aid. Id. iii. 22.

A common interpretation of the latter and of similar passages, that "the subjunctive mood indicates the immediate, and the optative the remote consequence of the action contained in the principal verbs, the second being a consequence of the first" (Arnold), manifestly could not apply to the first example.

322. The use of the optative for the subjunctive in final clauses after primary tenses is, on the other hand, very rare, and is to be viewed as a mere irregularity of construction. See ἀξω τήλ' Ἰθάκης, ἵνα μοι βίσιον πολλὸν ἄλφοι, Od. xvii. 250; ὅπως μαχέονται, Il. i. 344; and vii. 340, xviii. 88. So SOPH. El. 56, O. C. 11; HDT. ii. 93 (ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν). Most of these are emended by various editors; and no good reason for the anomaly appears in any of them.

323. Sometimes the optative is properly used after a leading verb which implies a reference to the past as well as the present. *E.g.*

Τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ὁ νόμος, ἵνα μηδὲ πεισθῆναι μηδ' ἐξαπατηθῆναι γένοιτ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ. DEM. xxii. 11. (Here ἔχει implies also the past existence of the law; the idea being, the law was made as it is, so that it might not be possible, etc.) So DEM. xxiv. 145, 147. In DEM. iii. 34 ἵνα τοῦθ' ἵπάρχοι depends on a past verb of saying to be mentally supplied. In AR. Ran. 23, τοῦτον δ' ὄχῳ, ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μηδ' ἄχθος φέροι, I am letting him ride, that he might not be distressed, etc., the meaning of ὄχῳ goes back to the time when Dionysus first let the slave mount the ass.

324. (*Future Indicative.*) The future indicative occasionally takes the place of the subjunctive in pure final clauses. It occurs chiefly with ὅπως, very seldom with ὅφρα, ὡς, and μὴ, and never with ἵνα.¹ It has essentially the same force as the subjunctive. *E.g.*

¹ Weber cites the following cases, in addition to those given above. For ἄξω: AESCH. Cho. 265, Suppl. 449; SOPH. Aj. 698 (?); EUR. El. 835; AR. Vesp. 528, Pac. 309, 431, Lys. 1093, Thesm. 431, 653, 285 (?), Eccl. 783, 997; ANDOC. i. 89; XEN. Hipp. i. 18, Mem. ii. 1, 1 (παιδεύειν ὅπως ἔσται ?). In XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 4 and 21 the Mss. vary: in Cyr. iii. 3, 42 ὅπως is probably independent. For ὅφρα: Il. viii. 110; Od. iv. 163, xvii. 6. For ὡς: EUR.

Αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῦσι καὶ αἰμυλίωσι λόγοισι θέλγει, ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται. *Od.* i. 56. Μὴ πρόσλεισσε, ἡμῶν ὅπως μὴ τὴν τύχην διαφθερεῖς. *SOPH. Ph.* 1068. Ἀπομυκτέον δέ σοι γ', ὅπως λήψει πεινί. *EUR. Cycl.* 561. Ἀρδῶ σ' ὅπως ἀμβλαστανεῖς. *AR. Lys.* 384. Ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς πρὸ λόγου σου τρέφομαι, ὅπως τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τραγωδίας μέρος πρῶτιστον βασανιῶ. *AR. Ran.* 1120. Προίεσαι (δεῖ) τῶν τόπων ἐνθιμοῦμενοι, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται. *XEN. Cyneg.* ix. 4. Χρὴ ἀναβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν τοῖς ἀναγραφέντας, ὅπως μὴ πρότερον νύξ ἔσται πρὶν πυθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσ ἀπαντας. *AND.* i. 43.

Θύρσνον δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ὄφρα καὶ Ἐκτωρ εἴσεται. *Il.* xvi. 242. Ὡς τί ρέξομεν; *that we may do what?* *SOPH. O. C.* 1724. Ὅστ' εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ βραδύνειν ἐστὶ, μὴ καὶ τις ὄψεται χιμῶν ἴσως κατέπη. *AR. Eccl.* 495. *So μὴ κεχολώσεται, Il. xx.* 301.

Ἄν or κέ in Final Clauses with Subjunctive.

325. The final particles which have a relative origin, ὥς, ὄφρα, and ὄφρα, sometimes have ἄν or κέ in final clauses with the subjunctive. They did this originally in their capacity as conditional relatives; and it is probable that at first κέ or ἄν with the relative gave the clause a combined final and conditional force, in which the conditional element gradually grew weaker as the relative particles came to be felt chiefly or only as final particles (312, 2). Ἴνα and μὴ never take ἄν or κέ in this way.¹

326. (Ὡς.) 1. Ὡς κε and ὥς ἄν are together much more common in Homer with the subjunctive than simple ὥς. Ὡς ἄν with the subjunctive is not uncommon in the Attic poets, and it occurs in Herodotus; but (like ὥς itself) it almost disappears in Attic prose. *E.g.*

Πεῖθεο, ὥς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῆδος ἄρῃαι, *obey, that thou mayst gain for me great honour and glory.* *Il.* xvi. 84. Ἀντάρ οἱ προσφρόν ὑποθήρομαι, ὥς κε μάλ' ἀσκηθῆς ἦν πατρίδα γαίαν ἱκηται. *Od.* v. 143. Παύσατε, ὥς χ' ὁ ξείνος ἐνίσπη οἴσι φίλοισιν. *Od.* viii. 251. Ἄλλ' ἴθι, μὴ μ' ἐρέθιζε, σωτέρος ὥς κε νήηαι, *that thou mayst go the more safely.* *Il.* i. 32. Προσδέομεθι . . . συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. *HD. i.* 36. Τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγους θυμῷ βάλ', ὥς ἄν τέρματ' ἐκμάθῃς ὁδοῦ. *AESCH. Prom.* 705. Ἄλλ' εἰσώμεν, φίλοι, ἔκηλον αὐτῶν, ὥς ἄν εἰς ὕπνον πέσῃ.

Bacch. 784. For μὴ: *Od.* xxiv. 544; *THEOG.* 1307; *AR. Eccl.* 488. Only four undoubted examples occur in prose.

¹ In the single case of κέ with ἵνα, *Od.* xii. 156, ἀλλ' ἐρέω μὲν ἐγὼν, ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε θάνωμεν, ἢ κεν ἀλεινάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγωμεν, ἵνα κε is not used like ὥς κε, etc., above, but ἵνα is followed by a potential subjunctive with κέ (285). The repetition of κέ removes the case from the class under consideration. Ἴνα in its sense of *where* may have ἄν (see *SOPH. O. C.* 405). Μὴ, *lest*, may have ἄν with the optative after verbs of fearing (368).

ab. . sh think it'd be in des, analogy "oppa ke and w's ke, where
introduces from temporal & relative clauses. oppd ke. (1) purely temporal
(2) temporal and final. O/ final, final



SOPH. Ph. 825. Καθείρξαιτ' αὐτὸν, ὡς ἂν σκότιον εἶρορᾶ κνέφας.
EUR. Bacch. 510. Τοῦτ' λαβῶν μου τὸ σκιάδειον ὑπέρεχε ἄνωθεν,
ὡς ἂν μή μ' ὀρώσιν οἱ θεοί. AR. Av. 1508.

2. In Attic prose ὡς ἂν with the subjunctive is found only in Xenophon and in one passage of Thucydides.

The last is THUC. vi. 91: (πέμψετε) ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα, ὡς ἂν τοῖς τε παρόντας ξυντάξῃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας προαναγκάσῃ. See XEN. AN. ii. 5, 16, ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς, ἀντάκουσον. So AN. vi. 3, 18. See other examples of Xenophon's peculiar use of ὡς ἂν with the subjunctive in Appendix IV.

327. (*Οφρα.) *Οφρα κε and ὄφρ' ἂν have the subjunctive in a few final clauses in Homer. *E.g.*

Ὅττος νῦν σοι ἄμ' ἔψεται, ὄφρα κεν εἶδῃ σοῖσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν. Od. iii. 359. Ἴομεν, ὄφρα κε θάσσον ἐγείρομεν ὄξιν *Αργα. Il. ii. 440. Τὸν ξείνον ἄγ' ἐς πόλιν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ. Od. xvii. 10.

For ὄφρα κε and ὄφρ' ἂν with the optative, see 329, 1.

328. (*Οπως.) *Οπως does not occur in Homer in pure final clauses with either κέ or ἂν. *Οπως ἂν final with the subjunctive appears first in Aeschylus, and remains in good use in Attic poetry and prose, being almost the only final expression found in the formal language of the Attic inscriptions. One case of ὅκως ἂν occurs in Herodotus. *E.g.*

Φύλασσε τὰν οἴκῳ καλῶς, ὅπως ἂν ἀρτίκολλα συμβαίῃη τάδε, watch what goes on in the house, that these things may work harmoniously. AESCH. Cho. 579: so Prom. 824, Eum. 573, 1030, Suppl. 233. Ἴσθι πᾶν τὸ δρῶμενον, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶς ἡμῖν ἀγγείλῃς σαφῆ. SOPH. El. 40. Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν δίδασχα, ὅπως ἂν ἐκμάθῳ. Id. O. C. 575. Οὐκ ἀπιθ', ὅπως ἂν οἱ Λάκωνες καθ' ἡγεχνίαν ἀπίωσιν; AR. Lys. 1223. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίηε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν ὁ κήρυξ ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλιναττη. HDT. i. 22 (see 318). Διὰ τῆς σῆς χώρας ἄξεις ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶμεν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 21. Καὶ φατε αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον εἶναι, ὅπως ἂν φαίνηται ὡς κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος. PLAT. Symp. 199 A. Ἄν γέ τινας ἵποπτεῖν ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχοντας μὴ ἐπιτρέψιν αὐτῶ ἄρχειν, (πολέμοις κινεῖ) ὅπως ἂν τοῖτοισ μετὰ προφάσεως ἀπολλέῃ, that he may destroy them. Id. Rep. 567 A. Εἵσεβοῦμεν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀσχοῦμεν, οὐχ ἵνα τῶν ἄλλων ἔλαττον ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ὡς μετὰ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον διάγωμεν. ISOC. iii. 2 (ἵνα and ὅπως ἂν may here be compared in sense: see 312, 2). Τὴν πόλιν σινέχειν, ὅπως ἂν μίαν γνώμην ἔχωσιν ἅπαντες καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡδονὴν ποιῶσιν. DEM. xix. 298: so xiv. 23.

**An or κέ in Final Clauses with Optative.*

329. 1. (*Ως and ὄφρα in Homer and ὡς and ὅκως in Herodotus.) In Homer ὡς κε and ὡς ἂν sometimes have the optative in final

clauses after both primary and secondary tenses. Ὅφρα κε and ὄφρ' ἄν occur each once in Homer with the optative after past tenses. Herodotus has ὡς ἄν and ὅκως ἄν with the optative after past tenses, and ὅκως ἄν once after a present tense. This optative with κέ or ἄν after primary tenses is certainly potential as well as final; and this analogy makes it difficult or impossible to take it in any other sense after secondary tenses, though here the potential force is less obvious.

(a) After primary tenses six cases occur in the Odyssey and one in Herodotus:—

Ἀπερρίγασσι νέεσθαι ὡς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσασαίτο θύγατρα, *they dread to go to him that he may settle (if he will) the bridal gifts of his daughter*, lit. *that he would settle*, etc. *Od.* ii. 53. Κινζώσω δέ τοι ὄσσε, ὡς ἄν ἀεικέλιος φανείης, *I will dim your eyes, to the end that you might appear unseemly.* *Od.* xiii. 401. Δίῳ δοῦρε καλλιπέειν, ὡς ἄν ἐπιθύσαντες ἐλοίμεθα. *Od.* xvi. 297. Ἴψ' κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότητά τε πολλά τε δῶρα ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὡς ἄν τις σε συνναντόμενος μακαρίζοι, *so that one would call you blessed.* *Od.* xvii. 164 (= xv. 537, xix. 310). Ἥγεισθω ὀρχηθμοῖο, ὡς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτός ἀκοίων, *let him lead off the dance, so that any one who should hear without would say there was a marriage.* *Od.* xxiii. 134. Ἴσχεσθε πτολέμοι, ὡς κεν ἀναίρωτί γε διακρινθεῖτε τάχιστα. *Od.* xxiv. 531.

Κελεῖέ σε τὸ παιδίον θείναι, ὅκως ἄν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη, *he bids you so expose the child that he would be likely to perish most speedily.* *Hdt.* i. 110.

(b) After past tenses the following cases occur¹:—

Ἦε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς συνεχῆς, ὄφρα κε θάσσον ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείη. *Il.* xii. 25. Ἐώλπεν σε Φθίῳδε νέεσθαι, ὡς ἄν μοι τὸν παῖδα Σκυρόθεν ἐξαγάγοις, i.e. *I hoped for your coming, that you might perchance bring my son away from Scyros.* *Il.* xix. 330. Καί μιν μακρότερον καὶ πίσστονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι, ὡς κεν Φαιήκεσσι φίλος πάντεσσι γένοιτο. *Od.* viii. 20. Τύμβον χεῖραμεν, ὡς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντοφάν ἀνδράσιον εἶη. *Od.* xxiv. 83. Σὺ δέ με προΐεις, ὄφρ' ἄν ἐλοίμην δῶρα (Bekker ἀνελοίμην). *Ib.* 333.

Λέγεται διώρυγα ὀρύσσειν, ὅκως ἄν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νότον λάβοι, i.e. *he is said to have dug (119) a channel, in order that the river might flow behind the army.* *Hdt.* i. 75. Ταῦτα δὲ περι

¹ It must be confessed that there are some difficult questions concerning these optatives with κέ or ἄν in final clauses after past tenses. It may perhaps be thought that the subjunctive after ὡς κε, ὅκως ἄν, etc., has been changed to the optative after a past tense retaining κέ or ἄν without effect on the verb. Compare ἕως ἄν with the optative (613, 4; 702). Would ὅκως ἄν in *Hdt.* i. 22 (quoted in 328) have changed its nature if ἀγγελη had been changed to ἀγγείλαιε? On the other hand, can we separate the optatives in *Hdt.* i. 75 and 99 (in *b*) from the optative in i. 110 (in *a*)? The potential view seems, on the whole, much the more natural; but the potential force can be expressed in English only with great difficulty, owing to the ambiguity of our auxiliaries *might*, *would*, *should*, etc.





ἑαυτὸν ἐσέμνε τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρέοντες οἱ ὀμήλικες λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρῶσι, in order that his companions might not be offended by seeing him and plot against him, but that he might appear to them to be of another nature when they did not see him. Id. i. 99. Πορφύρεον εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν. Id. i. 152. Τὸ ὕδωρ τότε ἐπήκαν, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χώρος, they let in the water, in order that the country might be gullied. Id. vii. 176. Περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν περιπλέονσαι Εἰθβοῖαν. Id. viii. 7. Ἦλαννον τοὺς ἵππους, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοῖατο. Id. ix. 22. Μετακινέεσθαι ἐδόκει τότε, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοῖατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορκομένους. Ib. 51.

2. Ὡς ἂν with the optative in Attic prose is found chiefly in Xenophon. It is never strictly final; but ὡς is relative or interrogative, and the optative with ἂν is potential. *E.g.*

Ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἤκιστα ἂν ἐπιφθόνως σπανίως τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη, he decided to do this in such a way that he might appear, etc. (i.e. in the way by which). XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 37. (Here the separation of ἂν from ὡς makes the potential character plainer.) Ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἴεν τῷ ἵππῳ κράτιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥῆμα ἄσκησιν, κ.τ.λ., as to means by which the horse's feet could be kept strongest. Id. Hipp. i. 16. See other examples in Appendix IV. This is the same relative use of ὡς with the potential optative which we find in DEM. vi. 3, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἰποῖτε δικαίους λόγους ἀμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε· ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε, as to means by which you could make just speeches, you are better equipped than Philip; but as to steps by which you could prevent him from doing what he does, you are wholly inactive. See also DEM. vi. 37, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, as to any means by which the truth could be tested most thoroughly,—may this never come!

330. Ὅπως ἂν with the potential optative in a final sense is found once in Thucydides and four times in Xenophon:—

Τὰς πρῶρας κατεβύρωσαν, ὅπως ἂν ἀπολισθάνοι ἡ χεὶρ ἐπιβαλλομένη, they covered the prows with hides, that the (iron) hand when thrown on might be likely to slip off. THUC. vii. 65. Ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδα, ὅπως ἂν, πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέοιντο. XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 16. (Here πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ, if a navy should be manned, stands as protasis to προσδέοιντο ἂν.) Ὅπως δ' ἂν ὡς ἐρρωμένεσται τὸ στράτευμα ποιῆσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων ἡγγυρολόγει. Ib. iv. 8, 30. Πᾶσιν ἐδίδον βοῦς τε, ὅπως ἂν θίσαντες ἐστιψίντο, καὶ ἐκπώματα. Id. Cyr. viii. 3, 33 (one Ms. omits ἂν). Τὴν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἡρακλείδην, ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις. Id. An. vii. 4, 2 (most Mss. have ὅπως γένηται).

In these cases the final force is equally strong with the potential.

Elliptical Constructions.

331. In colloquial Greek we often find *ἵνα τί; that what?*—where *τί* takes the place of a final clause, which generally appears in the answer to the question. *E.g.*

ΒΛ. *ἵνα τί;* ΠΡ. δῆλον τοιτογί· ἵνα . . . ἔχωσιν. ΑΡ. Eccl. 719. So Nub. 1192, Pac. 409. So DEM. xix. 257: *ἵνα τί; ἵν' ὡς μετὰ πλείστης συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν κατηγορῶ.* Just before this we have *διὰ τί; ἵνα μήτε ἔλεον μήτε συγγνώμης τύχη.* So PLAT. Ap. 26 C.

332. A final clause may stand without a leading verb expressed, when the omission can easily be supplied; as *ὅτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβῶν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμῶν χρήσῃ,* *because I held an office, may I not leave the country? No: that you may not take to flight, etc.* AESCHIN. iii. 21.

SECONDARY TENSES OF INDICATIVE IN FINAL CLAUSES.

333. In Attic Greek the secondary tenses of the indicative are used in final clauses with *ἵνα*, sometimes with *ὅπως* or *ὡς*, to denote that the purpose is dependent upon some unaccomplished action or unfulfilled condition, and therefore *is not* or *was not* attained.

The tenses of the indicative differ here as in conditional sentences, the imperfect (the most frequent tense) referring to present time or to continued or repeated action in past time, the aorist and pluperfect to past time (410). Thus *ἵνα τοῦτο ἔπραττεν* means *in order that he might be doing this (but he is not doing it)*, or *that he might have been doing this (but he was not)*; *ἵνα τοῦτο ἔπραξεν* means *that he might have done this (but he did not)*; *ἵνα τοῦτο ἐπεπράχει* means *that he might have done this (but he has not)*. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμεν, ἵν' ἢ τιφλὸς τε καὶ κλίων μηδέν, *in that case I should not have forbore (to destroy my hearing), so that I might (now) be both blind and devoid of hearing (implying that really he is not so)*. SOPH. O. T. 1387. Φεῦ, φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν φωνήν, ἵν' ἦσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λόγοι, *Alas! alas! that the facts have no voice for men, so that words of eloquence might be as nothing*. EUR. Fr. (Hipp.) 442. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἕτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθάρων λέγειν τὰ βέλτισθ', ἵν' ἔκαθήμην ἡντιχος. ΑΡ. Eccl. 151. Ἐχρῆν εἰσκαλέσοντας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παρασημηνασθαι κελύσαι τὰς διαθήκας, ἵν', εἰ τι ἐγένετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν εἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτ' ἐπανελθεῖν. DEM. xxviii. 5. (This implies that they *did not* have the will thus sealed, so that it is *not now possible* to refer to it in case of dispute.) Ἐξήτησεν ἂν με τὸν παῖδα, ἵν' εἰ μὴ παρεδίδουν μηδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. DEM. xxix. 17. Ἐχρῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν προ-



[REDACTED]

τέραν ζήτησιν ζητεῖν, ἵνα ἀπηλλάγμεθα τούτου τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ, they ought to have made the previous investigation, in order that we might have been already freed from this demagogue (but we have not been freed from him). DIX. i. 10. See LYS. i. 40 and 42; ISOC. ix. 5, xviii. 51. Ἄλλὰ σὲ ἔχρῃν ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν, ἵνα συνουσία ἐγίγνετο, but you ought to give way to us, that our conversation might not be interrupted (as it is). PLAT. PROT. 335 C.

Τί δῆτ' οὐκ ἔρριψ' ἑμαυτὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας, ὅπως τῶν πάντων πόνων ἀπηλλάγην; why did I not throw myself from this rock, that I might have been freed from all my toils? AESCH. PROM. 747; so Cho. 195. See SOPH. EL. 1134. Οὐκοῦν ἔχρῃν σε Πηγάσου ξευῆσαι πτερόν, ὅπως ἐφαίνοιν τοῖς θεοῖς τραγικώτερος; AR. PAC. 135.

Τί μ' οὐ λαβῶν ἔκτεινας εὐθὺς, ὡς εἰδείξα μήποτε ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔνθεν ἢ γεγώς; that I might never have shown, as I have done. SOPH. O. T. 1391. Εἰ γάρ μ' ἔποδ' ἔχρῃν ἦκεν, ὡς μήτε θεὸς μήτε τις ἄλλος τοῖσδ' ἐπεγέθαι, would that he had sent me under the earth, so that neither any God nor any one else should be rejoicing at these things (as they are). AESCH. PROM. 152. Ἐδει τὰ ἐνέχοντα τότε λαβεῖν, ὡς μηδ' εἰ ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. XEN. AN. vii. 6, 23 (the only case in Xenophon).

334. This construction is the result of an assimilation, which makes more distinct the connection in thought between the two clauses. It is especially common after secondary tenses implying unfulfilled conditions and unaccomplished wishes.

335. Ἄν cannot properly be added to the indicative in this construction. In the two examples in which it is found, it would seem that the construction has slipped into an apodosis, or that copyists have been misled by the resemblance to an apodosis and inserted ἄν.

Ζῶντι ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὅπως ὅτι δικαιοτάτος ἂν καὶ ὀσιώτατος ἐξ ἡ τε ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀτιμώρητος ἂν κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγίγνετο, in order that he might thus live while he lives, and (so that) after death he would be (as a consequence of such a life) free from punishment (I). PLAT. LEG. 959 B. Τόν γε πρᾶττοντά τι δίκαιον οὐ προσήκεν ἀπορεῖν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς λέγειν, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύετο ἰφ' ἑμῶν, (possibly) that the result might be that he would be (in that case) the more trusted by you. ISAE. xi. 6.

336. The indicative can never be used in this construction, unless the final clause refers to present or past time, and unless also it is distinctly implied that the purpose is not (or was not) attained. If the purpose is future (at the time of speaking), or if it is left uncertain whether the object is or was attained, it must be expressed in the ordinary way by the subjunctive or optative, even though it depends on one of the class of verbs mentioned above. Both constructions may occur in the same sentence. E.g.

Οἷς (τῶν νέων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς) ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς διέφθειρεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκουτο εἰς τὴν ἡλι-

κίαν, χρήσιμοι γίγνοιτο ταῖς πόλεσιν, *we should guard (in that case) in the Acropolis, that no one might corrupt them (as some now corrupt them), and that when (in the future) they should become of age they might become useful to their states.* PLAT. Men. 89 B. (Here it is not implied that they never become useful, this depending partly on the future.) Ταῦτ' ἂν ἤδη λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρουν, ἐν' εἰδῆτε πολλοῦ δεῖν ἄξιον ὄντα τυχεῖν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπὸν τουτοῦ, *I should (if that were so) be now undertaking to explain this to you, that you might (after hearing me) know that he is far from deserving the honour of the proposed decree.* DEM. xliii. 7. Καίτοι χρῆν σε ἢ τοῦτον μὴ γράφειν ἢ ἐκείνον λείπειν, οὐχ, ἵνα ὁ βούλει σὶ γένηται, πάντα συνταράξαι, *i.e. you ought not to have confused everything in order that what you want might be done.* DEM. xxiv. 44.

337. Clauses with *μή* after verbs of fearing are never thus assimilated to a preceding indicative, as there is no reference here to the attainment of a purpose.

338. A purpose can be expressed in various forms besides that of the final clause; as by the relative with the future indicative, or in Homer with the subjunctive (565; 568); by the infinitive (770) or the infinitive with *ὄσπερ* or *ὡς* (587, 3); by the future participle (640); by *ἕπερ* with the genitive of the articular infinitive (802).

B. OBJECT CLAUSES WITH "Ὅπως AND "Ὅπως *μή* AFTER VERBS OF STRIVING, ETC.

339. In Attic Greek and in Herodotus, object clauses with *ὅπως* and *ὅπως μή* after verbs signifying *to strive, to plan, to care for, to effect*, regularly have the future indicative after primary tenses to express the object aimed at. The subjunctive also is used, but less frequently than the future indicative.

After secondary tenses the future optative may be used, corresponding to the future indicative after primary tenses; but generally the future indicative is retained, as the original form of the thought (319). The other tenses of the optative are sometimes used, to correspond to the same tenses of the subjunctive, or the subjunctive itself may be retained (318). *E.g.*

Ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως (or ὅπως μή) γενήσεται or γένηται, *he takes care that it may (or may not) happen.* Ἐπεμελείτο ὅπως γενήσεται, γενήσεται, or γένοιτο, *he took care that it should happen.*

In each case the conjugation is usually 1st & 2nd
rows (as in Xen. and Ptolemy) Reine Gabel. p. 51

Further from antiquation

the antiquation of the 1st row is

Εγὼ εἶμι, τοῦτο κατεφράσατο Salom 13.38

(Fut.) Τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον, *we must take counsel that what is well shall continue to be well.* AESCH. Ag. 846. Διδόνς δὲ τόνδε φράζ' ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν κείνου πάροικεν ἀμφιδύσεται χροί. SOPH. Tr. 604. Σοὶ δὴ μέλειν χρὴ τὰλλ' ὅπως ἔξει καλῶς. EUR. I. T. 1051. Εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως ἔσται προτιμῶσ' οἰδέν, *but that there shall be peace they care not.* AR. Ach. 26. Σοὶ μελέτω ὅκως μὴ σε ὀψεται. HDT. i. 9. Ὅρα ὅκως μὴ ἀποστήσονται. Id. iii. 36. Χρὴ ὄρᾶν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ Πελοπόννησος. THUC. v. 27. Ὡσπερ τὸν ποιμένα δεῖ ἐπιμελείσθαι ὅπως σφῶι τε ἔσονται αἱ οἴες καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμελείσθαι δεῖ ὅπως σφῶι τε οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα στρατεύονται τούτο ἔσται. XEN. Mem. iii. 2, 1. Καλῶς δὲ δημαγωγῆσεις, ἣν σκοπῆς ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν τὰς τιμὰς ἔξουσιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μηδὲν ἀδικήσονται. ISOC. ii. 16. Φρόντιζ' ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης πράξεις. Ib. 37. Τί μάλιστα ἐν ἅπασιν διεσπούδαται τοῖς νόμοις; ὅπως μὴ γενήσονται οἱ περὶ ἀλλήλους φόνοι. DEM. xx. 157. Μίκραν πρόνοιαν ἔχειν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς τὸν νόμον δοκεῖ ὅπως κύριος ἔσται καὶ μήτε συγχυθήσεται μήτ' αὐτὴ μεταποιηθήσεται; Id. xxiii. 62. Καλὸν τὸ παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ὡς βέλτισται ἔσονται τῶν πολιτῶν αἱ ψυχαί. PLAT. GORG. 503 A. Δεῖ εἰλαβεῖσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἐγενήσῃσθον, ἂν δὲ ἐγγένησθον, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκτετμήσῃσθον. Id. REP. 564 C.

(Subj.) Χρὴ φιλάσσειν καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μὴδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιαν τοῦτον ἴωσι. THUC. iii. 46. (Παρασκευάζεσθαι) ὅπως σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζώμεθα. XEN. Cyr. i. 5, 14. Οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἀξίος γένηται ἐπιμελείται, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείστα ὠραία καρπώσεται (subj. and fut. combined). Id. Symp. viii. 25. Οὐ φιλάξεσθ' ὅπως μὴ δεσπότην εὔρητε. DEM. vi. 25. Ἄλλου του ἐπιμελήσει ἢ ὅπως ὅτι βέλτιστοι οἱ πολῖται ὄμεν; PLAT. GORG. 515 B. Ὅρα ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὁμολογήσ. Id. Crit. 49 C.

(Fut. Opt.) Ἐξὴ ἰπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὀψοῖτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἔροιτο. XEN. Oec. vii. 5. (After a primary tense this would be ὅπως ὀψεται, ἀκούσεται, ἔρηται. But (ὀβελ reads ἐροίη.) Ἐπεμελείτο ὅπως μὴ ἄσιτοί ποτε ἔσουιτο. Id. Cyr. viii. 1, 43. See the examples under 130.

(Fut. Indic. after past tenses.) Ἐπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἦξει. THUC. iii. 4. Προθυμηθέντος ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ὅπως ἡ ναὺς προέξει. Id. vi. 31. Εἰλαβεῖσθαι παρεκελεύεσθε ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ λήσετε διαφθαρέντες. PLAT. GORG. 487 D. Οἱδ' ὅπως ὀρθῆ πλείσεται προείδeto, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔσται παρεσκευάσεν. DEM. xix. 250; so xix. 316.

(Pres. or Aor. Opt.) Ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν, ὅπως αἰὲ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν. XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 44. Ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. Id. An. i. 8, 13. Ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἰπαγρέτης εἰδείη οὐς δεοὶ πέμπειν. Id. Hell. iii. 3, 9.

(Subj. after past tenses.) Φρονήσονται (ἤξια) ὅπως Αἴγισθος ἡμῶς μὴ λάθῃ. SOPH. El. 1402. So HDT. ii. 121. Ἐπρασσεν ὅπως

πόλεμος γένηται. THUC. i. 57. Ἐπρασσον ὅπως ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. Id. iii. 70. Ἐνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν (v.l. ἄπιμεν) ἐκ Μακεδονίας, he bribed them to effect that we should not leave Macedonia (after historic present). DEM. xviii. 32.

340. It will thus be seen that the future indicative is the most common form in these sentences, after both primary and secondary tenses; the future optative, which is theoretically the regular form after secondary tenses, being rarely used. (See 128.)

Homeric and other early Usages.

341. In Homer, verbs signifying to plan, to consider, and to try, chiefly φράζομαι, βουλεύω, μερμηρίζω, and πειρῶ, have ὅπως or ὡς with the subjunctive after primary tenses, and the optative (never future) and sometimes the subjunctive (318) after secondary tenses. Κέ is almost always used here with ὡς and the subjunctive, less frequently with ὅπως (313, 3).

342. The original relative and interrogative force of ὅπως and ὡς is more apparent here than in the Attic construction of ὅπως with the future indicative, especially after verbs of considering; though after πειρῶ the dependent clause comes nearer the later meaning. *E.g.*

Αὐτοὶ δὲ φραζόμεθ' ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένηται, let us ourselves consider how the very best things may be done. Od. xiii. 365. Φραζόμεθ' (imperfect) Ἀργείοισιν ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένοιτο. Od. iii. 129. Φράζεσθαι ὅπως κε μνηστήρας κτείνης. Od. i. 295. Περιφραζόμεθα πάντες νόστον, ὅπως ἐλθῆσιν, i.e. how he may come. Od. i. 76. Φραζόμεσθ' ὡς κέν μιν πεπιθῶμεν. Il. ix. 112. Φράσεται ὡς κε νέηται, ἐπεὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστιν. Od. i. 205. Ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὄπισσω λείψει ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένηται, i.e. he looks to see how, etc. Il. iii. 110. Ἐνόησε θεὰ ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔγροίτο. Od. vi. 112. Οὐ γὰρ οἷ τοῦτον μὲν ἐβούλευε νέων αὐτῆ, ὡς ἦ τοι κείνους Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀποτίσεται ἄλλῳ; Od. v. 23. Βούλετον ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένοιτο. Od. ix. 420. Ἦλθον, εἴ τινα βουλὴν εἶποι ὅπως Ἰθάκην ἐς παιπιλώεσσιν ἰκοίμην. Od. xi. 479. Μερμήριζε ὅπως ἀπολοῖατο πῶται νῆες. Od. ix. 554. Μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὡς Ἀχιλλῆα τιμήσῃ ἢ τιμήσει, i.e. how he might honour Achilles. Il. ii. 3. Ἄλλ' ἄγε μῆτιν ἔφηνον ὅπως ἀποτίσομαι αὐτοῖς. Od. xiii. 386. Ἄρμηνεν ἀνὰ θηρῶν ὅπως παύσειε πόροιο δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα. Il. xxi. 137. Μνησόμεθ' ὡς χ' ὁ ξείνος ἦν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέται, μηδέ τι μισσηγῆς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθῃσιν. Od. vii. 192. In Hymn. Ap. Puth. 148 we have τεχνήσομαι ὡς κε γένηται. Πείρα ὅπως κεῖν οἷ σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέται, i.e. try to find means by which you may go, etc. Od. iv. 545. Πειρῶ ὡς κε Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι ἀπόλωνται. Il. xxi. 459. Τοῖσι δὲ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε πειρῶν ὡς πε-





πίθοιεν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. *Il. ix. 179.* In *Il. xv. 164* we have φραζέσθω μή μ' οὐδὲ ταλάσῃ μείναι (354).

For a full citation of the Homeric examples with ὅπως and ὡς, see Appendix III. 3.

343. The frequent addition of *κέ* to ὡς or ὅπως in Homer shows the relative origin of the construction (312, 2).

For ὅπως ἄν in Herodotus, see 350; for ὅπως ἄν in this construction in Attic writers, see 348, 349.

344. In Homer ὅπως takes the future indicative chiefly when it is merely an indirect interrogative, with no reference to purpose, as in *Il. ii. 252*, οὐδέ τί πω σάφα ἴδμεν ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, *we do not yet even know certainly how these things are to be*; or in *Od. xiii. 376*, φράξεν ὅπως μνηστῆρσιν ἀναΐδει χεῖρας ἐφήσεις, *consider how you will lay hands on the shameless suitors.* See *Il. ix. 251*; *Od. xx. 38.* In *Od. xx. 28* the future indicative is retained after a past tense, there being as yet no future optative (128); ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ἐλίσσεται μερμηρίζων ὅπως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναΐδει χεῖρας ἐφήσει. "Ὅπως may take the future (like other tenses) as a simple relative; as in *Il. i. 136*, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται, *as shall be an equivalent.*

345. Ὅφρα has the subjunctive in an object clause in *Il. vi. 361*, ἦδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσιται, ὄφρ' ἐπαμίνω Τρώεσσι, and the optative in *Od. iv. 463*, τίς συμφράσσατο βουλὰς ὄφρα μ' ἔλοις; In *Il. i. 523*, ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται ὄφρα τελέσω, ὄφρα may mean *until.*

346. The single object clause of this class in Pindar is *Pyth. i. 72*, νεῖσον ἄμερον ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλάλατος ἔχη. *grant that the Phoenician, with the Etruscan war-cry, may keep quiet at home.* (See 359.)

347. As relics of the Homeric usage we find ὡς with the subjunctive in sentences of this class in *EUR. Med. 461*, *I. T. 467*, *PLAT. Rep. 349 C*; and with the optative in *AESCH. Prom. 203* (see 353, below). Herodotus has ὡς with the future indicative in *iii. 84*, *159*, *vii. 161* (in the last ὡς στρατηγῆρεις γλίχεται). Herodotus has ὡς ἄν with the subjunctive in *iii. 85*, μηχανῶ ὡς ἄν σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, which is cited as the solitary case of ὡς ἄν in these object clauses after Homer, except in Xenophon (351). See also *SOPH. Ant. 215* (in 281, above).

"Ὅπως ἄν in Attic Greek and Herodotus.

'Ως and ὡς ἄν in Xenophon.

348. The Attic writers sometimes use ὅπως ἄν with the subjunctive in these object clauses. This occurs chiefly in *Aristophanes*, *Xenophon*, and *Plato.* *E.g.*

Σκόπει ὅπως ἄν ἀποθάνωμεν ἀνδρικώτατα, *see that we die most manfully.* *AR. Eq. 80.* Διαμηχανήσομαι ὅπως ἄν ἰστίον σαπρὸν λάβης,

I will contrive that (somehow?) you get a rotten mast. Ib. 917. So **AR.** Nub. 739, Eccl. 623, Ach. 1060, Eq. 926. *Māλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτοῖς ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται.* **XEN. AN.** vi. 1, 17. (Here some word like ἐπιμέλεια is understood as the subject of εἰσῆει.) *Τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν.* Id. **Cyr.** i. 2, 10. *Ἐκέλευσε τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν οὕτω γένηται αἰρῖον ἢ ἐξέλασις.* Ib. viii. 3, 6: so v. 5, 48. See also **XEN.** **Cyng.** vi. 23; **Eques.** iv. 3. *Ἡ ἄλλον ἐφιέμενοι δικάσοισιν ἢ τοῖτοι, ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστοι μῆτ' ἔχωσι τάλλοτρια μῆτε τῶν αἰτῶν στέρωνται;* **PLAT.** **Rep.** 433 E. *Πάντα ποιῶντας ὅπως ἂν σφίσι τὸ πηδάλιον ἐπιτρέψῃ.* Ib. 488 C. *Ἐὰν δ' ἔλθῃ, μηχανητέον ὅπως ἂν διαφύγῃ καὶ μὴ δῶ δίκην ὁ ἔχθρός.* Id. **Gorg.** 481 A.

Besides the examples cited above, Weber gives fifteen of Plato, and the following: **SOPH.** **Tr.** 618; **EUR.** **I. A.** 539; **ISAE.** vii. 30; **DEM.** xvi. 17, xix. 299. He adds **IDT.** i. 20, where *ὅκως ἂν* is certainly final.

349. The only case of *ὅπως ἂν* with the optative in an object clause in Attic Greek, except in Xenophon (351), is **PLAT.** **Lys.** 207 E, *προθυμοῦνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίῃς*, which is potential and on the Xenophontic model (see 351, 2). In **DEM.** xxxv. 29, *ἐκελεύομεν τούτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἂν ὡς τάχιστ' ἀπολάβοιμεν τὰ χρήματα*, **Cod. A** reads *ἀπολάβωμεν*.

350. Herodotus has *ὅκως ἂν* with the potential optative four times * after past tenses. *E.g.*

Προθυμοῦντων δὲ Λοξίῳ ὅκως ἂν γένοιτο, being zealous that it might (in some way) be done. i. 91. So ii. 126, iii. 44, v. 98.

351. (*Xenophon.*) Although Xenophon generally follows the Attic usage in these object clauses (339), he yet violates this signally by having *ὡς* and *ὡς ἂν* with both subjunctive and optative, and *ὅπως ἂν* with the optative; and further by having the optative with *ὡς ἂν* and *ὅπως ἂν* after both primary and secondary tenses. He also has *ὡς* twice with the future indicative (like *ὅπως*) and once with the future optative.

1. *Ὦς* or *ὡς ἂν* with the subjunctive, *ὡς* with the future indicative, and *ὡς* with the optative, are used by Xenophon like *ὅπως* in the construction of 339. *E.g.*

Ἐπιμελοῦνται ὡς ἔχῃ οὕτως. **Oec.** xx. 8. (Here the regular Attic usage requires *ὅπως ἔξει*.) *Ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ, to take care that they shall be done.* **Hierp.** ix. 2. *Ἐπεμέλοντο ὡς μὴ κωλύοιεντο.* **Cyr.** vi. 3, 2. *Ὦς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἐμοὶ μελήσει.* Ib. iii. 2, 13. *Προείπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο μηδὲ ἀνείσοιτο.* **Hell.** ii. 1, 22 (see 355).

For Xenophon's regular use of *ὅπως* in all these constructions, see examples under 339. For his regular use of *ὅπως ἂν* with the subjunctive, see 348.





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2. When the optative follows *ὡς ἂν* or *ὅπως ἂν*, it is always potential, and the original relative and interrogative force of *ὡς* and *ὅπως* plainly appears. *E.g.*

Ἐπιμέλονται ὡς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται, *they take care that the citizens may be best (to see how they might be best)*. Cyr. i. 2, 5. Ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατά γ' εἰδείην ἐποίουν, *I took steps that (by which) I might know most accurately*. Ib. vi. 3, 18. Σκοπῶ ὅπως ἂν ὡς ῥῆστα διαΐγοιεν, *I am considering how they might live the easiest lives*. Symp. vii. 2. (Cf. PLAT. Lys. 207 E, quoted in 349.)

For a full enumeration of all the irregular passages of this class in Xenophon, see Appendix IV.

Negative Object Clauses.

352. None of the object clauses with *ὅπως* or *ὡς* in Homer (341) are negative, except that Od. vii. 192 combines *ὡς κε ἴκηται* with *μηδέ τι πάθηναι*. Negative object clauses are expressed in Homer, like most negative final clauses (315), by the simple *μή* with the subjunctive or optative, as in Il. v. 411, *φραζέσθω μή τις οἱ ἀμείων σείο μάχηται*, and Il. xv. 164, xxii. 358; Od. xvii. 595, all with *φράζομαι μή* and the subjunctive. So *μέμβλετο τείχος μή Δαναοὶ πέρσειαν*, Il. xxi. 517. These examples show a common origin with clauses after verbs of fearing, but the optative in the last example indicates that the original parataxis is no longer felt.

353. The earliest example of a negative object clause with a final particle and *μή* is AESCH. Prom. 203, *σπείδοντες (past) ὡς Ζεὺς μήποτ' ἄρξειεν θεῶν*. In all the Attic writers and in Herodotus the development of the negative object clause with *ὅπως μή* and the future keeps pace with that of the negative final clause with *ἵνα μή*, etc.

354. (*Μή for ὅπως μή in Object Clauses.*) Verbs of this class (339) which imply *caution*, especially *ὀρῶ* and *σκοπῶ*, may have the simple *μή* with the subjunctive (rarely with the future indicative), even in Attic prose, like ordinary verbs of fear and caution (365), as well as *ὅπως μή* with the future. Such verbs belong equally to the two classes B and C (303). *E.g.*

Σκόπει μή σοι πρόνοι' ἦ τοῦ θεοῦ φυλακτέα. SOPH. O. C. 1180. Ὅρα σὺ μή νῦν μὲν τις εὐχέρης παρήης. Id. Ph. 519. Ὅρα μή παρὰ γνώμην πέσης. EUR. H. F. 594. Σκόπει τάδε, μή νῦν φυγόντες εἶθ' ἀλώμεν ἴσπερον. Id. And. 755. Τηροῦ μή λάβης ἰπώπια. AR. Vesp. 1386. Ὅρα μή μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οἶτος εἰρημένος ἦ, i. e. *lest this may prove to have been spoken*, etc. HDT. vii. 103. Ὅρα μή πολλῶν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν χειρῶν δεήσει. XEN. Cyr. iv. 1, 18. Σκοπεῖ δὴ μή τοῖτοις αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσῃται καὶ καταγελάσῃ. DEM. xi. 151. Ὅρα οὖν μή τι καὶ νῦν ἐργάσῃται. PLAT. Symp. 213 D. So Il. xv. 164 (see 342).

See the corresponding use of *ὅπως μή* for *μή* after verbs of fearing (370).

"Ὅπως after Verbs of Asking, Commanding, etc.

355. Verbs of asking, entreating, exhorting, commanding, and forbidding, which regularly take an object infinitive, sometimes have an object clause with ὅπως or ὅπως μὴ in nearly or quite the same sense. *E.g.*

Διδοὺς δὲ τόνδε φράξ' ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν κείνον πάροιθεν ἀμφιδύσεται χροῖ, i.e. *tell him that no one shall put on the robe before himself.* SOPH. TR. 604: so Aj. 567. Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδέοντο τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅπως μεταστραφείη. AR. Ach. 536. Καί σ' αἰτῶ βραχὺ, ὅπως ἔσομαι σοι Φανός. Id. Eq. 1256. Ὅκως ἐπιτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον παρικελευκίμενοι, ἔργον εἶχοντο προθυμότερον. HD. ix. 102. Τὸ Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοῖς (l) ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίοις. THUC. v. 36. Ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνη ἠντιβόλει καὶ ἰκέτευεν, LYS. i. 29. Παιριτεῖσθαι ὅπως αὐτῶν μὴ καταψηφίσθησθε. ANT. i. 12. Δείσεται δ' ἰμῶν ὅπως δίκην μὴ δῶ. Ib. 23: so αἰτοῦμαι ὅπως δῶ, Ibid. Διακελεύονται ὅπως τιμωρήσεται πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους. PLAT. REP. 549 E. Παραγγέλλει ὅπως μὴ ἔσονται. Ib. 415 B. Ἐμοιγε ἀπηγόρευες ὅπως μὴ τοῖτο ἀποκρινοίμην (fut. opt.) Ib. 339 A. Ἀπειρημένον αὐτῷ ὅπως μηδὲν ἐρεῖ ὡν ἠγείται, *when he is forbidden to say a word of what he believes.* Ib. 337 E.

356. This is rare in Homer; but twice in the *Odyssey* λίσσομαι has an object clause with ὅπως:—

Λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ὅπως νημερτέα εἶπῃ, *and implore him yourself to speak the truth.* Od. iii. 19. (Compare the regular construction, οὐδὲ σε λίσσομαι μένειν. Il. i. 174.) Λύσσετο δ' αἰεὶ Ἥφαιστον κλιτοεργὸν ὅπως λύσειεν Ἄρημ, *he implored him to liberate Ares.* Od. viii. 344.

357. Λίσσομαι with ἵνα and the subjunctive is found in Od. iii. 327: λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ἵνα νημερτὲς ἐνίσπῃ, *and implore him yourself that he may speak the truth.* With this we may compare DEM. xvi. 28, δηλοὶ ἔσονται οὐχ ἵνα Θεσπιαὶ κατοικισθῶσι μόνον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν σπονδὴν, *it will be evident that they take an interest not merely in having Thespiæ established;* in both cases the object clause falls into the construction of a pure final clause. This is very rare in classic Greek; but it reappears in the later language, as in the New Testament: thus ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, *a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another,* IOH. EVANG. xiii. 34. So εἰδείθην ἵνα ἐκβάλλωσιν, LUC. ix. 40. Compare the Latin, *rogat ut licet.*

358. In Od. xvii. 362 we find ὥσπερ ὡς ἂν πύρα κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγείροι, *she exhorted him that he should collect bread among the suitors.* (See 329, 1.)

359. The singular case of ὡς with the subjunctive in Il. i. 558, τη σ' ὡς καταλείψαι ἐτήτυμον, ὡς Ἀχιλλῆμ τιμῆσῃς, ὀλέσῃς δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νησὶν Ἀχαιῶν, i.e. *I believe that you promised by your nod to honour*

cf. ut clause after imperio, postulo, proscripsi

Π άρα γγ έλφουσι όπως αυ γηδε τη ημερα τελευτηση
P. Ph. 59 E.



J. P. 6.7.

Achilles, etc. has the appearance of indirect discourse; but probably *κατανεύω ὡς* is used with the same feeling as *λίσσομαι ὅπως* in 356, *promising to act* here taking the same construction as *entreating to act*. See PIND. Py. i. 72 (in 346). Ὡς, as an adverb of manner, is here clearly on its way to its use in indirect discourse. Some read *τιμήσεις* and *ὀλέσεις*.

360. A singular use of ὅπως and the future indicative with *δεῖ σε* in place of the regular infinitive occurs in SOPH. Aj. 556, *δεῖ σε ὅπως δείξεις*, for *δεῖ σε δείξαι*, and Ph. 54, *τὴν Φιλοκλήτου σε δεῖ ψυχὴν ὅπως λόγοισιν ἐκκλέψεις λέγων*. So Cratinus, Fr. 108, *δεῖ σ' ὅπως εἰσχήμονος ἀλεκτριόνος μηδὲν διοίσσεις*. This would be like *δέομαι ὅπως* (355) except for the object *σέ*, which is like *σέ* in *δεῖ σε τούτου*, the ὅπως clause representing the genitive.

Object Infinitive and Indirect Questions.

361. Some verbs which regularly take an object clause with ὅπως sometimes take an object infinitive, which may have the article τοῦ or τό. (See 373 and 374.) *E.g.*

Ἄεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι, *they always took care that one of their own number should be in the offices* (where we should expect ὅπως τις ἔσται or ἔσοιτο). THUC. vi. 54. Οἰδ' ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ διδασκαλόν μοί τινα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπισταμένων. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν λεκτικὸς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς συνόντας οὐκ ἔσπειδεν. Ib. iv. 3, 1. (See 793.)

362. Verbs signifying *to see* or *look out* (like σκοπῶ) may be followed by an indirect question with εἰ, *whether*; as εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσει σκόπει, *see whether you will assist me*, etc. SOPH. Ant. 41.

For independent clauses with ὅπως and ὅπως μὴ with the future, often explained by an ellipsis of σκόπει or σκοπεῖτε, see 271-283.

Aorist Subjunctive in -σω and -σωμαι.—Dawes's Canon.

363. When an aorist subjunctive active or middle was to be used with ὅπως or ὅπως μὴ in any construction, the second aorist was preferred to a first aorist in -σω or -σωμαι, if both forms were in use. This preference arose from the great similarity in form between these sigmatic aorists and the future indicative (as between *βουλεύσῃ* and *βουλεύσει*, *βουλεύσῃται* and *βουλεύσεται*). This made it natural also for a writer to avoid those forms of the subjunctive which were nearly identical with the future indicative where the latter could be used as well. This of course does not apply to the first aorist subjunctive passive, which has no resemblance to the future; and there is no reason for applying it to liquid aorists like *μείνω* and *σφίλω*.

364. The general rule laid down by Dawes more than a century ago (*Misc. Crit.* pp. 222 and 228), the so-called *Canon Davesianus*,

which declared the first aorist subjunctive active and middle a solecism after ὅπως μή and οὐ μή, was extended by others so as to include ὅπως (without μή), and the Greek authors were thoroughly emended to conform to it. As this rule has no other foundation than the accidental circumstance just mentioned (363), it naturally fails in many cases, in some of which even emendation is impossible. In the first place, there is no reason for applying the rule to pure final clauses, in which the future indicative is exceptional (324); and here it is now generally abandoned in theory, though not always in practice. There is, therefore, no objection whatever to such sentences as these: ὦν ἔνεκα ἐπιταθῆναι, ὅπως ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὅπως γενώμεθα, XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 82; ἐκκλησίαν ξινήγαγον, ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι, THUC. ii. 60; and τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσει, ὅπως παρὰ τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιήσωνται, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρῶσιν, THUC. vii. 39, in which the best Mss. have the subjunctive. Indeed, where the reading is doubtful, the subjunctive should be preferred in these cases. Secondly, in independent prohibitions with ὅπως μή, although the future is the regular form, there is less objection to the subjunctive (even the first aorist) than in positive commands with simple ὅπως, since the analogy of the common μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο, *do not do this*, supports ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο in the same sense (283). There is no such analogy, however, to justify such a positive command as ὅπως ποιήσῃς τοῦτο, *do this*, and this form has much less manuscript authority to rest on. Thirdly, in the case of οὐ μή, if both constructions (denials and prohibitions) are explained on the same principle, no reason exists for excluding the subjunctive from either; and it cannot be denied that both the first and the second aorist subjunctive are amply supported by the manuscripts. (See 301.) Fourthly, in object clauses with ὅπως there is so great a preponderance of futures over subjunctives, that the presumption in all doubtful cases is here in favour of the future, as it is in favour of the subjunctive in pure final clauses. A much stronger case, therefore, is made out by those who (like Weber and most modern editors) change all sigmatic aorist subjunctives in this construction to futures. Some cases, however, resist emendation; as XEN. An. v. 6, 21, κελίοντι προστατεῖναι ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἢ στρατιά, where we cannot read ἐκπλεύσει, as the future is ἐκπλείσσομαι or ἐκπλευσοῦμαι. In DEM. i. 2, all Mss. except one read παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην ὅπως ἐνθένδε βοηθήσῃτε καὶ μὴ πάθητε ταῦτόν, and it seems very arbitrary to change βοηθήσῃτε to βοηθήσετε and leave πάθητε. But a few cases like these weigh little against the established usage of the language, and we must perhaps leave the venerable *Canon Davesianus* undisturbed in the single department of object clauses with ὅπως, although we may admit an occasional exception even there.

See *Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1869-70*, pp. 46-55, where this question is discussed more fully.

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C. CLAUSES WITH μὴ AFTER VERBS OF FEARING, ETC.

365. Verbs and phrases which express or imply *fear*, *caution*, or *danger* take μὴ, *lest* or *that*, with the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and with the optative if the leading verb is secondary. The subjunctive can also follow secondary tenses to retain the mood in which the object of the fear originally occurred to the mind.

Μὴ (like Latin *ne*) denotes fear that something *may* happen which is *not desired*; μὴ οὐ (*ut = ne non*) denotes fear that something *may not* happen which is *desired*. *E.g.*

Φοβοῦμαι μὴ γένηται (*vereor ne accidat*), *I fear that it may happen*: φοβοῦμαι μὴ οὐ γένηται (*vereor ut accidat*), *I fear that it may not happen*. Δεῖδω μὴ θήρῃσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένωμαι. *Od.* v. 473. Δεῖδω μὴ οὐ τίς τοι ὑπόσχηται τόδε ἔργον. *Il.* x. 39. (This is the only case of μὴ οὐ in these sentences in Homer. The next that are found are *EUR. And.* 626, *El.* 568, *Phoen.* 263. See 264, above.) Οὐ φοβῆ μὴ σ' Ἄργος ἀποκτείνειν θέλω. *EUR. Or.* 770. Ποῖον ἔθνος οὐ δοκεῖ ὑπερηγῆσειν φοβούμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ; *XEN. Cyr.* i. 6, 10. Φροντίζω μὴ κράτιστα ἦ μοι σιγᾶν. *Id. Mem.* iv. 2, 39. Φυλαττόμενος μὴ δόξῃ μανθάνειν τι. *Ib.* iv. 2, 3. Δέδοικα μὴ οὐδ' ὅσιον ἢ ἀπαγορεύειν. *PLAT. Rep.* 368 B. Τὰ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πολλὴν ἀπιστίαν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπειδὴν ἀπαλλαγῆ τοῦ σώματος οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιῆ, ἀλλὰ διαφθειρήται τε καὶ ἀπολλύηται. *Id. Phaed.* 70 A. Οὐκοῦν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μὴ λάβωσι προστάτας αὐτῶν τινὰς τούτων, *there is danger of this, that they may take, etc.* *XEN. An.* vii. 7, 31. Κίνδυνός ἐστι, μὴ μεταβάλλωνται καὶ γίνωνται μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων. *ISOC.* xiv. 38. Ὀκνῶ μὴ μοι ὁ Λισίας ταπεινὸς φανῆ. *PLAT. Phaedr.* 257 C. Εὐλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ φανῆς κακὸς γεγώς. *SOPH. Tr.* 1129. Οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔσονται μὴ βοηθῶσι ταύτῃ. *HER.* vii. 235. Ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ἡμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε. *THUC.* iii. 53. Αἰσχυνόμενος μὴ φορτικῶς σκοπῶμεν. *PLAT. Theaet.* 183 E. Οἱ μῦθοι στρέφουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσι, *torment his soul with fear lest they may prove true* (92). *Id. Rep.* 330 D.

Δείρας μὴ πῶς οἱ ἐρυσαῖατο νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοί. *Il.* v. 298. Ἄξετο γὰρ μὴ Νεκτὶ θεῇ ἀποθήμια ἔρδοι. *Il.* xiv. 261. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμην ἐκπεληγμένη φόβῳ, μὴ μοι τὸ κάλλος ἄλγος ἐξείρῃ ποτέ. *SOPH. Tr.* 24. Ἐδεῖσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρμα καὶ αὐτοῖς κατακόψειαν. *XEN. An.* i. 10, 9. Οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο, ἀδοικότες μὴ ἀποπμηθείσαν. *Ib.* iii. 4, 29. Ἐδεῖσαν μὴ λίττα τις ὤκπερ κινὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτῶκοι. *Ib.* v. 7, 26. Ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα λέγοι, ἤρετο, *having suspected that he might mention his daughter*. *Id. Cyr.* v. 2, 9. Ἡθίμῃσάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοιεν ἀπόθεν λαμβάνουσιν. *Id. An.* iii. 5, 3. Οὐδεὶς

γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι μὴ τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. Π. iv. 1, 6.

Οἱ Φωκαῖες τὰς νήσους οὐκ ἐβούλοντο πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ ἐμπόριον γένωνται. ΗΙΠ. i. 165. Τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι μὴ λόγους ἤσσοις ὦσι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρον. ΤΗΥ. iii. 83. Περιδείης γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλείσωσιν αἱ νῆες. Id. iii. 80. Ἔδεσα μὴ Τροίαν ἀθροίσῃ καὶ ξηνοικίσῃ πάλιν. ΕΥΡ. ΗΕΥ. 1138. Οἱ θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τι πάθῃ. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΜΡ. ii. 11. Δῆλος ἦν πᾶσιν (Κῦρος) ὅτι ἔπρεφεφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ. Id. CΥΓ. i. 4, 2.

For the present subjunctive in these sentences denoting what *may hereafter prove* to be an object of fear, see 92.

366. The manner in which this complex sentence expressing fear was developed from an independent sentence like *μὴ νῆας ἔλωσι*, *may they not seize the ships*, and a preceding verb of fearing like *δεῖδω*, the two gradually becoming one sentence, has already been explained (307). As the fear and the desire to avert the cause of fear are both implied in *μὴ* with the subjunctive, it is not strange that this expression can follow verbs like *ὄρω* and *οἶδα* which do not imply fear in themselves; as *ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι, μὴ δὴ σχεδὸν ὦσι κιάοντες*, *let some one go out and see that they do not approach near* (cf. *videat ne accedant*); originally, *let some one go out and look to it: may they not approach*, Od. xxiv. 491. So *οἶδε τι ἴδμεν, μὴ πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μενουήσωσι μάχεσθαι*, *nor do we know any way to prevent their being impelled to fight even during the night*; originally, *nor have we any knowledge: may they not be impelled to fight*, Il. x. 100. See also PLAT. PHAED. 91 D, *τόδε ἄδηλον παντὶ, μὴ πολλὰ σώματα κατατρίψασα ἢ ψυχὴ τὸ τελειταῖον αὐτῆ ἀπολλήηται*, i.e. *no one knows any security against the soul itself finally perishing*, etc. The indirect question sometimes used in translating such a clause with *μὴ*, as *whether they may not approach* or *whether they may not be impelled*, is merely an attempt to express the hesitation which the apprehension involves, as there can be, of course, no real indirect question. See especially the cases of *μὴ* with the present indicative (369, 1), which are often called interrogative. See the corresponding construction in 492.

367. (*Future Indicative.*) Sometimes, though seldom, *μὴ* has the future indicative after verbs of fearing. The examples are:—

Φρήν ἀμίνσεται φόβῳ, μὴ πόλις πίθηται . . . καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλιςμ' ἀντίδοιπον ἄσεται, βινσίνους δ' ἐν πέπλοις πέσῃ λακίς. ΑἸΕΣΧ. ΠΕΡΣ. 115. Ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι, μὴ πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἐμὸς καλεῖται (fut.), τῆς νεωτέρας δ' ἀνήρ. ΣΟΦΗ. ΤΡ. 550. Δέδοικα μὴ ἄλλον τινὸς μεθέξω. ΧΕΝ. CΥΓ. ii. 3, 6. Φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ τινὰς ἡδονὰς ἡδοναῖς ἐνρήσομεν ἐναντίας. ΠΛΑΤ. ΦΙΛ. 13 A. Ἄλλὰ (φοβερόν καὶ σφαλερόν) μὴ σφαλεῖς κείσομαι. Id. REP. 451 A. (The last two examples are not given by Weber.)

For three cases of *μὴ* with the future optative after past tenses of verbs of fearing, representing the future indicative, see 131.

Εδο, θα μιν ἀληθὲς (9) / I fear it may prove true D. 9. 1.



and φ is a map from \mathbb{R}^n to \mathbb{R}^n such that $\varphi(x) = x + \epsilon \eta(x)$ and η is a vector field on \mathbb{R}^n .
" " " " " " " - may prove true

368. The particles *ἄν* and *κέ* are never used with *μή* and the subjunctive. But a potential optative with *ἄν* can follow *μή* after a verb expressing fear or anxiety, after both primary and secondary tenses (168). *E.g.*

Δέδοικα γὰρ μή πρὸς λέγοις ἄν τὸν πόθον τὸν ἐξ ἑμοῦ, *I fear that you might perhaps tell.* SOPH. TR. 631. Οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία (ἦν) μή ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐπιπλεύσειαν. THUC. II. 93. Ἐκείνο ἔνοσώ μὴ λίαν ἄν ταχὺ σφρονοισθεῖην, *lest (in that case) I should be very soon brought to my senses,* XEN. AN. VI. 1, 28. Δεδιώτες μὴ καταλυθεῖη ἄν ὁ δῆμος. LYS. XIII. 51.

369. (*Present and Past Tenses of Indicative with μή.*) Verbs of fearing may refer to present or past objects. (See 308.) *Μή* can therefore be used with the present and past tenses of the indicative after these verbs.

1. *Μή* with the present indicative expresses a fear that something is now going on. *E.g.*

Δέδοικα μὴ πληγῶν δέει, *I am afraid that you need blows.* AR. NUB. 493. Ὀρῶμεν μὴ Νικίας οἶεται τι λέγειν, *let us be cautious lest Nicias is thinking that he says something.* PLAT. IACH. 196 C. (Here οἶηται would have meant *lest Nicias may think, in the future.*) Ὅρα μὴ ἐκείνον κωλύει. Id. CHARM. 163 A. Φοβείσθε μὴ δυσκολώτερόν τι νῦν διακείμαι ἢ ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν βίῳ, *you are afraid that I am now in a more perilous state of mind than I used to be in (where the subjunctive would have been future, lest I may hereafter be).* Id. PHAED. 84 E. Ἐπίσχεσθε, ὡς ἄν προῖξερεννήρω στίβον, μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται, κἀμοὶ μὲν ἔλθῃ φαῦλος ὡς δούλῳ ψόγος. EUR. PHOEN. 92. (Here μὴ φαντάζεται means *lest any one is now to be seen*; and μὴ ἔλθῃ, *lest any report may come hereafter.*) Ἄλλ' εἰσόμυσθα μὴ τι καὶ κατώσχετον κρυφῇ καλύπτει καρδίᾳ θυμονμένη, δόμοις παραστέιχοντες. SOPH. ANT. 1253. (The idea is, *we shall learn the result of our anxiety lest she is concealing, etc.*)¹ Κἀμαντῆς περὶ θέλω πυθέσθαι, μὴ πὶ τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς προσκείμενόν τι πῆμα σὴν δάκνει φρένα, *and I wish to inquire about myself, (in fear) lest, etc.* EUR. HER. 481. Ἄναξ, ἐμοί τοι, μὴ τι καὶ θεήλατον τοῖργον τόδ', ἢ ξύννοια βουλεύει πάλαι. SOPH. ANT. 278. (The idea is, *my mind has long been deliberating in anxiety lest this is the work of the Gods, ἔστιν being understood after μή.*)² Ὅρα, φυλασσοῦ, μή τις ἐν στίβῳ βροτῶν (sc. ἔστιν). EUR. I. T. 67.

¹ In this passage and the following, if anywhere, it would seem necessary to admit the *interrogative* force often ascribed to *μή*. But here, as elsewhere, it is plain that the dependent clause with *μή* expresses the object of an apprehension. To establish *μή* as an interrogative, meaning *whether*, *μή* should not only follow a verb like *ἴδα*, but also be followed by a clause expressing no object of apprehension, like *εἰσόμυσθα μή οἱ φίλοι ζῶσιν*, *we shall learn whether our friends are now living*; but no such example can be found in classic Greek. The use of *εἰ, whether*, after verbs of fearing (376) shows how the Greeks expressed an indirect question in such cases.

² That this is the correct explanation, and that we need not emend the

2. *Μή* with the perfect indicative expresses a fear that something *has already happened*. The difference between this and the perfect subjunctive is often very slight, the latter expressing rather a fear that something may hereafter prove to have happened (103). *E.g.*

Νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μή ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν, *but now we fear that we have missed both at once*. THUC. iii. 53. (The perfect subjunctive here would mean *lest it may hereafter prove that we have missed*.) Δέδοικα μὴ λελήθαμεν (τὴν εἰρήνην) ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄγοντες, *I fear that we have been unconsciously enjoying peace borrowed at high interest*. DEM. xix. 99. Φοβούμαι μὴ λόγοις τισὶ ψευδέσιν ἐντετυχηκαμεν. PLAT. LYS. 218 D.

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3. *Μή* can be used with the imperfect or the aorist indicative, to express fear that something *happened in past time*.

Δεῖδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν, *I fear that all that the Goddess said was true*. Od. v. 300. Ἄλλ' ὄρα μὴ παίζων ἔλεγεν, *but be careful lest he was speaking in jest*. PLAT. THEAT. 145 B.

370. (*Ὅπως μή for μή with Verbs of Fearing.*) Verbs denoting fear and caution are sometimes followed by an object clause with ὅπως μή and the future indicative, the subjunctive, or the optative, like verbs of *striving*, etc. (339). It will be noticed that ὅπως μή here is exactly equivalent to μή in the ordinary construction, so that φοβούμαι ὅπως μὴ γενήσεται (or γένηται) means *I fear that it will happen* (not *I fear that it will not happen*). *E.g.*

yo. κενόδοκα
ε. le want
to, the thing
and

Δέδοικ' ὅπως μὴ ἔκ τῆς σιωπῆς τῆσδ' ἀναρρήξει (Laur. ἀναρρήξει) κακά, *I fear that a storm of evil will burst forth from this silence*. SOPH. O. T. 1074 (the earliest example). Τοῦ δαιμόνος δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τεύξομαι κικοδαίμονος, *I fear that the luck that I shall get will be bad luck*. AR. Eq. 112. Εὐλαβούμενοι ὅπως μὴ οἰχήσομαι. PLAT. PHAED. 91 C. Δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκη γενήσεται, *I fear that there may be a necessity*. DEM. ix. 75. Οὐ φοβεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἀνόσιον πρᾶγμα τυγχάνης πράττων; PLAT. Euthyph. 4 E. Φυλάττου ὅπως μὴ εἰς τοῦναντίον ἔλθης. XEN. Mem. iii. 6, 16. Ἡδέως ἂν (θρέψαιμι τὸν ἄνδρα), εἰ μὴ φοβοίμην ὅπως μὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν με τράποιτο. Ib. ii. 9, 3. Τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀντιπαρακελεύομαι μὴ κατασχυνθῆναι ὅπως μὴ δόξει μαλακὸς εἶναι, *i.e. not to be shamed into fear lest he may seem to be weak*. THUC. vi. 13.

Compare the corresponding use of μή for ὅπως μή in ordinary object clauses, especially with ὀρώ and σκοπῶ, which belong equally to both classes, B and C. (See 354.)

371. (*Indirect Discourse with ὡς or ὅπως.*) In curious contrast

passage so as to read τοῦργον τὸδ' ἦ, ξύνοια βουλεύει πάλαι, is suggested by the scholion: ἡ σύνοια μο. βουλεύεται καὶ οἴεται μὴ καὶ θεήλατόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα. So perhaps we should read φοβεῖσθαι μὴ τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πρᾶγματα ἐλαύσει (vulg. εἰλαύνη) in DEM. ix. 54 (with Cod. A). But the subjunctive in both passages might be explained on the principle of 92.

1. 103 A. ὡς ὅπως ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κενόδοκα ἄμ.
4. 103 B. ὡς ὅπως ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κενόδοκα ἄμ.
κέν. 2. 103 C. ὡς ὅπως ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κενόδοκα ἄμ.

θεοῦτος, ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὐθις δεισθ
- πρᾶγμα ἐλαττωσώμεθα
ουλεύσειτε, ὅπως μὴ τ' ἄμαθι



είδοντες ὅπως μή ποθ' ἠψήσῃσθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν γεννηθῆ^{τε}



with the preceding construction with *ὅπως μή* for *μή* (370) is that by which verbs of fearing sometimes take the construction of ordinary indirect discourse. Here *ὡς* and even *ὅπως*, *that*, may introduce the object of the fear, thus taking the place of *μή* in the common construction. This apparently occurs only when the leading verb is negated. *E.g.*

Μὴ δείσῃς ποθ' ὡς γέλῳτι τοῦμόν φαῖδρόν ὄψεται κάρα, do not fear that she will ever see my face joyful (= μὴ ἴδῃ). SOPH. EL. 1309: so 1426. Ἄνδρὸς μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις ἀξίου, *do not fear that you will be at a loss.* XEN. CYR. v. 2, 12. (Here the direct discourse would be *ἀπορήσω, I shall be at a loss.*) *Μὴ δείσητε ὡς οὐχ ἠδέως καθενδύσετε, do not fear that you will not sleep sweetly.* Id. vi. 2, 30. (Here *μή οὐχ* would be the ordinary expression.) *Οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, ὡς εἰν ἀκροῶσθε αὐτῶν ἀποψηφιεύσθε, I have no fear of this, that you will acquit them if you hear them.* LYS. xxvii. 9. *Μὴ τρέσῃς ὅπως σέ τις ἀποσπάσει βία, that any one shall tear you away by force.* EUR. HER. 248. *Μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμε, ὡς σεο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μή τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος, do not fear either that I am saying this to try you (ὡς λέγω), or lest any harm shall come (μή γένηται).* HDT. i. 9. (Here the two constructions after *φοβεῦ* make the principle especially clear.)

In all these cases *μή* or *ὅπως μή* would be regular, and exactly equivalent to *ὡς* and *ὅπως* here. In the same way, we say in English *he fears lest this may happen* and *he fears that this may happen* in the same sense. In Greek we might have *μή τρέσῃς ὅπως μή σέ τις ἀποσπάσει* (370) in the same sense as *μή τρέσῃς ὅπως σέ τις ἀποσπάσει* (above).

372. (*Infinitive.*) The future infinitive may stand in indirect discourse after verbs of fearing, to represent a future indicative of the direct course. *E.g.*

Οὐ φοβοῦμεθα ἐλασσωσέσθαι, we are not afraid that we shall have the worst of it. THUC. v. 105. (Here *μή* with the subjunctive would be the regular form.)

373. The present or aorist infinitive (*without μή*), not in indirect discourse, may follow verbs of fearing, to denote the *direct object* of the fear; as in English, *I fear to go*. This infinitive may have the article. *E.g.*

Φοβοῦμαι οὖν διελέγχειν σε, μὴ ἵπολάβῃς, κ.τ.λ., I am afraid to refute you, lest you may suspect, etc. PLAT. GORG. 457 E. *Φοβήσεται ἀδικεῖν, he will be afraid to do wrong.* XEN. CYR. viii. 7, 15. (But *φοβήσεται μὴ ἀδικῆ, he will fear that he may do wrong.*) *Δεδιέναι φασκόντων Κερκηνραίων ἔχειν αὐτόν.* THUC. i. 136. *Οὐ κατέδωσαν ἐσελθεῖν.* Id. iv. 110. *Πέφρικα Ἐρινὴν τελέσαι τὰς κατάρas, I shudder at the idea of the Fury fulfilling the curses.* AESCH. SEPT. 720. (But in vs. 790, *τρέω μὴ τελέσῃ* means *I tremble lest she may fulfil*

them.) See also XEN. AN. i. 3, 17. Τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν οἷδεις φοβεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖν φοβεῖται. PLAT. GORG. 522 E.

374. Verbs of *caution* may be followed by an infinitive (with or without μή), which sometimes has the article; the infinitive or the infinitive with μή having the same meaning as a clause with μή and the subjunctive or optative. *E.g.*

Πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτόν γε φυλάσασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; why ought he not to guard against becoming such a man himself? XEN. MEM. i. 5, 3. (Here γενέσθαι is equivalent to μὴ γένηται.) Φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπησαί τινα, taking care to offend no one. DEM. XVIII. 258. Φυλάσσειν μηδένα περαισιῖσθαι, to guard against any one's crossing over. THUC. VII. 17. Φυλαττόμενον καὶ προορώμενον μὴ καταισχυῖναι ταύτην. DEM. XXV. 11. (For μή in this construction see 815, 1.) In THUC. VII. 77, we find the infinitive with ὥστε after φυλάσσω.

375. Κίνδυνός ἐστι, the principal expression denoting *danger*, which takes μή and a finite verb, is quite as regularly followed by the infinitive. *E.g.*

Οὐ σμικρὸς κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι, there is no little danger of their being deceived. PLAT. CRAT. 436 B.

Κινδυνεύω is regularly followed by the infinitive (747).

376. (*Indirect Questions.*) Verbs of *fearing* may be followed by an indirect question introduced by εἰ, whether, or by some other interrogative. Ὅπως as an interrogative here must not be confounded with ὅπως as a conjunction. *E.g.*

Οὐ δέδοικα εἰ Φίλιππος ζῆ, ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοῦ ἀδικούντος μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, I have no fear (on the question) whether Philip is alive; but I have fear (about this), whether our city's habit of hating and punishing evil-doers is dead. DEM. XIX. 289. Φόβος εἶ μοι ζῶσιν οὐδ' ἐγὼ θέλω. EUR. HER. 791. Φέρουσά σοι νέους ἤκω λόγους, φόβω μὲν εἴ τις δεσποτῶν αἰσθήσεται, through fear whether any one will perceive it (where μὴ αἰσθηται would have meant lest any one shall perceive it). EUR. ANDR. 60. See XEN. CYR. VI. 1, 17. Φοβῶνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις. XEN. HELL. VI. 1, 14. (The direct question would be ποῖ προβήσεται;) Τῆν θεὸν δ' ὅπως λάθω δέδοικα, I am in fear (about the question) how I shall escape the Goultess. EUR. I. T. 995. (The direct question was πῶς λάθω; 287.) So SOPH. PH. 337. Ἀποροῦντες πῶς χρὴ ἀπειθεῖν, φοβούμενοι δὲ πῶς χρὴ ἀπειλοῦντι ἰπακοῦσαι. XEN. CYR. IV. 5, 19.

377. (*Causal ὅτι.*) Verbs of *fearing* may be followed by ὅτι, because, and an ordinary causal sentence with the indicative (713). *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἄξιον διὰ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅτι πολλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, to fear them, because they happen to be many. ISOC. VI. 60. Φοβουμένης τῆς μητρὸς, ὅτι τὸ χωρίον ἐπυθάνετο νοσῶδες εἶναι. Id. XIX. 22. Ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, do not be afraid because they rule many, etc. XEN. HELL. III. 5, 10. Ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὀφθήσεσθαι ἐμελλε τὰ βωσίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχόμενος, he was afraid, because he was about

Γ. 3.23.1.
2.69.3

φόβος ειπίσω δέσποιναν έμην Med. 184



to be seen beginning to build the palace. Id. Cyr. iii. 1, 1. Φοβούμενος τὸ κάεσθαι καὶ τὸ τίμνεσθαι, ὅτι ἀλγευνόν, *fearing them because they are painful*. PLAT. Gorg. 479 A. So THUC. vii. 67.

SECTION VI.

Conditional Sentences.

378. A conditional sentence consists of two clauses, a dependent clause containing the condition, which usually precedes and is called the *protasis*, and the leading clause containing the conclusion, which is called the *apodosis*. The protasis is regularly introduced by the particle *εἰ*, *if*, negatively *εἰ μὴ*.

379. *Αἰ* is a Doric and Aeolic form for *εἰ*, and is sometimes used in epic poetry in the forms *αἴθε* and *αἴ γάρ*, and less frequently in *αἴ κε*.¹

380. The name protasis is often restricted to clauses introduced by a particle meaning *if*. But it applies equally to all conditional relative and temporal clauses (520), and it properly includes all clauses which naturally precede their leading clauses in the order of thought, as *ἐπεὶ ἤσθητο τοῦτο, ἀπῆλθεν*, *after he perceived this, he departed*. Such a clause may still be called a protasis, even when it follows its leading clause, provided the order of thought is not changed.

381. The adverb *ἄν* (epic *κέ* or *κέιν*, Doric *κά*) is regularly joined with *εἰ* in the protasis when the verb is in the subjunctive, *εἰ* with *ἄν* (*ᾶ*) forming the compound *εἰάν*, *ἦν*, or *ἄν* (*ᾶ*). (See 200.) The simple *εἰ* is used in the protasis with the indicative and the optative.

The same adverb *ἄν* is regularly used in the apodosis with the optative, and also with the past tenses of the indicative when non-fulfilment of the condition is implied.

382. The only Ionic contraction of *εἰ ἄν* is *ἦν*, which is used in Homer and Herodotus. The Attic Greek has *εἰάν*, *ἦν*, and *ἄν* (*ᾶ*); but

¹ *Αἰ* for *εἰ* is usually left in Homer by editors as the Mss. give it. But Bekker (*Homericæ Blatter*, pp. 61, 62) quotes Heyne with approval, who says that no human being can tell why we have *αἰ* in one place and *εἰ* in another. Bekker cites, to illustrate this, *αἰθ' οὕτως χόλον τελέσει Ἀγαμέμνων*, II. iv. 178, and *εἰθ' ὡς τοι γούναθ' ἔπαιτο*, iv. 313; also *αἰ κε θεὸς ἴκηται*, II. v. 129, followed immediately by *ἀτὰρ εἰ κε Ἀφροδίτη ἔλθῃσ' ἐς πόλεμον*. Bekker in his last edition of Homer (1858) gives only *εἰ*, *εἴθε*, and *εἰ γάρ*, without regard to the Mss.; and he is followed by Dölbrück.

ἄν, *if*, was probably never used by the tragedians or by Thucydides, although the Mss. have it in a few cases.

383. The negative particle of the protasis is regularly *μή*, that of the apodosis is *οὐ*.

384. When *οὐ* is found in a protasis, it is generally closely connected with a particular word (especially the verb), with which it forms a single negative expression; so that its negative force does not (like that of *μή*) affect the protasis as a whole. *E.g.*

Πάντως δήπου (οὕτως ἔχει), εἴαν τε σὺ καὶ Ἄνυτος οὐ φῆτε εἴαν τε φῆτε, *if you deny it, as well as if you admit it.* PLAT. Apol. 25 B. Εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔως (= κωλύεις) θάπτειν, *if you forbid burying the dead.* SOPH. Aj. 1131. Εἰ μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ (= ὀλίγοι) ἦσαν, καθ' ἕκαστον ἂν περὶ τοιούτων ἠκούετε, *if there were only a few, etc.* LYS. xiii. 62: cf. 76. Τῶνδε μὲν οὐδὲν ἴσον ἔστιν, εἴγε ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἄρξεται, *there is no fairness in this, if (it is the plan, that) no one is ever to begin with us.* XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 3.

In all these cases *μή* could be used, even where *οὐ* seems especially proper; as in ἂν τ' ἐγὼ φῶ ἂν τε μὴ φῶ, *whether I admit or deny it,* DEM. xxi. 205. See EUR. Hipp. 995, οὐδ' ἦν σὺ μὴ φῆς. The use of *μή* or *οὐ* was determined by the feeling of the speaker at the moment as to the scope of his negation. The following example makes the difference between *οὐ* and *μή* particularly clear, *οὐ* affecting merely the verb, and *μή* affecting the whole clause (including the *οὐ*): εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο, ἐσώθησαν ἂν, *if it had not been that they did not receive Proxenus, they would have been saved,* DEM. xix. 74.

385. Εἰ *οὐ* with the indicative is sometimes found in Homer where the Attic Greek would have εἰ *μή*; as in εἰ δέ μοι οὐκ ἐπέεσσ' ἐπιπέσσει ἀλλ' ἀλογίηται, II. xv. 162. See also II. xx. 129; Od. ii. 274, xii. 382.

386. After verbs expressing *wonder, delight*, and similar emotions (494), where a protasis seems to take the place of a causal sentence, εἰ *οὐ* can be used, on the principle of 384, though here *μή* is more common. See examples of εἰ *μή* under 494; and for εἰ *οὐ* see ISOC. i. 44, μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει σοι. See also 387.

387. When two clauses introduced by *μέν* and *δέ* depend upon a *single* εἰ which precedes them both, *οὐ* is used even more frequently than *μή*; as such clauses have their own construction independently of the εἰ, which merely introduces each of them as a whole, not affecting the construction of particular words. *E.g.*

Δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῖ σφύζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα

ms. A. 1. 164

Is this a relic of an original σ^2 with the indication:

ms. A. 1. 164



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100

δαπανήσομεν, *it would be a hard thing, if (it is a fact that) their allies will not refuse, etc. while we will not contribute.* THUC. i. 121. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν, εἰ τὸ μὲν Ἀργείων πλῆθος οὐκ ἐφοβήθη τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν ὑμεῖς δὲ βάρβαρον φοβήσεσθε; *is it not then disgraceful, if (it is true that), while the Argive people did not fear, you are going to be afraid, etc.* DEM. xv. 23. See also PLAT. Phaed. 97 A; LYS. xxx. 32; ISAE. vi. 2; DEM. xxxviii. 18; AESCHIN. iii. 242.

CLASSIFICATION OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

388. The most obvious natural distinction is that of (*a*) present and past conditions and (*b*) future conditions. Present and past conditions (*a*) are divided into two classes by distinguishing (1) those which imply nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition from (2) those which imply that the condition is not or was not fulfilled. Future conditions (*b*) have two classes (1, 2), distinguished by the manner in which the supposition is stated. Class 1 of present and past conditions is further distinguished on the ground of the *particular* or *general* character of the supposition, as explained below in II. (394).

389. Excluding from the class (*a*) 1 the present and past *general* suppositions which have a peculiar construction (395, *a* and *b*), we have—

I. Four Forms of Ordinary Conditions.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

390. In present or past conditions, the question of fulfilment has already been decided, but we may or may not wish to imply by our form of statement how this has been decided. In Greek (as in English or Latin) we may, therefore, state such a condition in either of two ways:—

1. We may *simply state* a present or past condition, implying nothing as to its fulfilment; as *if he is (now) doing this, εἰ τοῦτο πράσσει*,—*if he was doing it, εἰ ἔπρασε*,—*if he did it, εἰ ἔπραξε*,—*if he has (already) done it, εἰ πέπραχε*,—*if he had (already) done it (at some past time), εἰ ἔπεπραχε*. The apodosis here expresses simply what *is (was or will be)* the result of the fulfilment of the condition. Thus we may say:—

Εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει, *if he is doing this, it is well*; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, ἡμάρτηκεν, *if he is doing this, he has erred*; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔξει, *if he is doing this, it will be well*. Εἰ ἔπραξε (or ἔπρασε) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει (εἶχεν, ἔσχεν, or ἔξει), *if he did this, it is/was or will be) well*. Εἰ πέπραχε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔξει, *if*

he has done this, it will be well. So with the other tenses of the indicative in the apodosis. (See 402.)

So in Latin : *Si hoc facit, bene est ; Si hoc fecit, bene erit ;* etc.

2. On the other hand, we may state a present or past condition so as to imply that it is *not* or *was not* fulfilled ; as if he were (now) doing this, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπρασσαε ;—if he had done this, εἰ τοῦτο ἔπραξε (both implying the opposite). The apodosis here expresses what *would be* (or *would have been*) the result if the condition were (or had been) fulfilled. The adverb ἄν in the apodosis distinguishes these forms from otherwise similar forms under (a) 1. Thus we may say :—

Εἰ ἐπρασσαε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἄν εἶχεν, if he were (now) doing this, it would be well ; or if he had been doing this, it would have been well.

Εἰ ἔπραξε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἄν ἔσχεν (or ἄν εἶχεν), if he had done this, it would have been well (or it would now be well). On the other hand, εἰ ἔπραξε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔσχεν (without ἄν) would mean if he did this, it was well. (See 410.)

In Latin : *Si hoc faceret, bene esset* (present) ; *Si hoc fecisset, bene fuisset* (past).

391. The Greek has no form implying that a condition is or was fulfilled, and it is hardly conceivable that any language should find such a form necessary or useful.

(b) FUTURE CONDITIONS.

392. The question as to the fulfilment of a future condition is still undecided. We may state such a condition in Greek (as in English and Latin) in either of two ways :—

1. We may say if he shall do this, ἐὰν πράσῃ (or πράξῃ) τοῦτο (or, still more vividly, εἰ πράξει τοῦτο), making a distinct supposition of a future case. The apodosis expresses what *will be* the result if the condition shall be fulfilled. Thus we may say :—

Ἐὰν πράσῃ (or πράξῃ) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔξει, if he shall do this (or if he does this), it will be well (sometimes also εἰ πράξει τοῦτο). (See 444 and 447.) In Latin : *Si hoc faciet* (or *si hoc fecerit*), *bene erit*.

2. We may also say if he should do this, εἰ πράσσοι (or πράξειε) τοῦτο, still supposing a case in the future, but less distinctly and vividly than before. The apodosis corresponds to this in form (with the addition of ἄν), and expresses what *would be* the result if the condition should be fulfilled. Thus we may say :—

Εἰ πράσσοι (or πράξειε) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι, if he should do this, it would be well. (See 455.) In Latin : *Si hoc faciat, bene sit*.





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393. The Latin commonly employs the future indicative, *si hoc faciet* (corresponding strictly to *εἰ τοῦτο πράξει*, *if he shall do this*), or the future perfect, *si hoc fecerit*, to express the form of protasis which the Greek expresses by *ἐάν* and the subjunctive (*ἐάν τοῦτο πράσῃ* or *πράξῃ*); and it uses the form *si hoc faciat* to represent the Greek *εἰ τοῦτο πράσσοι*, *if he should do this*.

II. Present and Past General Suppositions.

394. The supposition contained in a protasis may be either *particular* or *general*.

A particular supposition refers to a *definite* act or to several definite acts, supposed to occur at some definite time (or times); as *if he (now) has this, he will give it; if he had it, he gave it; if he had had the power, he would have helped me; if he shall receive it (or if he receives it), he will give it; if he should receive it, he would give it*. So *if he always acts justly (or if he never commits injustice), I honour him; if he acted justly on all these occasions, he will be rewarded*.

A general supposition refers indefinitely to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur or to have occurred at any time; as *if ever he receives anything, he (always) gives it; if ever he received anything, he (always) gave it; if he had (on any occasion) had the power, he would (always) have helped me; if ever any one shall (or should) wish to go, he will (or would) always be permitted*. So *if he ever acts justly, I (always) honour him; if he ever acted justly, he was (always) rewarded*.

395. Although this distinction is seen in all classes of conditions, present, past, and future (as the examples show), it is only in present and past conditions which do not imply non-fulfilment (*i.e.* in those of 390, 1) that the Greek distinguishes general from particular suppositions in *construction*. Here, however, we have two classes of conditions which contain only general suppositions.

(a) When the apodosis has a verb of present time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur at any time within the period represented in English as present. Thus we may say:—

Ἐάν τις κλέπτῃ, κολάζεται, *if (ever) any one steals, he is (in all such cases) punished*; ἐάν τις πράσῃ (or πράξῃ) τοιοῦτόν τι, χαλεπαίνομεν αὐτῷ, *if (ever) any one does such a thing, we are (always) angry with him*; ἐάν τις τοῦτου πίῃ, ἀποθνήσκει, *if any one (ever) drinks of this, he dies*. (See 462.)

(b) When the apodosis has a verb of past time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to have occurred at any time in the past. Thus we may say:—

Εἴ τις κλέπτοι, ἐκολάζετο, *if (ever) any one stole, he was (in all such cases) punished*; εἴ τις πράσσοι (or πράξειε) τοιοῦτόν τι, ἔχαλεπαίνομεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, *if (ever) any one did such a thing, we were (always) angry with him*; εἴ τις τούτου πίωι, ἀπεθνήσκειν, *if any one (ever) drank of this, he died*. (See 462.)

396. Although the Latin sometimes agrees with the Greek in distinguishing general conditions from ordinary present and past conditions, using *si fuciat* and *si fueret* in a general sense, like *ἐάν πράσση* and *εἴ πράσσοι* above, it yet commonly agrees with the English in not recognising the distinction, and uses the indicative alike in both classes. Even the Greek sometimes (especially in poetry) neglects the distinction, and uses the indicative in these general conditions (467).

397. In external form the general present condition coincides with the more vivid future condition, 392, 1, as both are expressed by *ἐάν* and the subjunctive, the form of the apodosis alone distinguishing them. But in sense there is a much closer connexion between the general present condition and the ordinary present condition expressed by *εἴ* and the present indicative, 390, 1, with which in most languages (and sometimes even in Greek) it coincides also in form (see 396). On the other hand, *ἐάν* with the subjunctive in a future condition agrees substantially in sense with *εἴ* and the *future* indicative (447), and is never interchangeable with *εἴ* and the *present* indicative.

ORIGIN OF THE GREEK CONDITIONAL SENTENCE.—EARLY COMBINATIONS OF *εἴ* WITH *κέ* OR *ἄν*.

398. It is impossible to discuss intelligently the origin of the conditional sentence until the etymology and original meaning of the particles *εἴ*, *αἰ*, *ἄν*, and *κέ* are determined. On these questions we have as yet little or no real knowledge. The theory of *εἴ* or *αἰ* which identifies it with the pronominal stem *sru* (*σφε*), Oscan *svai*, and Latin *si*, is perhaps the most common. By this the original meaning of *εἴ*, or rather of one of its remote ancestors in some primitive language, would be *at a certain time (or place), in a certain way*.¹ But, even on this theory, we can hardly imagine any form of *εἴ* as existing in the *Greek* language until the word had passed at least into the relative stage, with the force of *at which time (or place), in which way, under which circumstances*. It cannot be denied that the strong analogy

¹ See Delbrück, *Conj. u. Opt.*, pp. 70, 71, who terms this a "wahrscheinliche positive Vermuthung."





between conditional and relative sentences and the identity of most of their forms give great support to any theory by which the conditional sentence is explained as an outgrowth of the relative, so that the conditional relative sentence is made the original conditional construction. Thus *εἰ ἦλθεν* might at some time have meant *in the case in which he went*, and *εἰ ἔλθῃ*, *in the case in which he shall go* (or *in case he shall go*), etc. But here we are on purely theoretical ground; and we must content ourselves practically with the fact, that in the earliest Greek known to us *εἰ* was fully established in its conditional sense, like our *if* and Latin *si*.

399. The regular types of the conditional sentence, which are given above (390-395) as they appear in Attic prose, have been mainly sifted from a rich variety of forms which are found in earlier Greek. In Homer we have all tenses of the indicative used as in Attic Greek, except that the imperfect has not yet come to express an unreal *present* condition, but is still confined to the past. The future indicative sometimes has *κέ* in protasis, and the future with *κέ* or *ἄν* can stand in apodosis. The subjunctive in protasis can have *εἴ κε* (even *εἴ ἄν*), *ἦν*, or *εἴ* alone; and it can stand in a future apodosis either alone or with *ἄν* or *κέ* (like the optative). The optative sometimes has *εἴ κε* in protasis, and occasionally stands in apodosis without *ἄν* or *κέ*. Once we find *εἴ κε* with the aorist indicative (Il. xxiii. 526).

Thus, while we have in Attic prose two stereotyped forms of future conditional sentences, *εἰάν* (*ἦν*, *ἄν*) *δαί*, *έλοῦμαι* and *εἰ δούη*, *έλοίμην ἄν*, we have in Homer *ἦν δαί*, *εἴ κε δαί*, *εἰ δφ*, and *εἰ δούη*, *εἴ κε δούη*, in protasis; and *έλοῦμαι*, *έλοῦμαι κε*, *έλωμαι*, *έλωμαι κε*, and *έλοίμην κε* (or *ἄν*), rarely *έλοίμην* alone, in apodosis; with every variety of combination of these. (For the details and examples, see 450-454 and 460.)

400. There is a tendency in Homer to restrict the subjunctive with simple *εἰ* (without *κέ* or *ἄν*) to general conditions (468), and a similar but less decided tendency to restrict the subjunctive with conditional relatives without *κέ* or *ἄν* to the generic relative construction (538). But the general condition with *εἰ* appears in Homer in a primitive stage, compared with the corresponding relative construction, which is fully developed. Both subjunctive and optative are freely used in general relative conditions in Homer, as in Attic Greek; while in general conditions with *εἰ* the subjunctive occurs only nineteen times and the optative only once (468). On the supposition that the clause with *εἰ* is derived from the relative clause, this would appear as the ordinary process of development.

401. It is perhaps the most natural view of the various conditional expressions, εἰ, εἴ κε, εἰ ἄν, etc. to suppose that at some early stage the Greek had two perfectly analogous forms in future conditions, one with two subjunctives, and one with two optatives, e.g. εἰ δῶ τοῦτο, ἔλωμαι and εἰ δοίη τοῦτο, ἐλοίμην. The particle κέ would then begin to be allowed in both of these conditions and conclusions, giving to each more distinctly its force as a protasis or an apodosis.¹ It would thus be allowed to say εἴ κε δῶ τοῦτο, ἔλωμαι κε and εἴ κε δοίη τοῦτο, ἐλοίμην κε, both of which forms actually occur in Homer. Gradually the tendencies of the language restricted the use of κέ more and more to the subjunctive in protasis and the optative in apodosis, although for a time the usage was not strict. This state of transition appears in Homer, who preserves even a case of an otherwise extinct use of εἴ κε with the aorist indicative. Shortly before this stage, however, a new tendency was making itself felt, to distinguish the present general condition from the particular in form, the way being already marked out by the conditional relative sentence. As this new expression was to be distinguished from both the really present condition εἰ βούλεται and the future εἴ κε βούληται, the half-way form εἰ βούληται (which had nearly given place to εἴ κε βούληται in future conditions) came into use in the sense *if he ever wishes*.² This would soon develop a corresponding form for use after past tenses, εἰ βούλοιτο, *if he ever wished*, of which we see only the first step in Homer, Il. xxiv. 768. (See 468.) It would hardly be possible to keep the two uses of εἰ with the subjunctive distinct in form, and in time the form with κέ (or ἄν) was established in both (381). But we see this process too in transition in Homer, where εἴ κε or some form of εἰ ἄν is used in all future conditions except nine, and has intruded itself into five of the nineteen general conditions. We must suppose a corresponding process in regard to κέ or ἄν in conditional relative clauses to have gone on before the Homeric period, with more complete results.³ In Attic Greek, except in a few poetic passages, the usage is firmly

¹ As I do not profess to have any distinct theory of the origin or the original meaning of either κέ or ἄν, I have not attempted to define their force, except so far as they emphasise what we see by usage may be implied by the sentence without their aid.

² Monro (*Hom. Gr.* p. 263) thinks "the primary use of δν or κέ is to show that the speaker is thinking of particular instances or occasions." If this is so, we should expect these particles to be first used in future conditions, while the later general conditions would first take the simple εἰ, as is here supposed.

³ See *Ann. Jour. Phil.* iii. pp. 441, 442, where Gildersleeve refers to the use of εἰ, ὅτε, etc. with the optative in oratio obliqua, representing ἐδν, ὄταν, etc. with the subjunctive in the direct form, as evidence of an old use of εἰ, ὅτε, etc. with the subjunctive.





established by which the subjunctive in protasis requires *ἄν* in both particular and general conditions.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

1. *Simple Suppositions (chiefly Particular).*

402. When the protasis *simply states* a present or past particular supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, it takes a present or past tense of the indicative with *εἰ*. Any form of the verb may stand in the apodosis to express the result if the condition is or was fulfilled. *E.g.*

Εἰ ἰβρόντησε, καὶ ἤστραψεν, if it thundered, it also lightened. (This implies no opinion of the speaker as to the reality of the thunder.) *Εἰ δ' οὔτω τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐμοὶ μέλλει φίλον εἶναι.* II. i. 564. *Εἰ τότε κοῦρος ἔα, νῦν αἰτέ με γῆρας ὀπάξει.* II. iv. 321. *Εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐσσι, θεός που σοὶ τό γ' ἔδωκεν.* II. i. 178. *Εἰ δὲ χρῆ καὶ παρ σοφὸν ἀντιφερίζαι, ἐρέω, but if I must match myself against the wise one, I will speak.* PIND. Py. ix. 54. *Εἰ θεοὶ τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρὸν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί, if Gods do aught that is base, they are not Gods.* EUR. Bell. Fr. 294. *Εἰ ἐγὼ Φαιδρον ἀγνοῶ, καὶ ἔμαντοῦ ἐπιλέλησμαι· ἄλλα γὰρ οὐδέτερά ἐστι τοῦτων, if I do not know Phaedrus, I have forgotten myself; but neither of these is the case.* PLAT. Phaedr. 228 A. *Εἰ μὲν (Ἀσκληπιός) θεοῦ ἦν, οὐκ ἦν αἰσχροκερδής· εἰ δ' αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἦν θεοῦ.* Id. Rep. 408 C. *Εἰ δὲ ἐκείνος ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἐαυτῷ τοῦ πάθους αἰτίων ἠγγίστατο.* DEM. xxiii. 54.

403. The imperative, the subjunctive in exhortations or prohibitions, the optative in wishes, the potential optative or indicative with *ἄν*, or the infinitive may stand in the apodosis. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, στείχε, if thou art resolved, go. SOPH. Ant. 98. (Here *εἰν δοκῆ* would refer to the future, while *εἰ δοκεῖ* is strictly present in its time. Cf. Ant. 76.) *Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, πλέωμεν, ὄρμασθω ταχύς.* Id. Ph. 526. *Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον, . . . μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε.* DEM. xviii. 10. *Ἄλλ' εἰ που πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἐρινύες εἰσὶν, Ἀντίοον πρὸ γάμοιο τέλος θανάτοιο κιχίη.* Od. xvii. 475. *Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ἵπαί τις ἀρβύλας λύοι τάχος, but if this pleases you, let some one quickly loose my shoes.* AESCH. Ag. 944. *Κάκωστ' ἀπολοίμην, Ξανθίαν εἰ μὴ φιλήω.* AR. Ran. 579. *Πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εἰδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθείρει οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελούσιν.* PLAT. Ap. 25 B. See also II. vi. 128, *εἰ . . . εὐλύλουθας, οὐκ ἂν . . . μαχοίμην. Τὸν Ὑπεριδὴν, εἶπερ*

ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μάλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν, *if he is now bringing true charges against me, he would have prosecuted Hypereides with much more reason than he does this man.* DEM. xviii. 223. (See 479, 2; 503.)

404. This form of condition may be used even when the supposition is notoriously contrary to fact, if the speaker does not wish to imply this by the construction; as in DEM. xviii. 12, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν, . . . εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, *but if the charges were true (= erant, not essent), the state cannot obtain adequate satisfaction.* So in English, we can say *if three times six are twenty* as well as *if three times six were twenty*, or *if all men are liars* as well as *if all men were liars*,—from different points of view.

405. A present or past general supposition is sometimes expressed by the indicative: see examples in 467. Here the Greek neglects the distinction which it regularly makes between general and particular suppositions of this class.

406. Pindar uses these simple conditions with εἰ and the indicative more than all other forms.¹ But among his forty-eight cases are many general conditions (467), which most writers would have expressed by the subjunctive.

407. (*Future Indicative in Present Suppositions.*) Even the future indicative with εἰ may be used in a present condition, if it expresses merely a *present* intention or necessity that something shall be done hereafter; as when εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσει means *if he is (now) about to do this*, and not (as it does in an ordinary future condition) *if he shall do this (hereafter)*. *E.g.*

Ἄγρε πλήκτρον, εἰ μαχεῖ, *raise your spear, if you are going to fight.* AR. Av. 759. (Εἰ μαχεῖ in protasis commonly means *if you shall fight*, like εἰ ἂν μάχη.) Ἡ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀνήρ, αὐτῆ δ' ἀνήρ, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀνατὶ τῆδε κείσεται κράτη, *i.e. if this is to pass unrepunished.* SOPH. Ant. 484. Τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθούντων, εἰ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ βεγώσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι καὶ τἄλλα πάντα μοχθήσουσιν ἐκόντες; *how do they differ, etc., if they are to suffer hunger, thirst, etc.* XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 17. So εἰ πόλεμὸς τε δαμῶ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῖς, *if both war and pestilence are to lay the Achaeans low*, IL. i. 61; and εἰ διαβληθήσομαι, *if I am to be slandered*, EUR. Hec. 863. In IL. v. 715, ἢ ῥ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν Μενελάῳ, . . . εἰ οὕτω μείνεσθαι ἔασομεν οὐλον Ἄρῃα, *vain is the word we uttered, if we are to permit, etc.*, the verb of the apodosis is past, showing that the condition is not future.

408. It is important to notice that a future indicative of this kind could not be changed to a subjunctive with εἰ ἂν without an entire change of sense and time. It must therefore be distinguished from the future in *future* conditions, where it is generally interchangeable with

¹ See *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. p. 438.

12-9, 1.475

Hdt. 3.62: εἰ μὲν ἢ οἱ τε θεῶνες ἀνεορτασι, σποσδέ
καὶ Ἄστυγέα τὸν Μήδου εἰσανναστήσισθαι

D. 53.17: γυγῆρας με ἀνιόντα ἀκ Πτ. παῖς ἀπὲ ... παῖς τε
ἀρπάζει μίον καὶ ἔθελ με ἀπὲ τῆς διθεορίας εἰ μὴ τῶς
τῶς ... ἐβλήθησαν

in Herodotus 3.62-63

Grammatical meaning not real meaning (Moms)



the subjunctive (447). Here it is nearly equivalent to the periphrastic future expressed by μέλλω and the infinitive (73), in which the tense of μέλλω (as in εἰ μέλλουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν = εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν) shows that the condition is really present and not future. So with the Latin periphrastic future, *si hoc facturus est*.

409. A present condition may be expressed by a potential optative in the protasis, and a present or past condition by a potential indicative; as εἴπερ ἄλλω τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πειθοίμην ἂν, καὶ σοὶ πειθομαι, *if (it is true that) I would trust any one of mankind, I trust you*, PLAT. PROT. 329 B; εἰ τοῦτο ἰσχυρὸν ἦν ἂν τούτῳ τεκμήριον, κάμοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι, κ.τ.λ., *if (it is true that) this would have been a strong proof for him (if he had used it), so let it be a proof for me, that, etc.*, DEM. xlix. 58. (See 458, and other examples in 506.)

2. With Supposition contrary to Fact.

410. When the protasis states a present or past supposition, implying that the condition *is not* or *was not* fulfilled, and the apodosis expresses what *would be* (or *would have been*) the result if that condition were (or had been) fulfilled, the past tenses of the indicative are used in both protasis and apodosis, and the apodosis contains the adverb ἂν.

The imperfect here, in either protasis or apodosis, refers to present time or to an act as going on or repeated in past time, the aorist to a simple occurrence in past time, and the (rare) pluperfect to an act completed in past or present time. *E.g.*

Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπραύσε, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν, *if he were (now) doing this, it would be well* (implying that he *is not* doing it). This may also mean *if he had been doing this, it would have been well* (implying that he *was not* doing it). The context must decide, in each case, to which time the imperfect refers. Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπραξε, καλῶς ἂν ἔσχεν, *if he had done this, it would have been well* (implying that he *did not* do it). Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπεπράχει, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν, *if he had finished doing this (now or at any past time), it would be well* (implying either he *has not* or he *had not finished* it).

(*Impf. of Present Time.*) Εἰ δὲ μ' ὄδ' αἰὲν λόγους ἐξήρχες, οὐκ ἂν ἴσθα λιτηρὰ κλέειν, *if you always began your talk to me in this way, you would not be offensive to listen to* (as you are). SOPH. EL. 556. So EL. 992, 1331, O. T. 1511; and AESCH. SEPT. 662, Ag. 1395. Καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν, *if we saw any cause of alarm, we should tell it all to you*. HDT. i. 120. Ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἐχρῶντο, *they would not be able to do this, if they did not lead an abstemious life*. XEN. Cyr. i. 2,

16. Εἰ ἴσθ' ὅτι εἴ τι ἐμοῦ ἐκήδον, οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω με ἀποστερεῖν ἐφυλάττων ὡς ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς, *if you cared for me at all, you would take precaution, etc.* Ib. v. 5, 34. Πολὺν ἂν θαυμαστότερον ἦν, εἰ ἐτιμῶντο, *it would be much more wonderful, if they were honoured.* PLAT. Rep. 489 B. Λέγουσι πάντα ἣ ἔχει· καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐτύχαιεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη ἐνοῦσα, οὐκ ἂν οἰοί τ' ἦσαν τοῦτο ποιῆσειν, *they tell everything as it is: and yet if knowledge did not chance to be in them, they could not do this.* Id. Phaed. 73 A. Οὐχ οὕτω δ' ἂν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς παρεκάλουν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐώρων αἰσχροῦν ἐσομένην, *I should not exhort you, did I not see (as I do), etc.* ISOC. vi. 87.

(*Impf. of Past Time.*) Καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἔπρασσον, εἰ μὴ μοι πικρὰς αὐτῷ τ' ἀρὰς ἤρατο, *and this I should never have done, had he not invoked bitter curses on myself.* SOPH. O. C. 951. Οὐκ ἂν νήσων ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν, *he would not have been master of islands, if he had not had also some naval force (implying ναυτικὸν εἶχεν and νήσων ἐκράτει, he had a navy, for he was master of islands).* THUC. i. 9. (Γαῦτα) οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν, *he would not have declared these things (referring to several), had he not been confident that he should speak the truth.* XEN. Mem. i. 1, 5. Εἰ ἦσαν ἀνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς σὺ φηῖς, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ταῦτα ἔπασχον, *if they had been good men, as you say, they would never have suffered these things (referring to several cases).* PLAT. Gorg. 516 E.

(*Aorist of Past Time.*) Εἰ μὴ ὄρκους ἤρέθην, οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἔσχον μὴ οὐ τὰδ' ἐξείπειν πατρί, *had I not been bound by oaths, I should never have refrained,* etc. EUR. Hipp. 657. Καὶ ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἢ ἀρχὴ διὰ ταχέων κατελήθη. PLAT. Ap. 32 D. Τί ποτ' ἂν ἔπαθον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ πλείω χρόνον ἐπετροπεύθην; εἰ κατελείφθην μὲν ἐναισίως, ἐξ ἔτη δὲ προσεπετροπεύθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλαβον. DEM. xxvii. 63. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. Id. iv. 5.

(*Different tenses in Protasis and Apodosis.*) Εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα, *if you had not come, we should (now) be on our way to the King.* XEN. An. ii. 1, 4. Ὅ εἰ ἀπεκρίνω, ἱκανῶς ἂν ἤδη παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ὀσιότητα ἐμεμαθήκη, *if you had given this answer, I should have already learned,* etc. PLAT. Euthyph. 14 C. Λοιπὸν δ' ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν ἐτι περὶ τῆς πόλεως διαλεχθῆναι τῆς ἡμετέρας, εἰ μὴ προτέρη τῶν ἄλλων τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεποίητο. (This implies ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρήνην προτέρη πεποίηται.) ISOC. v. 56. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δεόντα οἴτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι, *if they had given the necessary advice in time past, there would now be no need of your deliberating.* DEM. iv. 1. Τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αἰτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γ' ἔγραφεν. Id. xviii. 79.

These examples show the fully developed construction, as it appears in the Attic writers and in Herodotus. For the more primitive Homeric usage, see 435 and 438.



ή πάλι ελάμβανεν δ. δικη. εἶτε ἡ δίκη το ἀντ. ρη. β. 60.



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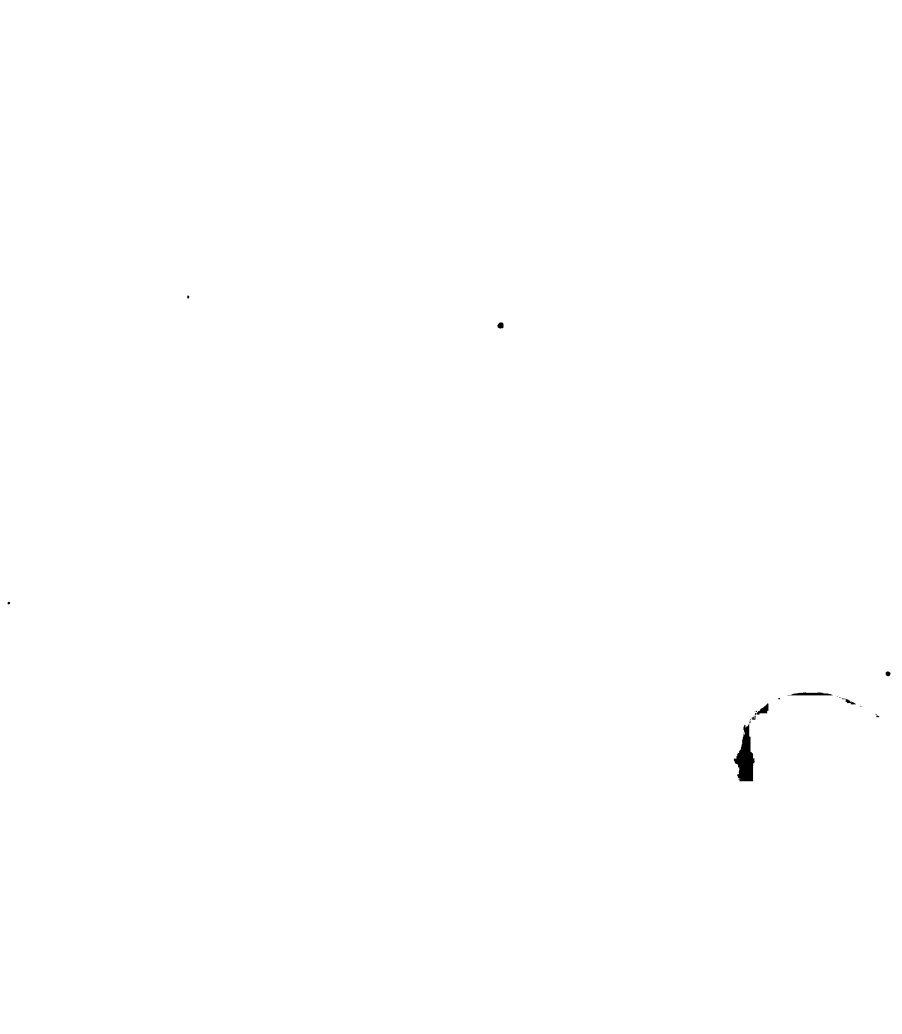
411. This construction is equivalent to that of the Latin imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis. With regard to the tenses, the Latin imperfect subjunctive represents the Greek imperfect indicative referring to present time, and rarely that referring to past time; while the Latin pluperfect subjunctive represents the Greek aorist and pluperfect indicative, and also most cases of the Greek imperfect referring to past time.

412. 1. It will be seen that, when this construction is used, it is usually implied not merely that the condition of the protasis is not (or was not) fulfilled but *also* that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) take place; thus *εἰ τοῦτο εἶπον, ἐπειρήθη ἄν*, *if I had said this, he would have been persuaded*, generally implies not merely that *I did not say this* but also that *he was not persuaded*. But this denial of the apodosis is not an essential character of the construction, as we can see if we change the apodosis to *οὐκ ἄν ἐπειρήθη*, *he would not have been persuaded*, when it is not implied that *he really was persuaded*. We have seen that there is nothing in the nature of the potential indicative which makes a denial of its action necessary (244); and when this form is made the apodosis of an unreal condition, it simply states that something would happen (or would have happened) in a case which did not arise. Denial of the apodosis can follow as a logical inference from denial of the protasis only in the rare cases in which the unreal condition is the only one under which the action of the apodosis could have taken place, as when we say *if the moon had entered the earth's shadow, she would have been eclipsed*, where the denial of either clause carries with it by necessity the denial of the other. But if we say *if it had rained, the ground would be wet*, the denial of the protasis cuts off only one of many conditions under which the ground might be wet. Such sentences as this are, however, very common, though they are not used to prove the opposite of the apodosis (that *the ground is not wet*); but they are arguments in which the apodosis is assumed to be false (on the ground of observation or experience), and from this it is argued that the assumption of the protasis is false; that is, *since the ground is not wet* (as we can see), *it cannot have rained*, which is a good argument. This is the case in THUC. i. 9, and PLAT. Gorg. 516 E (quoted in 410, above); where it is argued that Agamemnon *had a navy* because this was a necessary condition of his ruling islands, and that certain persons were *not good men* because they suffered what they did, the facts of ruling islands and of suffering being assumed in the argument as established on independent evidence. In other cases, where it is stated that the apodosis would follow as a consequence from the fulfilment of the condition, as in SOPH. Aj. 45, *κἄν ἐξεπράξατ' εἰ κατημέλησ' ἐγώ*, *he would even have accomplished it, if I had been careless*, whatever negation of the apodosis is implied (here *οὐκ ἐξεπράξατο*) comes from a feeling that when the only condition under which it is stated that an action would have taken place fails, there is no reason for believing it to have taken place at all. We may doubt whether any

negation of the apodosis is implied in the *form of expression* in such cases. Certainly, in many cases in which the apodosis states a consequence which would follow from the action of an unreal protasis, this negation is assumed as already known apart from the construction; thus in SOPH. El. 556 (quoted in 410) the apodosis means *you would not then be offensive to listen to*, and the only ground on which we mentally add *as you now are* is our knowledge of Clytaemnestra's feeling towards Electra. If the sentence were *if all men began their speeches politely, they would not be offensive*, we should not think of supplying *as they now are* without some knowledge of the facts.

2. When the sentence merely affirms or denies that one act, if it had occurred, would be accompanied by another act, and there is no *necessary* relation between the two acts as cause and effect, and there is no argument drawn from the admitted unreality of the conclusion to prove the opposite of the condition, no denial of the apodosis is implied in the expression, although we may know from the context or in some other way that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) occur. Thus in PLAT. Ap. 17 D, *εἰ τῷ ὄντι ξένος ἐτύγχανον ὦν, ξυνεγιγνώσκειτε δῆπου ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἔλεγον*, etc., *if I were really a foreigner, you would surely pardon me if I spoke in my own dialect*, etc., it is not implied that *now you do not pardon me*. We should rather say that nothing at all is implied beyond the statement *you would pardon me in that case*. If the apodosis were *you would not be angry with me*, the impossibility of understanding *but now you are angry* would make this plainer. Again, in XEN. An. vi. 1, 32, *οἷδ' ἂν ἐγώ γε ἐστασίαζον εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε*, *neither should I (any more than Xenophon) be quarrelsome if you had chosen another man*, nothing like *στασιάζω* is implied; on the other hand, any such implication as *οὐ στασιάζω* must come from the circumstances of the case, not from the form of expression. In SOPH. O. T. 220, *οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν ἔχνεον αὐτός*, if the protasis is *εἰ ἔχνεον αὐτός*, *if I were undertaking the search by myself (alone)*, the apodosis *I should not be very far on the track* does not imply *μακρὰν ἔχνεω*, or anything more than the sentence states. (See 511.) Again, in SOPH. Tr. 896, *εἰ παροῦσα πλῆσια ἔλεισσεσ ὀ΄ ἔδρασε, κάρτ' ἂν ᾤκτισας*, the statement does not imply *οὐκ ᾤκτισας*, although this may be true.

3. Further, in concessive sentences introduced by *καὶ εἰ* or *εἰ*, *even if* or *although*, or *οἷδ' εἰ*, *not even if*, where it is stated that something would be true even in a supposed case (which does not arise), we have what amounts to a statement that the thing in question would be true in any case. Here, therefore, the action of the apodosis is distinctly affirmed; as in ISOC. xxi. 11, *Νικίας μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἶθωτο σικοφαντεῖν, τότε ἂν ἐπαύσατο. Εὐθύνονος δὲ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲ πώποτε διενόηθη ἀδικεῖν, τότε ἂν ἐπήρθη*, i.e. *N. would then have stopped, while E. would have been urged on, in any case*. So DEM. xxx. 14, and xl. 23. See PLAT. Rep. 620 D, *τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἔπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχούσα (= καὶ εἰ πρώτη ἔλαχεν)*, *it would have done the same even if it had drawn the first choice*.





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413. In the unreal conditional sentence, therefore, the unreality of the supposition is always implied, and that of the apodosis is generally either assumed or implied. The implied opposite of an imperfect is always a present or imperfect, that of an aorist is an aorist, and that of a pluperfect is usually a perfect or pluperfect. Thus *εἰ ἔπρασσε*, when it means *if he were doing*, implies *ἀλλ' οὐ πρᾶσσει*, *but really he is not doing*; when it means *if he had been doing*, it implies *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπρασσε*, *but really he was not doing*: *εἰ μὴ ἔπραξεν*, *if he had not done*, implies *ἀλλ' ἔπραξεν*, *but really he did do*: *εἰ ἔπεποιήκει τούτο*, *if he had already done this*, implies either *ἀλλ' οὐ πεποιήκειν*, *but really he has not done it*, or *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπεποιήκει*, *but really he had not done it*, according to the context. The aorist, however, is very often used here, as elsewhere, where the pluperfect would express the time intended more exactly; as in the sentence quoted in 410 from DEM. iv. 5, *οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νινὶ πεποιήκειν ἔπραξεν*, where the perfect *πεποιήκειν* shows that the pluperfect might have been used for *ἔπραξεν* (see 58).

414. Sometimes an aorist not referring to past time is found in the apodosis, after a protasis in the imperfect referring to the present. This occurs chiefly in Plato, and generally with *εἶπον ἂν*, *ἀπεκρινάμην ἂν*, or a similar verb, meaning *I should at once reply*. The aorist excludes the idea of duration which the imperfect would express, and for the same reason it cannot be strictly present; in effect it does not differ much from an aorist optative with *ἂν*, the apodosis really being the result (in the case supposed) *would be* (*ἦν ἂν*) *that I should reply* (*εἶποιμι ἂν*), etc. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὲν οὖν σὺ μέ ἠρώτας τι τῶν νῦν δὴ, εἶπον ἂν, κ.τ.λ., *if then you were asking me any one of the questions before us, I should (at once) say*, etc. PLAT. Euthyph. 12 D. *Ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτίγγχανεν ὦν ἱποδημάτων δημιουργός, ἀπεκρίνατο ἂν δὴ πού σοι ὅτι σκιτοτόμος*, *as, if he chanced to be a maker of shoes, he would answer that he was a cobbler*. Id. Gorg. 447 D. See also PLAT. Symp. 199 D, Men. 72 B, Theag. 123 B; ANT. Tetr. A. β. 13. In PLAT. Prot. 311 B, C, we have *εἴ τις σε ἤμετο, τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω*; with the answer *εἶπον ἂν ὡς, κ.τ.λ.*, twice, referring to present time; but in D, *εἰ οὖν τις ἡμᾶς ἔροιτο* (future), followed by *τί ἂν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν ἀποκρινάμεθα*;

An example of this is found in SOPH. Ant. 755: *εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἦσθ, εἶπον ἂν σ' οὐκ εἶ φρονεῖν*, *if you were not my father, I should say you were not right in mind*. See EUR. Alc. 125, *ἦλθεν ἂν*, i.e. (*the result would be that*) *she would return*. So Alc. 360.

ΑΠΟΔΟΣΙΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ἂν.—*Ἐδει, χρῆν*, ETC. WITH THE INFINITIVE.

415. A peculiar form of potential indicative without *ἂν* consists of an infinitive depending on the imperfect of a verb of

obligation, propriety, or possibility, like ἔδει, χρῆν or ἐχρῆν, εἰκὸς ἦν, or προσῆκεν. This expression refers to past or present time, and generally implies a denial of the action of the infinitive. Thus ἔδει τοῦτον ἀποθανεῖν in this idiomatic use means *he ought to have perished (but did not)*; ἔδει ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν means *we ought to be doing this (but we are not)* or *we ought to have done this (but we did not do it)*. This combination contains in other words what might have been expressed substantially by a past indicative with ἂν of the verb of the infinitive, qualified by an adverb or other expression denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility: thus ἔδει τοῦτον ἀποθανεῖν is (as a construction) equivalent to οὗτος δικαίως (or ἀξίως) ἂν ἀπέθανεν, *he would justly have perished*, and εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν is equivalent to τοῦτο εἰκότως ἂν ἔπαθες, *you would properly have suffered this (implying οὐκ ἔπαθες)*. Strictly, the expression involves also an unreal protasis, as (in the last case) εἰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔπαθες, which with the apodosis τοῦτο ἔπαθες ἂν appears substantially in εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν. (See 511.)

When the present infinitive is used, the expression is present or past; with the aorist infinitive it is always past.

416. The following imperfects may take the infinitive in this sense: ἔδει, χρῆν or ἐχρῆν, εἰκὸς ἦν, προσῆκεν, ἐνῆν, ἐξῆν, ἦν (or ὑπῆρχεν¹), *it was possible, one might*, the impersonal ἦν with adjectives or nouns expressing obligation, propriety, possibility, and similar ideas, as δίκαιον ἦν, ἀξίον ἦν, καλὸν (κάλλιον,² κρείττον,³ κρᾶτιστον⁴) ἦν, αὐσχρὸν ἦν, προσῆκον ἦν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἦν,⁵ ἀσφαλέστερον ἦν,⁶ ὤρον ἦν,⁷ εὐλογον ἦν,⁸ συγγνωστὸν ἦν, οἶός τ' ἦν, ἔργον ἦν, ἦν with the verbal in -τέος,—also ἔπρεπεν, συνέφερεν,⁹ ἐλισσιτέλει,¹⁰ with other verbs of the same nature. To these must be added the expressions specially mentioned below in 424-431.

417. These are all originally expressions of past necessity, obligation, etc., involving no reference to any condition (unfulfilled or otherwise); and in this sense they may always be used, as in DEM. xix. 124, ἔδει μένειν, *he was obliged to stay (and did stay)*, and HDT. i. 8, χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς, *for U. was doomed to fall into trouble*. It is only by idiomatic usage that the denial of the action of the infinitive comes to be implied in them, and that a past tense comes to express present time, both of which characteristics are found in Greek, Latin, and English; as ἔδει σε αὐτὸν φιλεῖν, *debebas eum colere, you ought to love him* (but

¹ See ISOC. v. 34. ² ISAE. ii. 15; ARISTOT. Eth. x. 9, 18 (p. 1181 a, 4).

³ DEM. xx. 23. ⁴ ISOC. xx. 14. ⁵ DEM. xviii. 248. ⁶ LYS. vii. 24.

⁷ ANT. v. 13. ⁸ ARISTOT. Eth. x. 9, 19 (p. 1181 a, 6). ⁹ LYS. xiii. 28.

¹⁰ DEM. lix. 112. The imperfects not included in these references will be found among the examples in 419-422. The above list could doubtless be greatly extended.





προσπαῖτε ἄν εἰ τὰ εἰκόνα ἔμοι εἴτε

you do not), *ought* being the past of *owe*. The infinitive is felt to be negated, even when the negative belongs to the leading verb.

418. Like the potential indicative, this form of expression can either (1) be used alone, with no external protasis expressed or distinctly implied, as in *χρῆν σε ἐλθεῖν*, *you ought to have gone*; or (2) stand as apodosis to an unreal protasis, as in *εἰ ἐκέλευσε, χρῆν σε ἐλθεῖν*, *if he had commanded it, you ought to have gone*.

419. I. When these expressions are used alone, the denial of the action of the infinitive is always implied. *E.g.*

Τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ζῆν εἶδει, *for these ought not to be living (as they are)*. SOPH. PH. 418. Ἐδει μὲν τοὺς λέγοντας ἀπαντας μίτη πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδὲνα μίτη πρὸς χάριν, *i.e. the speakers ought not to say a word out of regard either to enmity or to favour (and yet they do so)*. DEM. viii. 1. Σιγήσας ἠνίκ' εἶδει λέγειν, *keeping silence when he ought to speak*. Id. xviii. 189; cf. xviii. 191.

Χρῆν γὰρ σε μήτ' αὐτόν ποτ' εἰς Τροίαν μολεῖν, ἡμᾶς τ' ἀπεῖργειν, *for you ought yourself never to have gone to Troy, and you ought (now) to keep me away from it*. SOPH. PH. 1363. See AESCH. Ag. 879, Cho. 930; SOPH. EL. 1505. Θανεῖν, θανεῖν σε, πρόσβν, χρῆν πάρος τέκνων. EUR. And. 1208. Τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι (τοὺς πρόσβεις); *what ought I to have done (which I did not do)? Ought I not to have proposed (as I did) to invite the ambassadors?* DEM. xviii. 28. Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὸν στέφανον οἰομένους δεῖν λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπιδεικνύναί τοῦτον, μὴ μὲ κακῶς λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο παρέντες ἐκεῖνο ποιοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ., *i.e. those who think they ought to receive the crown ought to show that they deserve it themselves, and not be abusing me; but since now they have neglected the former and do the latter, etc.* Id. li. 3.

Σφῶν δ', ὧ τέκν, οἷς μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν πονεῖν τάδε, *those of you who ought to be bearing these labours*. SOPH. O. C. 342. Πρὸς τοῦτους τὸν ἀγῶνα καταστήναι, οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν τῷ μὲν τεθνεῶτι τιμωροῖς γενέσθαι τῷ δ' ἐπεξιόντι βοηθοῖς, *who properly should have come forward to avenge the dead and to help the prosecutor*. ANT. i. 2. Εἰ ἰπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μὲν ἐσώθημεν, οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν διακωλύειν μὴ σφύζεσθαι, *i.e. who would naturally have tried to prevent us from being ailed*. LYS. xx. 36. See DEM. xl. 30. Καὶ μάλιστα εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς προορᾶσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μαλακῶς, ὡς περ νῦν, ξυμμαχεῖν. THUC. vi. 78. (The orator adds, ἀλλ' οὐθ' ἡμεῖς νῦν γέ πω οὐθ' οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὤμνησθε.) Μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων, *he might have stood his ground (but really he ran away)*. DEM. iii. 17; cf. xviii. 14, xxvii. 58; LYS. xii. 31.

Τὴν διαθήκην ἠφάνικατε, ἐξ ἧς ἦν εἶδέναι περὶ πάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, *you have concealed the will, from which we (now) might know the truth about the whole matter*. DEM. xxviii. 10. Τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, *i.e. we should justly settle up our quarrel by ourselves*. Id. xviii. 16; cf. 13,

where *δίκαιον ἦν* is understood with *χρῆσθαι*, *he would justly have used them*. Πράττων πολὺν βέλτιον ἢ σὲ προσήκον ἦν (sc. πράττειν), *being much better off than you deserve to be*. Id. xlv. 69. Καὶ μὴν ἀξιόν γ' ἦν ἀκοῦσαι, *indeed, it was worth your while to hear them* (ἀξίως ἂν ἠκούσατε). PLAT. Euthyd. 304 D. The person addressed had just said οὐκ οἷός τ' ἦ κατακοίειν.

* Ἄλλω ἐπρεπεῖν λέγειν ἂ λέγεις, *another would have becomingly said what you say* (ἄλλος ἂν ἔλεγε πρεπόντως). PLAT. Rep. 474 D. Τὸ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὃ τῶν φθονούντων ἔργον ἦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προεστώτων τῆς τοιαύτης παιδείσεως, *the most disagreeable of names* (Sophist), *which the envious ought to use rather than those who stand at the head of the business in question*. ISOC. xiii. 19.

420. II. When this form is made the apodosis of an unreal condition (expressed or distinctly implied), it states that what the infinitive denotes would necessarily, properly, or possibly be done (or have been done) if the case supposed were a real one. The chief force of the apodosis here always lies in the infinitive, while the leading verb acts as an auxiliary (which we can generally express by *ought*, *might*, or *could*, or by an adverb), modifying the idea of the infinitive more or less in different cases. But when the chief stress is laid on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, so that the real apodosis is in the leading verb, this takes *ἂν*, like any other imperfect in such an apodosis (423). In some cases, however, even when no *ἂν* is added, the force of the infinitive is so modified by the idea of the leading verb that the opposite of the apodosis (which is generally inferred) cannot be expressed without including both ideas (see examples in 422, 1).

421. In the following examples the infinitive represents the real apodosis, and its action is denied as when no protasis is added (419):—

Εἰ ἐπ' ἡμέας μόνους ἐστρατηλάτεις ὁ Πέρσης, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον εἶναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πάσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθους ἐλαίνει, *if the Persian were making his expedition against us alone, he should leave all others and be marching directly into our country; then he would show everybody that he was marching against Scythians*. HDL. iv. 118. Δεῖν (= εἶναι) δέ, εἴπερ ἦν δυνατὸν, ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸ λέγεσθαι· νῦν δὲ ἀδύνατον. PLAT. Theaet. 202 A. Χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακὸς, πείσαντά με γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῇ φίλων, *i.e. if you were not base, you should make this marriage with my consent, and not (as you do) in secret from your friends*. EUR. Med. 586. Εἰ τινα (προίκα) εἶδον, εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρεγένεσθαι φισκόντων μαρτυρεῖσθαι, *i.e. if he had given any dowry, it would naturally have been attested by witnesses*. ISAE. iii. 28. See Id. iv. 18. Ἐμέ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἄλλαις τιτὶν ἡμέραις ἠδίκησέ τι τούτων ιδιώτην ὄντα, ἰδίᾳ καὶ δίκῃν προσήκεν αὐτῷ διδόναι,



κ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τὰ Φιλίππου, μὴ σὺν
οὐθεῖαν τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καρποῦσθαι Δ. 8.

i.e. in that case he would properly have given satisfaction by a private suit (as if he had said προσηκόντως ἰδία δίκην ἄν ἐδίδον). DEM. XXI. 33; see XXXIII. 25 and 38. Οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν μὴ παρακρουσθέντων ὑμῶν (= εἰ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε) μείναι Φιλίππῳ, for Philip could not have remained (as he did) unless you had been deceived. Id. XIX. 123. Εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ φασίν, ἀγαθοὶ, ὡς ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τοσῶδε φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν δεικνύσαι, i.e. in that case they might all the more plainly manifest their virtue (which they do not do). THUC. I. 37. Εἰ ἐβούλετο δίκαιος εἶναι, ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον, ἢ γῆν πριάμενος ἐκ τῶν προσιώντων τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν, i.e. he might have let the house, or have bought land and supported the children from the income. LYS. XXXII. 23. Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ ἐξῆν σοι φυγῆς τιμήσασθαι, εἰ ἐβούλοιο. PLAT. CRIT. 52 C. (See ISOC. XVII. 29.) Πολλοῖς δόξω, ὡς οἷός τ' ὄν σε σφῆζειν εἰ ἤθελον ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα, ἀμελήσαι, many will think that, whereas I might have saved you if I had been willing to spend money, I neglected it. Ib. 44 B.

422. 1. In the following examples the idea of the infinitive is so modified by that of the leading verb, that the real apodosis (the opposite of which is implied) includes both ideas; but the chief force still remains in the infinitive, so that no ἄν is added.

Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ δόντος τοι εἶπε τελετήσασθαι με, χρῆν δὲ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς, for if the dream had said that I was to be killed by a tooth, then you would properly do what you now do; but it really said I was to be killed by a spear. HD. I. 39. (Here the real apodosis is not in ποιέειν alone, which is affirmed in τὰ ποιέεις, but in the combined idea you would do with propriety; and it is the opposite of this which is implied. Χρῆν ἄν, which might have been used, would throw the main force on the χρῆν, with the meaning it would be your duty to do.) Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶδει τὸν παρόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλίστατα αὐτὸν ἀμνοῦμεθα, i.e. if then we were all agreed that Philip is at war with us, the speaker ought to say nothing else and to give no other advice than this, etc. (but it is added that, as there is a difference of opinion, it is necessary, ἀνάγκη ἐστίν, to speak on another subject also). DEM. IX. 6. (This implies not he does speak, etc., but he is bound to speak, etc. *Εδει ἄν would merely have thrown the balance of force upon the necessity, whereas now it falls on the speaking and advising.) Εἰ γὰρ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐτέθη τὸ γραμματεῖον, ἐνῆν αἰτιάσασθαι Ἀπατονρίῳ ὡς ἐγὼ ἠφάνικα τὰς συνθήκας, for if the account-book had been given me to keep, A. might possibly have charged me with putting the contract out of the way (implying that, as it was, he could not charge me with this). Id. XXXIII. 37. Εἰ μὲν ἑώρα μεταμέλον τῇ πόλει τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐκ ἄξιον ἦν θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ, if he had seen that the state repented of her acts, we should have no good reason for being surprised at him (implying we now have good reason for surprise, ἀξίως θαυμάζομεν). ISOC. XVIII. 21.

The preceding examples confirm the reading of the best Mss. in

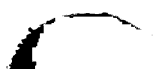
EUR. Med. 490, εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄπαις ἔτι, συγγνωστὸν ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους, which may be translated, *for if you had remained still childless, you might pardonably have become enamoured of this new marriage*, the apodosis being equivalent to ἡράσθης ἄν with an adverb meaning *pardonably* (*if you had done what would have been pardonable*). This implies not *you were not enamoured*, but *you were not pardonably enamoured*. If no protasis had been added, συγγνωστὸν ἦν ἐρασθῆναι (in its potential sense) must have meant *you might pardonably have become enamoured* (*but you did not*), and then ἄν would have been required to give the sense *it would have been pardonable* (*but is not so*). The other reading, συγγνώστ' ἄν ἦν, would make the same change in the balance of force that χρῆν ἄν, εἶδει ἄν, ἐνῆν ἄν, and ἄξιον ἄν ἦν would make in the preceding examples.

2. In concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ, *even if*, οἶδ' εἰ, *not even if*, or εἰ, *although*, containing unreal conditions, where the action of the apodosis is not denied but affirmed (see 412, 3), the real apodosis may be represented by an infinitive and a leading verb like εἶδει, ἐξῆν, etc. combined. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν τότε γεγενημένων, οἶδ' εἰ πάντα ταῦτ' ἦν πεποικῶς ἅ φησιν οὗτος, *he could not maintain a suit about what was then done, even if I had really done what he says I did* (implying οὐκ ἐξεστὶν αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι, but with the chief force on δικάζεσθαι). ISOC. xviii. 19. Οἶδ' εἰ γνήσιοι ἦσαν εἰσποιητοὶ δέ, ὡς οἱτοὶ ἔφησαν, οἶδ' οὕτω προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς Εὐκτῆμονος εἶναι, *not even if they were genuine sons and were afterwards adopted into another family, would they now properly belong to E.'s house* (implying *they do not properly belong there*). ISAE. vi. 44. See also HDT. vii. 56; DEM. xviii. 199, xxiii. 107.

Οἶδ' εἰ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα μὴ θεήλατον, ἀκάθαρτον ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἦν οὕτως εἶναι, *for even if the duty were not urged upon you by a God, you ought not to leave the guilt unpurged as you do*. SOPH. O. T. 255. (Here the apodosis as a whole is affirmed, although the infinitive itself, *not to leave*, is denied. So in the two following examples.) Καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε εἶξαι τῇ ἡμετέρῃ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δ' αἰσχρὸν (sc. ἦν) βιάσασθαι τὴν μετρώτητα, *if we had even been in the wrong, they might fairly have yielded to our wrath, while we could not have done violence to their moderation without dishonour*. THUC. i. 38. Ἄξιον ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐταῖς πρότερον ἰπῆρχεν ἀγαθόν, (ταῖτας) τῆς μεγίστης δωρεᾶς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τυχεῖν, *i.e. these cities, even if they had had no other merit to rely on, deserved to receive (ought to have received) the greatest reward from the Greeks* (which, it is said, they did not receive). ISOC. xii. 71.

423. (Ἔδει ἄν, etc.) The examples in 421, 1 and 2, show that the common rule for distinguishing εἶδει etc. with the infinitive (without ἄν) from εἶδει ἄν etc. with the infinitive,—that the former is used when the action of the infinitive is denied, the





latter when the obligation, propriety, or possibility is denied, —often cannot be applied, though as a working rule it can be used in the great majority of cases. While there are many sentences in which either form would express the required sense, the essential distinction is, that the form without ἄν is used when the chief force of the apodosis falls on the infinitive, the leading verb being an auxiliary (see 420); but the leading verb takes ἄν when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, rather than on the act itself.

The following examples will illustrate the form with ἄν :—

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτι ἐν δυνάμει ἦν τοῦ ῥαδίως πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, οὐδὲν ἄν σε ἔδει δεῦρο ἰέναι· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄν παρὰ σὲ ἦμεν· νῦν δὲ σε χρὴ πυκνότερον δεῦρο ἰέναι, i.e. *in that case there would be no need (as there now is) of your coming hither.* PLAT. Rep. 328 C. Τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ παῖδες ἄρρενες μὴ ἐγένοντο, οὐκ ἄν ἐξῆν ἄνευ ταύτης διαθέσθαι, *her father, if he had had no male children, would not have been allowed to leave her out of his will (implying ἀλλ' ἐξῆν).* ISAE. x. 13. Εἰ οὖν παρακαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκοδομικά, πότερον ἔδει ἄν ἡμῶς σκέψασθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξετάσαι εἰ ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν τέχνην; ἔδει ἄν ἢ οὐ; i.e. *in that case would it be our duty or not to examine ourselves and inquire whether we understand the art?* PLAT. Gorg. 514 A. See also DEM. iv. 1, quoted in 410.

A comparison of these examples with those in 422, 1, will show the distinction between the two forms and also the narrowness of the line which sometimes separates them.

For a discussion of *χρήν* and *χρήν ἄν* in DEM. xviii. 195, and of *χρήν* and *ἐχρήν ἄν* in LYS. xii. 32 and 48, and for other remarks on these constructions, see Appendix V.

424. 1. The imperfect *ᾤφελον* or *ᾔφελον* of *ᾔφελω* (Epic of *ᾔφείλω*), *owe*, *debeo*, and the aorist *ᾔφελον* or *ᾔφελον* are sometimes used with the infinitive in Homer like *χρήν*, *ἔδει*, etc. in the later construction (415). *E.g.*

Τιμὴν πέρ μοι ᾔφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγναλίξαι Ζεὺς ἰψιβρεμέτης· νῦν δ' οὐδὲ με τιτθὸν ἔτισεν, i.e. *Zeus ought to have secured me honour; but now he has not honoured me even a little.* II. i. 353. Νῦν ᾔφελεν κατὰ πάντας ἀριστήσας πονέεσθαι λισσόμενος, *now ought he to be labouring among all the nobles, beseeching them.* II. x. 117. Ἄλλ' ᾔφελεν ἀθανάτωνιν εὐχέσθαι, *but he ought to have prayed to the Gods.* II. xxiii. 546. For the reference to present time in II. x. 117, see 246 and 734.

2. From this comes the common use of this form in expressions of a wish, in Homer and in Attic Greek; as *ᾔφελε* Κῦρος ζῆν, *would that Cyrus were living* (lit. *Cyrus ought to be living*), XEN. An. ii. 1, 4. (See 734.)

425. Similar to this is the occasional use of *ἰβουλόμην* (with-

out ἄν) and the infinitive, to express what some one *wishes were now true* (but which is not true). *E.g.*

Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἰσχύειν, *I would that both the Senate and the assemblies were rightly managed, and that the laws were in force* (implying the opposite of ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι and ἰσχύειν). This is analogous to ὤφελεν εἶναι, *would that it were*, and ἔδει εἶναι, *it ought to be* (but is not). AESCHIN. iii. 2. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε, *I would that I were not contending here (as I am)*, or *I would not be contending here*. AR. Ran. 866. Ἐβουλόμην τὴν δίναν μοι λέγειν ἐξ ἴσου μοι καθεστάναι τῇ συμφορᾷ, *I would that power of speech equal to my misfortune were granted me*. ANT. v. i. Ἐβουλόμην κἀγὼ τάλληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν δυνηθῆναι, *I would that I had found the power to tell you the truth*. ISAE. x. 1. Ἐβουλόμην μὴδ' ἕφ' ἑνὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, *I would I had not been wronged by a single one of the citizens*. Id. Frag. 4 (Scheibe): see Frag. 22.

426. Ἐβουλόμην ἄν, *vellem, I should wish or I should have liked*, can always be used as a potential indicative, like ἔδει ἄν etc. (423): see AR. Eccl. 151; AESCHIN. iii. 115. (See 246.)

427. (a) The aorist of κινδυνεύω is used with the infinitive, as a periphrasis for the verb of the infinitive with ἄν. *E.g.*

Ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνεισε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο, *the city ran the risk of being utterly destroyed if a wind had arisen*. THUC. iii. 74. Εἰ μὴ ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀπολέσθαι, *we ran the risk of perishing had we not fled to Delphi, i.e. we should very probably have perished if we had not fled*. AESCHIN. iii. 123. For ἐκινδύνευσαν ἄν see (b) below.

So with κίνδυνος ἦν: as in ANT. ii. 12, εἰ τότε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μὴ εἰσῆχθη, οὐ περὶ τοῦ σώσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτοῖς μάλλον ἢ, κ.τ.λ., *i.e. they ran a risk, in case the supplies had not then been brought in, not so much about saving Athens, as, etc.*

(b) When the chief force of the apodosis lies in ἐκινδύνευσαν, even though the meaning is not much affected by the distinction in form, ἄν is used (as with ἔδει etc. in 423). So in XEN. An. iv. 1, 11, εἰ πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἄν πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι τοῦ στρατεύματος, *if more had been collected, there would have been danger of much of the army being destroyed*.

428. (a) The imperfect of μέλλω with the infinitive may express a past *intention* or *expectation* which was not realised, and so take the place of the verb of the infinitive with ἄν. *E.g.*

Ἡ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐμελλον, εἰ μὴ . . . εἴπες, *i.e. I should have perished like A. (lit. I was to have perished), if thou hadst not spoken*. Od. xiii. 383. Μέλλεν μὲν ποτε οἶκος οὗδ' ἀφνειὸς καὶ ἀμίμων ἔμμεναι· νῦν δ' ἐτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοί, *this house was to have been rich and glorious; but now the Gods have willed it otherwise*. Od. i. 232. Οὐ συστρατεύσειν ἐμελλον, *they were*



see on card. 3. 123.





is non collaturus erat

not going to join him, or they would not have joined him (in that case). DEM. xix. 159; see xviii. 172. Ἦπτον τὸ ἀδίκημα πολλῶν οὐδῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον εἶσεσθαι, the offence would have been less plain when there were many (olive trees). LYS. vii. 24. See THUC. v. 38, μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαν, πειράσεσθαι. Compare the Latin: Hoc facturi erant, nisi venisset, they were to have done this (would have done this), had he not come.¹

(b) A single case of ἄν with ἔμελλεν occurs in AND. i. 21: εἰ καὶ πατήρ ἐβούλετο ὑπομένειν, τοὺς φίλους ἄν οἴεσθε . . . ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παραιεῖσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι ἀπίαναι ὅπου ἂν ἔμελλεν σωθήσεσθαι; i.e. to depart to a place where he would have been likely to be safe. Most critics repudiate this ἄν; but it seems perfectly analogous to ἄν with εἶδει, χροῖν, etc. (423).

429. Similar is the use of εἶφην in Od. iv. 171: καί μιν εἶφην ἐλθόντα φιλήσεμεν ἕξοχον ἄλλων, εἰ νῶν νόστον εἶδοικεν (Ζεὺς), i.e. I intended to love him (and should have done so) had Zeus granted us a return.

430. An analogous case is LYS. xii. 60: ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνδρας ἀγαθοίς, they were preparing to destroy the city (and would have destroyed it) had it not been for good men.

431. A few expressions which have no dependent infinitive are practically equivalent to a potential indicative with ἄν, and so can stand as the apodosis of an unreal condition. E.g.

Τοῦτ' ὁ δ' εἰ μὴ ὁμολογοῖεν ἃ οἶτος ἐβούλετο, οἵδε μὲν ζημίᾳ ἔνοχος ἦν, but if they had not acknowledged to him what he wanted, he was liable to no charge (i.e. he could not have been accused). LYS. vii. 37. Ὡς, εἰ μὲν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ μὴ προσεγέγραπτο, ἔνοχος ὢν (= ἦν) τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ, assuming that, if the words ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ had not been added, he might properly have been tried by ἀπαγωγή. Id. xiii. 85. Πιστεῖντος γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ εἶδέναι ἃ λέγω, καλῶς εἶχεν ἡ παραμυθία, i.e. for if I trusted (= εἰ ἐπίστευον) to any knowledge of my own about what I am saying, the consolation which you offer would encourage me (lit. your consolation was good on that supposition). PLAT. REP. 450 D. (We might have had καλὸν ἦν σε παραμυθεῖσθαι in the same sense.) Εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωσίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, in that case it remained for you not to keep silent (i.e. you should not have kept silent). DEM. xviii. 23. (The article with σιγῆσαι only slightly distinguishes this from the examples under 421.)

432. The same explanation applies to other cases in which a rhetorical omission of ἄν in apodosis is commonly assumed; as in

¹ This use of ἔμελλον with the infinitive corresponds precisely to the Sanskrit use of the past future tense in the sense of the Greek aorist indicative with ἄν. Thus "if he had said (avaksyat) this, he would have slain (ahanisyat) Indra" (Cat. Brahm. i. 6, 3rd), where the two verbs are augmented past futures, meaning literally he was going to say and he was going to slay. See Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 950.

EUR. Hec. 1113, εἰ δὲ μὴ Φρυγῶν πύργους πεσόντας ἦσμεν Ἑλλήνων δορί, φόβον παρέσχεν οὐ μέσως ὅδε κτίπος, *but if we had not known that the Phrygian towers had fallen, this noise gave us cause for terror in earnest* (i.e. *would easily have terrified us*).

433. Occasionally a protasis takes the place of the infinitive in the construction of 419. *E.g.*

Ἐπεὶ τόδε κέρδιον ἦεν, εἰ νόστησ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ ὑπότροπος ἴκετο δῶμα, *for it had been a greater gain if Ulysses had returned* (for κέρδιον ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύα νοστήσαι). Od. xx. 331. Compare ΜΑΤΤΗ. EV. xxvi. 24, καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος, *it had been good for that man if he had not been born* (for καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ γεννηθῆναι). Εἰ δὲ ἀποφεύξεται, κρείττων ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν μὴ γεγενημένος (= εἰ μὴ ἐγεγένητο), *but if he is acquitted, it were better that the trial had never taken place* (for κρείττων ἦν τὸν ἀγῶνα μὴ γεγενησθαι). AESCHIN. i. 192.

This occasional substitution of a protasis does not indicate that the infinitive in κρείττων ἦν αὐτῷ ἔλθειν, *he had better have gone*, was felt as a protasis. We could substitute for this English *it were better if he had gone*, but only by a change of construction.

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

434. In Homer the construction of the unreal conditional sentence is not completely developed. It is not improbable that in the primitive language the optative could express in a rough way both present and past unreal conditions, and in Homer the present unreal condition is still expressed only by the present optative (438).

435. The aorist indicative in Homer, both in protasis and in apodosis with ἄν or κέ, is used as in Attic Greek; but the imperfect is always past, never present.¹ *E.g.*

Καὶ νῦν κε δὴ ξιφέεσσ' αἰτοσχεδὸν οὐτάζοντο, εἰ μὴ κήρυκες ἦλθον, *they would have wounded each other, had not heralds come*. Il. vii. 273. Ἐνθα κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο, εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξ' ἰ νόστρε πατῆρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *then there would have been, etc.* Il. viii. 130. So viii. 366. Καὶ νῦν κε δὴ πρῶτέρω ἔτ' ἐπις γένηετ' ἀμφότεροισιν, εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀνίστατο καὶ κατέρυκεν. Il. xxiii. 490. See Il. xi. 504; Od. xvi. 221, xxiv. 51.

¹ Mr. Monro (*Hom. Gr.* p. 236) doubts this statement, and refers to Od. iv. 178, καὶ κε θάμ' ἐνθάδ' ἐόντες ἐμισγόμεθ', οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας ἀλλοῦ δέκρουεν, as a case in which "the imperfect ἐμισγόμεθα takes in the present time, *we should* (from that time till now) *have been meeting*." It seems to me that, according to the Homeric usage, we can find no more in θάμα ἐμισγόμεθα κε than *we should have had frequent meetings*, and the rest comes from the context. In any case, this use is far removed from the Attic ἐπορευόμεθα ἀν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, *we should (now) be on our way to the King* (410). A nearer approach to the later use perhaps appears in Il. xxiv. 220, εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις μ' ἄλλος ἐκέλευεν, *if any other (had?) commanded me*. But see Il. ii. 80.





Καί νύ κ' ἔτι πλέονας Λυκίων κτάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ, i.e. *Ulysses would have killed still more, had not Hector perceived him.* Il. v. 679. Καί νύ κεν ἦμα πάντα κατέφθιτο καὶ μὲν ἄνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ τίς με θεῶν δλοφύρατο καὶ μ' ἐσάωσεν. Od. iv. 363.

But ὄφελον with the present infinitive may be present, even in Homer, both as a potential expression (424) and in wishes (734).

436. We find the imperfect referring to present time in Theognis: see vs. 905, εἰ μὲν γὰρ καταδεῖν βίοντος τέλος ἦν, εἰκὸς ἂν ἦν. See PIND. Nem. iv. 13.

437. In Il. xxiii. 526, εἴ κε is found with the aorist indicative in protasis, κέ apparently adding nothing to the sense:—

Εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισιν,
Τῆ κέν μιν παρέλασ' οὐδ' ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν.

438. (*Optative in present unreal Conditions.*) In Homer a present unfulfilled condition is regularly expressed by the present optative with εἰ, and its apodosis (if present) by the present optative with κέ or ἂν.

The only instance of this form in both protasis and apodosis is Il. xxiii. 274, εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ ἀεθλεύοιμεν Ἀχαιοὶ, ἦ τ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα λαβὼν κλισίῃνδε φερούμην, *if we were now contending in honour of any other (than Patroclus), I should take the first prize and bear it to my tent.* Twice we have the optative with ἂν in apodosis with the regular imperfect or aorist indicative (past) in the protasis: Il. ii. 80, εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον ἄλλος ἔνισπεν, ψεῖδος κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον, *if any other had told the dream, we should call it a lie and rather turn away from it;* and the same apodosis after εἰ τίς μ' ἄλλος ἐκέλευεν, in Il. xxiv. 222. In Od. ii. 184, οὐκ ἂν τόσσα θεοπροπέων ἀγόρευες, οὐδέ κε Τηλέμαχον κεχολωμένον ὦδ' ἀνειείης, we have first the imperfect with ἂν as a past apodosis, (*in that case*) *you would not have made this speech with all its divination;* and then the present optative with κέ as present, *nor would you be urging Telemachus on, as you now are;* both referring to an unfulfilled past condition, *if you had perished,* suggested by καταφθίσθαι ὄφελος in vs. 183.

439. See the corresponding use of the present optative in Homer to express an unaccomplished present wish (739). In both wishes and conditional sentences, it must be remembered, the use of the optative in its ordinary future sense is completely established in Homer. See examples in 455 and 722.

440. (*Optative in past unreal Apodosis.*) Homer has four cases of the optative with κέ (three aorist and one present) in the apodosis referring to the past, with the regular indicative in the protasis expressing a past unfulfilled condition. These are—

Καί νύ κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἀναξ ἄνδρῶν Αἰνείας, εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε Δῖος θινγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, *Aeneas would have perished, had not Aphrodite quickly perceived him.* Il. v. 311. Καί νύ κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο

* Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο, εἰ μὴ Ἡερὶβοία Ἑρμῆ ἐξήγγειλεν. Il. v. 388. Οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην, εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι δάμη Τρώων ἐνὶ δήμῳ, *I should not have felt so grieved if he had perished, θανόντι (= εἰ ἔθανεν)* being further explained by εἰ . . . δάμη. Od. i. 236. Ἐνθα κε ρεῖα φέροι κλιτὰ τεύχεα, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἀγάσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, *he would easily have borne away the famous armour had not Phoebus Apollo grudged him.* Il. xvii. 70. Here ἀπόλετο, ἀκαχοίμην, and ἔφερε would be the regular forms even in Homer, corresponding to the regular protases.

441. In the transitional state of the Homeric language we see that the past tenses of the indicative had fully established themselves in the protasis of past unreal conditions, but not so thoroughly in the apodosis, where the optative occasionally occurs. In present unreal conditions, the optative alone is used in both protasis and apodosis.

442. Besides the full conditional sentences above quoted, we find in Homer many potential optatives with *κέ* or *ἄν* which seem to belong to the borderland between past and future conclusions, and are not definitely fixed in the past (like the apodoses in 440) by a past tense in the protasis.

Such are especially *φαίης κε*, as in Il. iii. 220, xv. 697, and οὐδέ κε *φαίης*, as in Il. iv. 429, xvii. 366, Od. iii. 124, Il. iii. 392. In the first four cases it seems most natural to translate them as past, *you would have said, nor would you have said*; but in the last two cases it is more natural to translate *nor would you say* (future), and so with *φαίην κε*, Il. vi. 285. But in the fluid state of the language which allowed both ἀπόλετό κε and ἀπόλοιτό κε to mean *he would have perished*, and φέροι κε to mean both *he would carry* (fut.) and *he would have carried*, according to the protasis which was used with them, it is easy to understand how *φαίης κε* (without a protasis) might have a vague potential force, *you might perchance say*, which could be felt as either past or future as the context demanded. We must, therefore, hold that the optative with *κέ* in such cases expresses merely what *could happen*, without any limitations of time except such as are imposed by the context; and according to the limitations thus imposed we translate such optatives (with more exactness than they really possess) either as past or as future. In one case the feeling of past time is seen in the dependent verb: Il. v. 85, Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἄν γνοίης ποτέρωσι μετείη, *you would not have known to what side he belonged.* (This occurs in the same book of the Iliad with both the examples of ἀπόλοιτό κε for ἀπόλετό κε.)

Other examples are the following:—

Οὐκ ἄν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειεν βροτὸς ἄλλος, *no other mortal could then vie with Ulysses* (after a past verb). Il. iii. 223. Ἐνθ' οὐκ ἄν βρίοντα ἰδοῖς Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον. Il. iv. 223. Ἐνθ' οὐ κεν ρέα ἵππος ἔσβυίη, περὶ δὲ μενοῖεον εἰ τελείουσιν (the connection with μενοῖεον gives ἔσβυίη a past direction). Il. xii. 58. Ἐνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ ταρφθείη φρεσὶν





ἦσιν. Od. v. 73. Ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔλποιο νεώτερον ἀντίασσαντα, i.e. as you would not expect (?) a younger person to do. Od. vii. 293. Οὐδέ κεν ἴρηξ κίρκος ὀμαρτήσειεν. Od. xiii. 86. Further, compare Od. ix. 241 with Il. i. 271 and v. 303.

HOMERIC USAGES IN HERODOTUS AND IN ATTIC GREEK.

443. (a) Herodotus has a few cases of the potential optative with the same vague reference to time which has been noticed in Homer (442), and we may sometimes translate these, like those in Homer, by past expressions. *E.g.*

Τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμνοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων, and perhaps those who sold it (the cup) might come to Sparta and tell that they had been robbed of it. Hdt. i. 70 (see Stein's note). All that the optative itself seems to express is that this would be a natural story for them to tell. In vii. 214, εἶδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔων μὴ Μηλιεύς ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῆ χώρα πολλὰ ὀμιληκῶς εἶη, for Onetes, even if he was not a Malian, might know this path, supposing him to have had much acquaintance with the country, the optative in protasis (expressing no condition contrary to fact) shows that εἶδεῖν ἂν is not felt to be past. See also vii. 180, τάχα δ' ἂν τι ἐπαύροιο; viii. 136, τάχ' ἂν προλέγοι, might perhaps warn him; ix. 71, ταῦτα ἂν εἶποιεν, they might say this.

For εἴρσαν δ' ἂν οὔτοι Κρήτες, Hdt. i. 2, and similar expressions, see 238.

(b) In EUR. Med. 568, οἶδ' ἂν σὸν φαίης εἴ σε μὴ κνίξοι λέχος, the condition seems to be present and contrary to fact, like εἰ μὴ ἐκνίξει. See also PLAT. Menex. 240 D, ἐν τοῦτῳ δὲ ἂν τις γενόμενος γνοίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, κ.τ.λ. Such examples are extremely rare in Attic Greek.

(b) FUTURE CONDITIONS.

1. Subjunctive or Future Indicative in Protasis with a future Apodosis.

444. When a supposed future case is stated distinctly and vividly (as if *I shall go* or if *I go* in English) the protasis generally takes the subjunctive with *εάν, ἦν, or ἂν* (*ā*) (Epic *εἴ κε* or *αἶ κε*). The apodosis takes the future indicative or some other form expressing future time, to denote what *will be* the result if the condition of the protasis is fulfilled. *E.g.*

Ἐάν τι λάβω, δώσω σοι, if I (shall) receive anything, I will give it to you. Ἐάν τι λάβῃς, δός μοι, if you receive anything, give it to me. Εἰ δέ κεν ὡς ἐρξῆς καὶ τοι πεῖθωνται Ἀχαιοὶ, γνώσῃ ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἠγεμόνων κακὸς ὅς τέ νε λαῶν, but if you shall do thus and the Achaeans

obey you, you will then learn both which of the leaders and which of the soldiers is bad. II. ii. 364. Αἰ κ' αὐτὸν γνώω νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνόποντα, ἔσσω μιν χλαϊνὰν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἴματα καλά. Od. xvii. 549. So αἰ κε δῶσι, II. i. 128. Εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφυγῃ, αὐτὸς ἐπειθ' Ἑλέην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν· εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, Τρώας ἐπειθ' Ἑλέην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι. II. iii. 281. Here ἐχέτω, νεώμεθα (subj. in exhortation), and ἀποδοῦναι (infinitive for imperative) are in the apodosis. Αἴκου τήνος ἔλγῃ κεραὸν τράγον, αἶγα τὸ λαψῆ. THEOC. i. 4. Ἄν δέ τις ἀνθιστήται, σὺν ἡμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι, if any one shall stand opposed to us, with your help we will try to overcome him. XEN. AN. vii. 3, 11. Κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθῶμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, and if we shall not now be willing to fight him there, we shall perhaps be forced to do so here. DEM. iv. 50. (Here νῦν refers to time immediately following the present: if we are not now willing would be εἰ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν.) Ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς ὀρισώμεθα, ἀμεινον βουλευσόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ISOC. viii. 18. Ἦν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησώμεθα, καὶ τοιοῦτους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχωμεν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσομεν. Id. viii. 20. Ἐὰν οὖν ἴης νῦν, τότε ἔσει οἴκοι; XEN. CYT. v. 3, 27. Καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, εἰ δέ τι, and use them, if there shall be any need. Ib. v. 4, 30. Ἦν μὲν πόλεμον αἰρήσθε, μηκέτι ἦκετε δεῦρο ἄνευ ὄπλων, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε· ἦν δὲ εἰρήνης δοκῆτε δεῖσθαι, ἄνευ ὄπλων ἦκετε· ὡς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ἐμέτερα, ἦν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει. Ib. iii. 2, 13. Ἐὰν γάρ τί σε φανῶ κακὸν πεποιηκῶς, ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν· εἰ μὲντοι μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακὸν πεποιηκῶς μηδὲ βουληθεῖς, οὐ καὶ σὺ αὐτὸ ὁμολογήσεις μηδὲν ἢ ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι; Ib. v. 5, 13. (Here ὁμολογῶ, I am ready to confess, refers to the future.) Ἐὰν μὴ ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν παῦλα ταῖς πόλεσιν, unless either the philosophers shall become kings or the kings philosophers, there is no escape from troubles for states. PLAT. REP. 473 D. Δίδωσ' ἐκὼν κτείνειν ἑαυτὸν, ἦν τάδε ψευσθῆ λέγων, he offers himself willingly to suffer death in case he shall be proved false in this that he says. SOPH. PH. 1342. Μηχανητέον, εἰαν τε χρυσίων ἤρπικῶς ἢ πολὺ, μὴ ἀποδῶ τοῦτο, εἰαν τε θανάτου ἀξία ἠδικηκῶς ἢ, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθανεῖται, if he shall (prove to) have stolen much gold, we must contrive that he shall not restore it; and if he shall have committed crimes deserving death, that he shall not die. PLAT. GORG. 481 A (for the perfects see 103). Ἦν σε τοῦ λοιποῦ ποτ' ἀφέλωμαι χρόνου, κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, i.e. may I perish, if I ever take them away. AR. RAN. 586. (See 181.)

445. It will be seen that the apodosis here (444) may consist of any future expression,—the future indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive in exhortations and prohibitions, the infinitive in any future sense, the potential optative with *ἄν*, or the optative in a wish. It may also contain a present indicative including a reference to the future, like *χρή* or *δεῖ* or the verbal in *τέος*, or the present

realization of anticipation realization (civ out) contrasts
new possibility (civ out) of
Phaedr. 259a

10.147

148

11.2-48. 11- 2+3



indicative in protocol. Some of the previous results "realized" than in
18.176 of ¹⁹⁴⁶ - 1947 (1948) : (1949) ... di parte nostra si puo'
che decisa.

used emphatically for the future, like *ὁμολογῶ* above quoted (444) from XEN. Cyr. v. 5, 13, or *παῦλά ἐστι* in PLAT. Rep. 473 D.

446. The English, especially the colloquial language, seldom expresses the distinction between this form of the future condition and the present condition (402). Thus modern custom allows us to use the inexact expression *if he wishes*, not merely for *εἰ βούλεται*, *if he now wishes*, but also for *εἰν βούληται*, *if he shall wish*. The sense, however, generally makes the distinction in time clear.

It is worth noting that the Authorised Version of the English New Testament never uses forms like *if he does*, *if he is*, in either future or present conditions, even when the Greek has the present indicative with *εἰ*; but it has either the subjunctive or the future indicative in future conditions, and the subjunctive in present conditions. The Revised Version, on the other hand, admits the present indicative (as *if he is*) in present conditions, but not consistently. See LUC. xxiii. 35, *εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός*, A. V. *if he be Christ*, R. V. *if this is the Christ*; but in MATTH. vi. 23, *εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν*, both versions have *if therefore the light that is in thee be darkness*. See also Cor. ii. v. 17.

447. (*Future Indicative in Protasis.*) The future indicative with *εἰ* is often used in the protasis to express a future condition. This is a still stronger form of expression than the subjunctive, though it sometimes alternates with it in the same sentence. Both, however, correspond to the English *if I shall do this*, *if I do this*, etc. The future, as an emphatic form, is especially common when the condition contains a strong appeal to the feelings or a threat or warning.¹ It is thus a favourite construction with the tragedians. *E.g.*

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἶος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται, οὐδὲ μίννθ' ἔξουσι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα, *if Achilles shall fight alone against the Trojans, not even a little while will they keep back the swift son of Peleus*. Il. xx. 26. *Εἰ δὲ σὺ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσῃαι, ἢ τέ σ' οἶω ῥιγῆσειν πόλεμόν γε, καὶ εἰ χ' ἐτέρωθε πίθηαι*, *if you shall mingle in the battle, verily do I believe you will shudder at the very name of battle, even if you hear it elsewhere (away from the war)*. Il. v. 350. *Εἰ δέ μοι οὐ τίσοσσι βοῶν ἐπιεκέ' ἄμουβῆν, ὄσομαι εἰς Ἀῖδαο καὶ ἐν νεκτέσσι φαείνω*, *but if*

¹ In "minatory and monitory conditions": see Gildersleeve in *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1876*, p. 13. This article contains an enumeration of all the cases of *εἰ* with the subjunctive in future conditions and of *εἰ* with the future indicative in the three tragedians. It appears that in Aeschylus there are 22 cases of the future and only 8 of the subjunctive; in Sophocles 67 futures and 55 subjunctives; in Euripides 131 futures and 177 subjunctives. If we omit the futures which are equivalent to *μέλλω* with an infinitive, for which the subjunctive could not be substituted (see 407), we have in Aeschylus 15 futures in future conditions and 8 subjunctives; in Sophocles 46 and 55; in Euripides 98 and 177. In Attic prose Thucydides and Lysias have the largest proportion of futures; but in prose, as in Aristophanes, the subjunctives always preponderate.

they do not pay me a proper requital for my cattle, I (the Sun) will descend to Hades and shine among the dead. *Od.* xii. 382. *Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εἰ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς ὄλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι, and if besides he shall still end his life well, he is that happy man you are seeking.* *Hdt.* i. 32. *Ἄλλ' εἰ σε μάρψῃ ψῆφος, ἀλλ' ἔρεῖς τάχα, but if the judgment shall lay hold of you, you will soon tell another story.* *Aesch.* *Eum.* 597. See *Prom.* 311, *Sept.* 196, *Suppl.* 472, 474, 921, *Cho.* 683. *Εἰ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἔχθαρέ μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ.* *Soph.* *Ant.* 93. See *Ant.* 229, 324, *O. T.* 843, 846, *O. C.* 628, *Ph.* 75, *El.* 465, 834, 1004. *Εἰ τῷδ' ἀρκέσεις, κακὸς φανεῖ, if you aid this man, you will appear base.* *Eur.* *Hec.* 1233. *Μὴ ζῆσον, εἰ μὴ φάσγαμον σπάσω.* *Id.* *Or.* 1147. See *Hec.* 802, *Or.* 157, 272, 1212, *Med.* 346, 352, 381. *Εἰ μὴ καθέξεις γλώσσαν, ἔσται σοι κακά.* *Eur.* *Agg.* *Fr.* 5. *Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῖτ' ἐπιδείξει, πῶς χρὴ ταύτῃ τῇ προκλήσει προπέχειν ἡμᾶς τὸν νοῦν.* *DEM.* xxvii. 52. *Εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οἴσθε αἰτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξειν; but if you shall give any other judgment, etc.* *Id.* xxviii. 21. (Referring to the same thing, xxvii. 67, Demosthenes had said *εἰάν γὰρ ἀποφύγη με οὗτος, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐπωβελίαν ὀφλήσω.*) *Ἦν ἐθέλωμεν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, εὐδοκίμησομεν· εἰ δὲ φοβησόμεθα τοῖς κινδύνους, εἰς πολλὰς ταραχὰς καταστήσομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς.* *Isoc.* vi. 107. Here what is feared is expressed by the emphatic future as a warning, while the alternative that is preferred has the subjunctive. See also *DEM.* xviii. 176, where *εἰ προαιρήσομεθ' ἡμεῖς, εἰ τι δίσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τοῖτον μνησθῆναι, if we shall prefer to remember every unpleasant thing the Thebans have ever done to us,* is vividly stated by the future, as this is the course which the orator specially fears and wishes to warn the people against; while he puts his own proposition into the milder subjunctive form, *ἦν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν γένησθε.* See also *Isoc.* xv. 130. In other cases it is difficult to detect any distinction, as in *DEM.* xxvii. 67 and xxviii. 21 (above), and in *Hdt.* i. 71; cf. *Il.* i. 135 and 137.

448. The future in protasis is also appropriately used when a future apodosis is implied in a past tense; as in *Soph.* *O. T.* 843, *εἰ λέξει τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἐγὼ κτάνω, if he shall tell the same number (it will follow that) I did not kill him.* So *Eur.* *Med.* 1249.

449. This use of the future must be distinguished from its use in present conditions (407), where it is equivalent to *μέλλω* and the infinitive and cannot be interchanged with the subjunctive.

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

In the Homeric language the following peculiarities appear in this construction:—

450. By far the most common Homeric form with the sub-

εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, εἴνα οἱ ἐσὶ
ψυχὴν ἔθου, D. 28.21. cf. Ἄν γὰρ ἀποφύγη με οὐδὲν
γένοιτο, γῆ ἐπωβελίαν ὀφλήσω D. 27.67

Sommerville p. 192 to: 'if we are to fear' or 'are going to fear'

036
199



junctive in future conditions is *εἴ κε*, often *εἰ μὲν κε*, *εἰ δέ κε*, etc. (218). **Ἦν* also is frequent, being the only Homeric contraction of *εἰ ἄν*. *Εἰ δ' ἄν* occurs in *Il.* iii. 288, and *εἴ περ ἄν* in *Il.* v. 224 and 232. **Ἦν περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλωσιν* is found in *Od.* xviii. 318.

451. *Εἴ κε* or *αἴ κε* is sometimes found even with the future indicative in Homer. *E.g.*

Αἴ κεῖν ἄνευ ἐμέθεν Ἰλίου πεφιδήσεται οὐδ' ἐθελήσει ἐκέρσαι, ἴστω τοῦτο. *Il.* xv. 213. (See 196.) *Ε 212, Ρ 57, ε 417*

452. The subjunctive with *κέ* is sometimes used in the apodosis instead of the future indicative, thus making the apodosis correspond in form to the protasis. *E.g.*

Εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, and if he do not give her up, I will take her myself. *Il.* i. 324 (compare i. 137). This gives a form with two subjunctives analogous to that which has the optative in both protasis and apodosis (460). See 399. (For *δέ* in apodosis see 512.)

For the Epic use of the future indicative with *κέ* or *ἄν* in apodosis, see 196.

453. The simple *εἰ* (without *κέ* or *ἄν*) is sometimes used with the subjunctive in future conditions in Homer, apparently in the same sense as *εἴ κε* or *ἦν*. *E.g.*

Εἴ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνη, οὔ σ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γε κλαύσομαι. *Il.* xxii. 86. *Εἰ δ' αὖ τις ραίγῃσι θεῶν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, τλήσομαι ἐν στήθεσσι ἐχὼν ταλαπενθία θυμῶν.* *Od.* v. 221. So *Il.* i. 341, v. 258, xii. 223, 245; *Od.* i. 204, i. 188, xii. 348. Only these nine cases occur, and the more common use of the simple *εἰ* with the subjunctive in Homer is in general suppositions (see 468).

454. 1. This Homeric use of the simple *εἰ* with the subjunctive in future conditions was allowed by poetic license in a few passages of the Attic drama, chiefly in tragedy, even in the dialogue. *E.g.*

Εἰ γὰρ θάνης καὶ τελετήσας ἀφῆς. *SOPH.* *Aj.* 496. *Δυστάλαινα τᾶρ' ἐγὼ, εἴ σου στερηθῶ.* *Id.* *O. C.* 1442. *Εἰ μὴ σ' ἐκφάγω ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, οὐδέποτε βιώσομαι.* *AR.* *Eq.* 698. So *AESCH.* *Pers.* 791, *Eum.* 234; *EUR.* *I. A.* 1240, *εἰ πεισθῆς* (Mss.); all in dialogue. In *Sappho* 118, 1 we have *αἴ τις ἐρηται*.

2. In Attic prose, this construction is extremely rare and always doubtful. The Mss., however, have it in a few passages, as *THUC.* vi. 21: *Οὐ ναυτικῆς στρατιᾶς μόνον δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλὴν ζυμπλεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις φοβηθείαι.* (Here a few inferior Mss. read *ἦν*.) *Laus 761 c*

2. Optative in Protasis and Apodosis.

455. When a supposed future case is stated less distinctly and vividly than the subjunctive would state it (as *if I should go* in English), the protasis takes the optative with *εἰ*. The apodosis takes the optative with *ἄν* to denote what *would be* the result if the condition of the protasis should be fulfilled. *E.g.*

Εἰ ἔλθοι, πάντ' ἄν ἴδοι, *if he should go, he would see all.* Εἰ σ' οὕτως ἐθέλοι φιλέειν κήδοιτό τε θυμῷ, τῷ κέν τις κείνων γε καὶ ἐκλεάθοιτο γάμοιο, *if she should be willing thus to love you, etc., then some of them would cease even to think of marriage.* Od. iii. 223. *Ἡ κεν γηθήσαι Πριάμος Πριάμοῦ τε παῖδες, ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ, εἰ σφῶιν τάδε πάντα πύθοίατο μαρναμένοιιν. Il. i. 255. 'Ἄλλ' εἴ μοι τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολὺν κέρδιον εἶη. Il. vii. 28. Εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἄν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, *you would not be bearable if you should ever be in prosperity.* AESCH. Prom. 979. Οἶκος δ' αἰτὸς, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι, σαφέστατ' ἄν λέξειεν. Id. Ag. 37. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν Μήδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς ἐνεργέτας. XEN. An. vii. 7, 11. Οἷδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἄν τοῖς πολεμίοις. Id. Cyr. ii. 1, 8. Οὐ πολλὴ ἄν ἀλογία εἶη, εἰ φοβοῖτο τὸν θάνατον ὁ τοιοῦτος; PLAT. Phaed. 68 B. Εἰ δέ τις τοῖς κρατοῦντας τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψειεν, ἀμφοτέρους ἄν ὀνήσειε. ISOC. ii. 8. Εἴ τις τῶν σοι συνόντων ἐπαρθείη ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ τυγχάνεις εἰλογῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἄν ἀθλιώτατος εἶη; Id. xi. 47. Πῶς οἶν οὐκ ἄν οἰκτρότατα πάντων ἐγὼ πεπονθῶς εἶην, εἰ ἐμὲ ψηφίσαιντο εἶναι ξένον; *how then should I not have suffered (lit. be hereafter in the condition of having suffered) the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me a foreigner?* DEM. lvii. 44. (See 103 for other examples of the perfect optative.)

456. This form of the conditional sentence in its fully developed use, as it appears in Attic Greek, must be carefully distinguished from that of 410; the more so, as we often translate both *εἶη ἄν* and *ἦν ἄν* by the same English expression, *it would be*; although the latter implies that the supposition of the protasis is a false one, while the former implies no opinion of the speaker as to the truth of the supposition. We have seen (138-440) that the more primitive Homeric language had not yet fully separated these two constructions, and still used the optative in the apodosis of present, and sometimes of past, unreal conditions.

On the other hand, the distinction between this form and that of 444 is less marked, and it is sometimes of slight importance which of the two is used. As it is often nearly indifferent in English whether we say *if we shall go* (or *if we go*) *it will be well*, or *if we should go* *it would be well*, so may it be in Greek whether we say *εἰάν ἔλωμεν*





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καλῶς ἔξει or εἰ ἔλθοιμεν καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι. In writing Greek, this distinction can generally be made by first observing the form of the apodosis in English; if that is expressed by *should* or *would*, it is to be translated by the Greek optative with ἂν; if it is expressed by *shall* or *will*, by the future indicative. Other forms of the apodosis, as the imperative, will present no difficulty. The form to be used in the protasis will then appear from the principles of the dependence of moods (170-178); the optative will require another optative with εἰ in the dependent protasis, while the future indicative or any other primary form will require a subjunctive with εἴαν or a future indicative with εἰ.

457. In indirect discourse after past tenses we often find an optative in protasis, which merely represents the same tense of the subjunctive or indicative in the direct discourse. See 667, 1; 689; 694.

For the occasional omission of ἂν in an apodosis of this kind, see 240-242.

458. The potential optative with ἂν may stand in the protasis with εἰ; as in εἰ ἔλθοιμι ἂν, *supposing that I would go*, easily distinguished from εἰ ἔλθοιμι, *supposing that I should go*. Such an expression does not belong here, but is really a present condition. (See 409; 506.)

459. The future optative cannot be used in protasis or apodosis, except in indirect discourse to represent a future indicative of the direct discourse. (See 128 and 203.)

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

460. Εἰ κε with the optative is sometimes found in Homer, and εἰ περ ἂν occurs once.¹ This is a mark of the unsettled usage of the earlier language, in which κέ or ἂν was not yet required with the subjunctive in protasis, and was still allowed with the optative or indicative (401). It is difficult to see any essential difference between these protases with εἰ κε and those with the simple εἰ and the optative. *E.g.*

Εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαικόν, οὔθαρ ἀρούρης, γαμβρός κέν μοι εἶ, and *if we should ever come to Achaean Argos, then he would (shall) be my son-in-law*. Il. ix. 141; cf. ix. 283, and Od. xii. 345, xix. 589. Πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ σε δέοιμι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἰ κεν Ἄρης οἴχοιτο χρέος καὶ δεσμὸν ἀλύξας. Od. viii. 352. Τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσασατο πατήρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, εἰ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν. Il. vi. 49. The distinction between these cases and those of 458 is obvious.

8457 In Il. i. 60, εἰ κεν with the optative forms a subordinate protasis,

¹ See the examples in Lange, *Partikel EI*, pp. 185, 186. There are twenty-six cases of εἰ κε with the optative in Homer, and one of εἰ περ ἂν (Il. ii. 597); besides Il. v. 273 (= viii. 196) and Od. xvii. 223, mentioned in the text (461).

with a remoter and less emphatic supposition than the main protasis $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (future); $\nu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ $\tilde{\pi}\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\tilde{\alpha}\psi$ $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\tilde{\phi}\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\eta$ $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\tilde{\pi}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\Lambda}\chi\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$, now *I think we shall be driven back and shall return home again—that is, supposing us to escape death—if both war and pestilence are at the same time to destroy the Achaeans.* In Il. ii. 597 we have $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{\pi}\epsilon\rho$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ $\tilde{\alpha}\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\tilde{\mu}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$.

These constructions are never negative.

461. In the strange protasis, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\iota\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ $\kappa\epsilon$ $\tilde{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, Il. v. 273 and viii. 196, the separation of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ from $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ might compel us to recognise a potential force, *if we could (possibly) secure these*; but the difference between this and the Attic examples of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ with the potential optative and $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ (458; 506), and the difficulty of seeing any difference between this and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\iota\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ $\tilde{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, *if we should secure these*, induced Bekker to read $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\iota\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\tilde{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ here, and also $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ γ' $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{\mu}\omicron\iota$ $\tilde{\delta}\acute{\omicron}\iota\gamma\varsigma$ (for $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ κ' $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$) in Od. xvii. 223.

The Homeric use of the optative in present and past unreal conditional sentences has been discussed (438).

II. PRESENT AND PAST GENERAL SUPPOSITIONS.

462. In present or past general suppositions, the apodosis expresses a *customary* or *repeated* action or a *general truth* in present or past time, and the protasis refers in a general way to *any* act or acts of a given class. Here the protasis has the subjunctive with $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ after present tenses, and the optative with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ after past tenses. The apodosis has the present or imperfect indicative, or some other form which implies repetition. *E.g.*

$\tilde{\text{H}}\nu$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu$, *if (or when) death comes near, no one is (ever) willing to die.* EUR. Alc. 671. $\tilde{\text{H}}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\acute{\eta}\phi\omicron\nu\iota\tau\iota$, $\chi\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\tilde{\tau}\acute{\omega}$, $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\eta$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ - $\tilde{\upsilon}\tau$. i. 133. $\tilde{\Delta}\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\nu\acute{\omicron}\kappa$ $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ $\tilde{\alpha}\iota\tilde{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\eta$, $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tilde{\tau}\iota\mu\alpha$ $\tilde{\iota}\pi\omicron\sigma\pi\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ $\beta\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\tau}\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\alpha$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$, *he continues to hate, not if any one wrongs him, but if he ever suspects that any one is better than himself.* XEN. Cyr. v. 4, 35. $\tilde{\text{A}}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ $\tilde{\lambda}\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\eta$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tilde{\pi}\acute{\rho}\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, $\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\tau\iota$ $\tilde{\phi}\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\nu$, *all speech, if deals are wanting, appears more empty and scanty.* DEM. ii. 12. $\tilde{\text{E}}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tilde{\delta}\acute{\omicron}\xi\eta$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tilde{\delta}\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\tilde{\delta}\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\tilde{\phi}\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$, $\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta'$ $\nu\tilde{\omega}\tau\omega$ $\tilde{\kappa}\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\gamma}\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Id. xxiii. 69 (so 74, 75, 76).

$\tilde{\text{A}}\lambda\lambda'$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\tilde{\phi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\tilde{\omega}\tau\tilde{\rho}\nu\epsilon\nu$ $\tilde{\phi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$, *but if we ever stopped bringing him food, he always urged us to bring it.* EUR. Alc. 755. $\tilde{\text{E}}\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{\tau}\iota\varsigma$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\iota$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\tau}\epsilon\theta\tilde{\nu}\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$, *if any one objected, he was a dead man at once (52).* THEOC. viii. 66. $\tilde{\text{E}}\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{\tau}\iota\mu\alpha$ $\tilde{\pi}\eta\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ $\tilde{\iota}\beta\tilde{\rho}\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $\tilde{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{\tau}\omicron\nu$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu$. HDT. i. 100. $\tilde{\text{E}}\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tilde{\tau}\iota\mu\alpha\varsigma$ $\tilde{\theta}\upsilon\rho\tilde{\iota}\beta\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tilde{\alpha}\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\iota$



manipuly fuf to locit .



464.

k. 4. says action & apodosis contemporaneous? present subjunctive
ante as subj. antecedent & time? apodosis

Grammatical meaning not real meaning (Homer)

το, τὸ αἴτιον τούτου σκοπῶν κατασβεννύναι τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπειράτο, whenever he saw any making a disturbance, he always tried, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 55. Οὐκ ἀπελείπετο ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον εἶη, he never left him, unless there was some necessity for it. Id. Mem. iv. 2, 40. Ἦν τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόρος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κεινοῖτο. Id. An. iv. 5, 13. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν τάχιστα, συλλαβόντες ἄγονσιν ἀντικρὺς ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες, οὐπὲρ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέσφαττον εἴ τινα ληστὴν ἢ κακοῦργον συλλάβοιεν, i.e. where they had been in the habit of killing any others whom they took. LYS. xiii. 78.

463. This optative referring to past time must be especially distinguished from the optative in ordinary protasis referring to the future (455). Εἰ and εἰάν in this construction are often almost equivalent to ὅτε or ὅταν (which are the more common expressions), and the protasis has precisely the same construction as the relative sentences of 532.

464. The present and aorist subjunctive and optative here do not differ except as explained in 87. The future optative of course is never used here (128).

465. The examples in 462 exhibit the ordinary Attic usage. In Homer we find this construction in a partially developed state: see 468.

466. The gnomic aorist (154) and other gnomic and iterative expressions (162; 163) may be used in the apodosis of these general conditions. The gnomic aorist, as a primary tense, is followed by the subjunctive. *E.g.*

Ἦν σφαλῶσιν, ἀντεπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν, if they fail, they always supply the deficiency, etc. THUC. i. 70. Ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίῃ, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, they (always) impose a penalty upon every one who transgresses. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 2. Εἴ τινες ἰδοῖέν πῃ τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησαν ἄν, whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases). THUC. vii. 71. See XEN. Mem. iv. 6, 13, quoted in 162.

467. (*Indicative.*) The indicative is sometimes found in the place of the subjunctive or optative in these general conditions, that is, these follow the construction of ordinary present and past suppositions, as in Latin and English. Here the speaker refers to one of the cases in which the event may occur, as if it were the only one,—that is, he states the *general* supposition as if it were *particular*. *E.g.*

Μοῖραι δ' ἀφίσταντ', εἴ τις ἔχθρου πέλει ὁμογόνους, αἰδῶ καλύψαι, the Fates stand aloof to hide their shame, if there is enmity among kindred. PIND. Py. iv. 145; cf. Ol. i. 64. (See 406.) Εἴ τις δέο ἢ καὶ πλείους

τις ἡμέρας λογίζεται, μάταιός ἐστιν, *if any one ever counts upon two or even more days, he is a fool.* SOPH. Tr. 944. Ἐλευθέρως πολιτεύομεν, οὐ δὲ ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾶ, ἔχοντες, i.e. *not (having a habit of) being angry with our neighbour if he ever acts as he pleases.* THUC. ii. 37. (Here the indicative δρᾶ is used as if some particular act of *one* neighbour, and not *any* act of *any* neighbour, were in mind.) Εἰ γάρ τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος το λμᾶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν, καταλίει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετίμηται. AESCHIN. iii. 196. Εἰ τίς τι ἐπηρώτα, ἀπεκρίνοντο, *if any one asked anything, they replied* (to all such). THUC. vii. 10. Ἐμῖσει οὐκ εἰ τις κακῶς πάσχωιν ἡμύνετο, ἀλλ' εἰ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνεται. XEN. Ag. xi. 3. Here, without any apparent reason, the writer changes from the indicative to the optative. (See 534.)

HOMERIC AND OTHER POETIC PECULIARITIES.

468. In Homer the subjunctive appears in protasis in general suppositions (462) only nineteen times, and the optative only once. Here the subjunctive generally (in fourteen cases) has the simple εἰ (without κέ or ἄν). *E.g.*

Εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αἰτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κίτον, ὄφρα τελέσῃ, *for even if he swallows his wrath for the day, still he keeps his anger hereafter, until he accomplishes its object.* Il. i. 81. Τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω, εἰ τ' ἐπὶ δεξιῷ ἴωσι, εἰ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, *I do not heed them nor care for them, whether they go to the right or to the left.* Il. xii. 238. So Il. iv. 262, x. 225, xi. 116, xvi. 263, xxi. 576, xxii. 191 (the last four in similes); Od. i. 167, vii. 204, xii. 96, xiv. 373, xvi. 98 (= 116).

*Ὦν ποτε διασμός ἴκηται, σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, *if ever a division comes, your prize is always much greater.* Il. i. 166. So Od. xi. 159, ἦν μὴ τις ἔχῃ. Besides these two cases of ἦν, Homer has two of εἰ κε, Il. xi. 391, xii. 302; and one of εἰ περ ἄν, Il. iii. 25 (five in all).

The single case of εἰ with the optative in a past general condition in Homer is Il. xxiv. 768: ἀλλ' εἰ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνίπτοι, ἀλλὰ σὲ τὸν γε κατέμνυκε, *but if any other upbraided me, you (always) restrained him.*

469. Pindar has only eight cases of the subjunctive in protasis. These all have general suppositions and all have the simple εἰ;¹ as πολλοὶ δὲ μέμνηται, καλὸν εἴ τι ποναθῆ, *but many remember it if a noble work is done,* Ol. vi. 11.

470. The other lyric and elegiac poets show no preference for the simple εἰ. The following cases may be cited · CALL. i. 13 εἰ ἦ (but ἦν

¹ *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. p. 443. The examples are Ol. vi. 11; Pyth. iv. 266, 273 (perhaps also 263); Nem. vii. 11, ix. 46; Isth. iii. 58, iv. 12; Frag. 171 (Bückh), 5. The references to the other poets in 470 and 471 do not profess to be complete.



unete. Ho gon. sup h. o referen. a portenta cose





in 17); *TYRR.* xii. 35 εἰ φύγη (but ἦν xi. 16); *SOL.* iv. 30 εἰ ἦ? (but ἦν xii. 1, xiii. 29); *THEOG.* 121, 122 εἰ λελήθῃ . . . ἔχῃ, and 321 εἰ ὀπάσῃ (but ἦν 93, 186, 379, 697, 929, 932, 1355, 1356, 1385); all (both εἰ and ἦν) in general conditions. See *SIM. AMORC.* vii. 15, 69, 97 (ἦν).

471. In the Attic poets we find a few cases of the simple εἰ in general conditions. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα, κεί τις ἦ σοφός, τὸ μανθάνειν πόλλ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν καὶ τὸ μὴ τείνειν ἄγαν. *SOPH. ANT.* 710. So *ANT.* 887; *O. T.* 198, 874; *O. C.* 509.

For the simple εἰ in future conditions, see 453; 454. For the probable relation of εἰ to εἴ κε, ἦν, εἰάν, etc., see 401.

PECULIAR FORMS OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

Substitution and Ellipsis in Protasis.—Protasis without a Verb.

472. Often the protasis is not expressed in its regular form with εἰ or εἰάν, but is contained in a participle, or implied in an adverb like οὕτως or δικαίως, in a preposition with its case, or in some other form of expression. When a participle represents the protasis (841), its *tense* is always that in which the verb itself would have stood in the indicative, subjunctive, or optative. The present (as usual) includes the imperfect, and the perfect includes the pluperfect. *E.g.*

Τούτο ποιοῦντες εὖ πράξουσιν (i.e. εἰάν ποιῶσιν), *if they (shall) do this, they will prosper.* Τούτο ποιήσαντες εὖ πράξουσιν (i.e. εἰάν ποιήσωσιν). Τούτο ποιοῦντες εὖ ἂν πράττουσιν (i.e. εἰ ποιῶσιν), *if they should do this, they would prosper.* Τούτο ποιήσαντες εὖ ἂν πράττουσιν (i.e. εἰ ποιήσαιεν). Τούτο ποιοῦντες εὖ ἂν ἔπραττον (i.e. εἰ ἐποίουσαν), *if they were doing this (or if they had been doing this), they would be in prosperity.* Τούτο ποιήσαντες εὖ ἂν ἔπραττον (i.e. εἰ ἐποίησαν), *if they had done this, they would be in prosperity.*

Πῶς εἴητα δίκης οὐσίας ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ δήσας; i.e. *how is it that Zeus has not been destroyed, if Justice exists?* *AR. NUB.* 904. (Here δίκης οὐσίας represents εἰ δίκη ἐστίν.) Ἄλλ' εἰσόμεσθε δόμους παραστείχοντες (εἰάν παραστείχωμεν), *but we shall know, if we enter the house.* *SOPH. ANT.* 1255. Σὺ δὲ κλίῳν εἴσει τάχα (εἰάν κλίῳς), *but you will soon know, if you listen.* *AR. AV.* 1390. So μὴ μάθω, *unless I learn*, for εἰάν μὴ μάθω, *Nub.* 792. Καί κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλωμι Διὸς γε δίδοντος ἀρέσθαι (Διὸς δίδοντος = εἰ Ζεὺς δίδοι), *and this I should like to obtain, if Zeus would only give it.* *OD.* i. 390. Τοιαῦτά τῶν γυναιξὶ σενναίων ἔχοις (εἰ σενναίους), *such things would you suffice, if you should live with women.* *AESCH. SEPT.* 195. Οὐδ' ἂν σιωπήρηναιμιν τὴν ἄτην ὄρων στείχοισαν ἀστοῖς (i.e. εἰ ὄρῃην). *SOPH. ANT.* 185. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων, διπλασίαν ἂν

τὴν δὴνάμιν εἰκάεσθαι (οἶμαι), but if the Athenians should ever suffer this (παθόντων = εἰ πάθοιεν), I think it would be inferred that their power was twice as great. THUC. i. 10. (Here only the context shows that παθόντων does not represent εἰ ἔπαθον, if they had ever suffered.) Πρὶν γενέσθαι ἠπίσθησεν ἂν τις ἀκοῦσας (i.e. εἰ ἤκουσεν), before it happened, any one would have disbelieved such a thing if he had heard it. THUC. vii. 28. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπέθειν ἡμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ἰπαρχούσης ἰπολήψεως, for he would not be seeking to change your minds, if such were not the prevailing opinion (i.e. εἰ μὴ τοιαύτη ἦν). DEM. xviii. 228. "Ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ταῦτ' ἂν, ἐκείνα προειρηκώς, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μὴ διαφθαρεῖς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν; is it possible then that the same man, after saying that, would have dared to say this unless he had been corrupted (εἰ μὴ διεφθάρη)? Id. xix. 308. Μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οἶδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οἶδενα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον (εἰ μὴ κατηγορήσεν). Id. xviii. 34. Τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἔπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχοῦσα (i.e. εἰ πρώτη ἔλαχεν), it (the soul) would have done the same, even if it had had the first choice by the lot. PLAT. Rep. 620 D. Μιμῶν δ' ἂν αἰτήσαντος ἤκόν σοι φέρων ἂν ἄρτον, and if you ever asked for something to eat, I used to come bringing you bread. AR. Nub. 1383. (Here αἰτήσαντος represents εἰ αἰτήσεως in a general supposition, 462. For ἤκον ἂν see 162.)

Οὔτε ἑσθίουσι πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, διαρραγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν οὔτ' ἀμφιέννυνται πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, ἀποπνιγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, they do not eat more than they can bear, for (if they should; they would burst, etc. XEN. Cyr. viii. 2, 21. Αἰτιοὶ ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι, they would have gone themselves when the others went; but the animals could not go otherwise than as they did. Id. An. iv. 2, 10. So ἢ γὰρ ἂν λωβήσαιο, Il. i. 232.

• 1 - 222 'Ἡμῖν δ' ἐξ πολλῆς ἂν περιουσίας νεῶν μόλις τοῦτο ἠπήρχε καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζόμενοις, ὥσπερ νῦν, πάσαις φυλάσσειν, but we should hardly have this advantage if we had a great superiority in number of ships (= εἰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν εἶχομεν) and if we were not compelled (εἰ μὴ ἠναγκαζόμεθα), as we are, to use our whole fleet in guarding. THUC. vii. 13. Τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελέθησαν, if it had depended on him, they often would have been dishonored. ISOC. iv. 142. Διὰ γε ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε, if it had depended on yourselves, you would long ago have been ruined. DEM. xviii. 49. (So sometimes καθ' ἡμᾶς.) Πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἔνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων ἐδεδώκει δίκην, for, if decrees were of any avail, he would long ago have suffered punishment. Id. iii. 14. (Here the protasis is implied in ἔνεκα ψηφισμάτων.) Οὔτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς, for in that case we should no longer suffer. Id. iv. 15. So ὡς οὔτω περιγενόμενος ἂν, XEN. An. i. 1, 10. Οἶδ' ἂν δίκαιως ἐς κακὸν πέροίμ' τι. SOPH. Ant. 240.

In such cases the form of the apodosis generally shows what form of protasis is implied. When the apodosis is itself expressed by an infinitive or participle (479), as in THUC. i. 10 (above), the form of the protasis is shown only by the general sense of the passage.





is taken by R-9. U. p. 485 as an antipolitical or demonstrative
document

de de in I 162 et de, et pua pua ikoua, iya de ke'ro
krakew

473. The future participle is not used to represent the future indicative in future conditions (447); it may, however, represent the future in *present* conditions (407), where it is equivalent to μέλλω and the infinitive; as in DEM. xxiv. 189, μὴ περὶ τούτων ἡμῶν οἰσόντων τὴν ψήφον, τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν με νυνί; *if you are not to give your vote about this, μὴ οἰσόντων* representing εἰ μὴ οἴσσετε = εἰ μὴ μέλλετε φέρειν. The present and aorist participles, when they represent the present and aorist subjunctive, express future conditions, thus making the future participle unnecessary. The aorist participle in protasis can always represent an aorist subjunctive in the sense explained in 90.

474. The verb of the protasis is suppressed in the Homeric εἰ δ' ἄγε, *come now!* This is commonly explained by an ellipsis of βούλει, *if you will, come now!* But it is probable that no definite verb was in the speaker's mind in such expressions, even when we find it necessary to supply one. *E.g.*

Εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοι κεφαλῇ κατανείτομαι, *come now! I will nod my assent to thee.* II. i. 524. Εἰ δ' ἄγε μῆν, πείρησαι, ἵνα γνώωσι καὶ οἶδες, *well! come now, try it.* II. i. 302. Εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἔσσι θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες αὐδῆς, εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι καὶ κείνον οἰζυρὸν κατάλεξον (the apodosis being introduced by εἰ δ' ἄγε, *come now, tell me*). Od. iv. 831.

475. (Ὡς εἰ.) There is a probably unconscious suppression of the verb of the protasis when ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἴ τε is used in comparisons (especially in Homer) with a noun or adjective or with a participle. *E.g.*

Τῶν νέες ὠκεῖαι ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἡὲ νόημα, *their ships are swift as (if) a wing or thought.* Od. vii. 36. Ὡς μ' ἀσπίφηλον ἔρεξεν Ἀτρεΐδης ὡς εἰ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην, *for the son of Atreus insulted me like (i.e. as if he were insulting) some despised wanderer.* II. ix. 648. Ἐπλέομεν βορέη ἀνέμῳ ῥηιδίως ὡς εἴ τε κατὰ ῥόον, *we sailed on with the north-east wind easily, as if (we were sailing) down stream.* Od. xiv. 253. In all these cases no definite verb was in mind after εἴ, but the addition of εἰ to ὡς shows that a conditional force was felt (at least originally) in addition to the comparison; and this is the only difference between these examples and those with the simple ὡς or ὡς τε, as ἐστήκειν ὡς τίς τε λέων, *he stood like a lion.*¹ In Attic poetry we find μάτηρ ὡς εἰ τις πιστά, *like some faithful mother*, SOPH. El. 234; and πτίσας ὡς εἰ τε διςμενῆ, *spurning her as an enemy*, ANT. 553. With Od. vii. 36 compare Hymn. Ap. Py. 8, πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ὥστε νόημα εἶσι, and 270, ἐπὶ νῆα νόημι ὡς ἄλτο πέτεσθαι.

¹ See Lange, *Partikel EI*, p. 234. Lange is at great pains to show that there is no ellipsis here, or indeed in any cases of εἰ without a verb like εἰ *ἔφραζεν*, *if necessary*. By "ellipsis" we often mean merely what one language finds it necessary to supply to translate an idiom of another. There are few ellipses of which a speaker is really conscious when he uses them. In this sense, it seems to me that, whenever we use *if* without a verb, there is at least a *suppression* (if not an *ellipsis*) of a verb.

Ὀλοφνυρόμενοι ὡς εἰ θανατόνδε κιώντα, *bewailing him as if going to his death* (in full as if they were bewailing him going), for which we say (changing the construction) *as if he were going*. II. xxiv. 328. See also II. xvi. 192, v. 374. Ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθρομένοιο, i.e. *the smoke rises from it* (the fountain) *as if* (it rose) *from a blazing fire*. II. xxii. 150. So Od. xix. 39. What seems like a more natural construction with ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἴ τε is that of the optative with the apodosis suppressed (485).

In all these cases there is also a suppression of the verb of the apodosis (see 485).

For the participle in such expressions see 867-869.

476. (Εἰ μὴ.) Εἰ μὴ is used without a verb in various expressions to introduce an exception.

1. With nouns and adjectives. *E.g.*

Τίς γάρ τοι Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ὁμοῖος, εἰ μὴ Πάτροκλος; *who is like to you, except (unless it be) Patroclus?* II. xvii. 475. See II. xviii. 192, xxiii. 792; Od. xii. 325, xvii. 383. Such expressions are like the simple εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον, *if this is better*, II. i. 116; εἰ ἐτεόν περ, xiv. 125; εἰ περ ἀνύγκη, xxiv. 667.

2. With participles. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὴ κρεμίσας τὸ νόημα, i.e. *I could never have done it, except by suspending thought*. AR. Nub. 229. So οἰδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνοθυμένην, AESCH. Ag. 1139; εἰ μὴ καταδίσσαντες, THUC. vii. 38; εἰ μὴ τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης, DEM. xxiv. 46.

3. In the expression εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο (or τοῦτον). *E.g.*

Καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρίτανιν, ἐπέπεσεν ἄν, *and, had it not been for the Prytanis, he would have been thrown in*. PLAT. Gorg. 516 E. (Compare διὰ γε ἡμᾶς, DEM. xviii. 49, quoted in 472.) Οὐ γὰρ ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἰδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον οὐχ ἵπεδέξαντο, οἰδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ δι' Ἡγήσιππον, οἰδ' ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ, ἐσώθησαν ἄν οἱ Φωκεῖς, οὐχ οὕτω τότε ἀπήγγειλεν, *for he did not then report that if it had not been for the Lacedaemonians, or if they had not refused to receive Proxenus, or if it had not been for Hegesippus, or if it had not been for this and that, the Phocians would have been saved*. DEM. xix. 74.

4. In the rare expression εἰ μὴ εἰ, *except if, except in case that*. *E.g.*

Ὁ χρηματιστικὸς τὴν τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἡδονὴν ἢ τὴν τοῦ μανθάνειν οἰδένος ἀξίαν φήσει εἶναι, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἀργίριον ποιεῖ, *the money-maker will say that the pleasure of receiving honour or that of learning is not worth anything, unless (it is worth something) in case either of them produces money*. PLAT. Rep. 581 D. In Prot. 351 C, ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγω, καθ' ὃ ἡδεῖ ἐστίν, ἄρα κατὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀγαθὰ, μὴ εἴ τι ἄπ' αὐτῶν ἀποβήσεται ἄλλο;—*for I ask this: so far as they are pleasant, are they not just so far good, without taking into account any other result (i.e. other than their pleasantness) which may come from them?—μὴ is not a mistake for εἰ μὴ, but it seems to imply a conditional participle like*



.J.P. 10.124, 16.376, 17.128, 18.246 . Snylk 2346 c.





f. 366 c

ὑπολογιζόμενος (though no precise word can be supplied), very much as *μή ὅτι* and *μή ὅπως* imply a verb of *saying* (707). The meaning clearly is, *Are not things good just so far as they are pleasant, if we take no account of any other (i.e. unpleasant) element in them?* This sense would hardly be found in the emended reading *εἰ μή τι*. In THUC. i. 17 the Cod. Vat. reads *εἰ μή τι*, although *εἰ μή εἴ τι* can be understood as in PLAT. Rep. 581 D (above).

477. Equivalent to *εἰ μή εἰ* (476, 4) is *πλὴν εἰ*, *except if* or *unless*, in which *πλὴν* represents the apodosis. *E.g.*

Οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἷόν τε αὐτῶν εἰδέναι, πλὴν εἰ τις κομῳδιοποιὸς τυγχάνει ὄν, *it is not possible to know even their names, except in case one happens to be a comedian.* PLAT. Ap. 18 C.

478. In *alternatives*, *εἰ δὲ μή*, *otherwise*, regularly introduces the latter clause, even when the former clause is negative. *Εἰ δὲ μή* is much more common here than *ἐὰν δὲ μή*, even when *ἐὰν μὲν* with the subjunctive precedes. The formula *εἰ δὲ μή* was fixed in the sense of *otherwise, in the other case*, and no definite form of the verb was in mind.

Πρὸς ταῦτα *μή τίπτ'*· *εἰ δὲ μή*, *σαντόν ποτ' αἰτιάσει*, *therefore do not beat me; but if you do, you will have yourself to blame for it.* AR. Nub. 1433. *Εἰ μή θανοῦμαι γ'*· *εἰ δὲ μή*, *οὐ λείψω ποτέ*, *if I do not die (I will leave the place); otherwise (if I die) I shall never leave it.* EUR. And. 254. See SOPH. Tr. 587. Πόλεμον οὐκ εἶω ποιεῖν· *εἰ δὲ μή*, *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οἷς οὐ βούλονται*, *they said that otherwise (εἰ δὲ μή) they should be obliged, etc.* THUC. i. 28. *Εἶπον (Παισανίῳ) τοῦ κήρυκος μή λείπεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή*, *πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν*, *they ordered him not to be left behind by the herald; and if he should be (εἰ δὲ μή), (they told him) that the Spartans declared war against him.* ID. i. 131. *Μή ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή*, *αἰτίαν ἔξεις.* XEN. An. vii. 1, 8. *Ἐὰν μὲν τι ὑμῖν δοκῶ ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ξυνομολογήσατε· εἰ δὲ μή*, *παντὶ λόγῳ ἀντιτείνετε.* PLAT. Phaed. 91 C. So *ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, . . . εἰ δὲ μή*, κ.τ.λ., DEM. ix. 71.

Εἰ δέ alone is sometimes used for *εἰ δὲ μή*; as in PLAT. Symp. 212 C, *εἰ μὲν βούλει, . . . εἰ δέ*. So *εἰ δ' οὖν* (sc. *μή*), SOPH. Ant. 722, EUR. Hipp. 508.

The potential optative and indicative with *ἄν*, so far as they are apodoses, might be classed here; but these have higher claims to be treated as independent sentences. See Chapter IV., Section I.

Substitution and Ellipsis in Apodosis.

479. The apodosis, in any of its forms, may be expressed by an infinitive or participle, if the structure of the sentence requires it.

1. It may be expressed by the infinitive or participle in indirect discourse, each tense representing its own tenses of the indicative or optative, the present including the imperfect, and the perfect the pluperfect. If the finite verb in the apodosis would have taken *ἄν*, this particle is used with the infinitive or participle. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ εἶπὼν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, πάντα καλῶς ἔχειν, *I believe that, if you are doing this, all is well.* Ἐγὼ εἶπὼν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήτε, πάντα καλῶς ἔξειν, *I believe that, if you (shall) do this, all will be well.* Ἐγὼ εἶπὼν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιοῖτε, πάντα καλῶς ἂν ἔχειν, *I believe that, if you should do this, all would be well.* Ἐγὼ εἶπὼν, εἰ τοῦτο ἐποιήσατε, πάντα καλῶς ἂν ἔχειν, *I believe that, if you had done this, all would now be (or would have been) well.* Οἶδα ἡμᾶς, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήτε, εὖ πράξοντες, *I know that, if you do this, you will prosper.*

Πῶς γὰρ οἴσθε διωχερῶς ἀκοῖεν Ὀλυμπίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; *how unwillingly do you think the O. heard it, if any one said anything against Philip in those times?* DEM. vi. 20. (Here ἀκοῖεν represents the imperfect ἤκουον, and εἰ λέγοι is a general supposition, 462.)

For examples of each tense of the infinitive and participle, see 689. For the use of each tense of the infinitive or participle with *ἄν* and examples, see 204-208; 213-216.

2. It may be expressed by the infinitive in any of its various constructions out of indirect discourse, especially by one depending on a verb of *wishing, commanding, advising, preparing, etc.*, from which the infinitive receives a future meaning. Such an infinitive is a common form of future apodosis with a protasis in the subjunctive or indicative. *E.g.*

Βούλεται ἐλθεῖν εἰ τοῦτο γένηται, *he wishes to go if this shall be done.* Παρασκευαζόμεθα ἀπελθεῖν ἢν δυνώμεθα, *we are preparing to depart if we shall be able.* Κελεύει σε ἀπελθεῖν εἰ βούλει, *he bids you depart if you please.* (See 403 and 445.)

3. The apodosis may be expressed in an attributive or circumstantial participle. *E.g.*

Ῥαδίως ἂν ἀφεθεὶς εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τοίτων ἐποίησε, προείλετο ἀποθανεῖν, *whereas he might easily have been acquitted (ἀφείθη ἂν), if he had done any of these things even in a moderate degree, he chose to die.* XEN. Mem. iv. 4, 4. Σκέμματι τῶν ῥαδίως ἀποκτινύντων καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων γ' ἂν, εἰ οἳοί τε ἦσαν, *considerations for those who readily put men to death, and who would bring them to life again too if they could.* PLAT. Crit. 48 C. (Ἀναβιωσκομένων ἂν = ἀνεβιώσκοντο ἂν.) Ὡς οἴός τ' ὦν σε σφίξειν εἰ ἤθελον ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα, *whereas I might have saved you if I had been willing to spend money.* Ib. 44 B.

480. A verbal noun may take the place of an apodosis. *E.g.* Ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστητήρα Καδμείων χθονὸς εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδῶν





ἔσθη δορί, as one who would have laid waste (= ἀνέστησεν ἄν) the Cadmeans' land, if some one of the Gods had not stood in the way of his spear. AESCH. Sept. 1015.

481. Other forms in which an apodosis may appear, as a final clause, need no discussion. (See 445.)

In indirect discourse, after past tenses, an optative in the apodosis often represents an original indicative or subjunctive. (See 15 and 457.)

482. The apodosis is sometimes omitted, when some such expression as *it is well* or *it will be done* can be supplied, or when some other apodosis is at once suggested by the context. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοὶ, ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται, — εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσουσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κε νῦν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, if they give me a prize,—well; but if they do not, I shall take one for myself. II. i. 135. (Here we must understand something like εὖ ἔξει, it will be well, after ἔσται.) Εἰ περ γὰρ κ' ἰθέλησιν Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητῆς ἐξ ἔδων στυφελίξαι.—ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατός ἐστιν. II. i. 580. (Here we must understand *he can do it* after the protasis. The following γάρ refers to this suppressed apodosis.) Εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ ἱμῶς ἱκανῶς διδάσκω οἷσις δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι.—εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε. XEN. Cyr. viii. 7, 24.

Ξεῖνοι πατρίοισι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι, εἰ περ τε γέροντ' εἶρηαι ἐπελθὼν Λαέρτην, we boast that we are friends by inheritance, (as you may know) if you go and ask Laertes. Od. i. 187. Προσηγορείθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθ', εἰ τῶνδε προσσαίνει σέ τι. AESCH. Prom. 834.

483. Sometimes the adverb ἄν, without a verb expressed, represents an apodosis in the indicative or optative, when the verb can easily be supplied. *E.g.*

Οἱ οἰκείται βέγκουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν πρὸ τοῦ (sc. οἴτως ἔρρεγκον), but they would not have been snoring at this late hour in old times. AR. Nub. 5. (See 227.) So πῶς γὰρ ἂν; (sc. εἴη), how could it be?

484. In ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ with a noun, as ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παῖς, like a child, there is originally a suppression of the verbs of both protasis and apodosis (227; 485); but in use the expression hardly differs from ὥσπερ. (See 868-870.)

485. (Ὡς εἰ and ὥσπερ εἰ.) There is an unconscious suppression of the verb of the apodosis when ὥς εἰ, ὥς εἴ τε, and ὥσπερ εἰ are used in similes and comparisons. *E.g.*

Λαοὶ ἔπονθ', ὥς εἴ τε μετὰ κτίλον ἔσπετο μῆλα, the hosts followed as if sheep followed a ram. II. xiii. 492. (No definite verb is understood here, either with ὥς in Greek or with *as* in English, but the origin of the expression is the same in both.) Φάλαν ὥς εἴ τις δωρήσεται. PIND. Ol. vii. 1. Καί με φίλῃσ' ὥς εἴ τε πατῆρ ὄν παῖδα φίλῃσγ. II. ix. 481. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο, i.e. their march was as if the whole land should flame with fire (originally

as it would be if, etc.) Il. ii. 780. Βῆ δ' ἕμεν, πάντοσε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων ὡς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἴη, holding out his hand as if he had long been a beggar (438). Od. xvii. 366. For other optatives with ὡς εἰ, see Il. xi. 467, xxii. 410; Od. ix. 314, x. 416.

Ὡσπερ εἰ παρευτάεις, as if you had dwelt near by. AESCH. Ag. 1201. Ὅμοια ὥσπερ εἰ τις πολλὰ ἐσθίων μιδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιτο, just as if one should eat much and never be filled. XEN. Symp. iv. 37.

There is the same suppression of the apodosis in the examples in 475, where the protasis also is wanting with ὡς εἰ and similar expressions.

Apodosis contained in the Protasis.

486. A protasis may depend on a verb which is not its apodosis, the real apodosis being so distinctly implied in the form of expression that it need not be stated separately.

487. 1. This is found especially in Homer, where εἰ κε (αἶ κε) or ἤν (without an expressed apodosis) often seems to have the force of *in the hope that*; as in πατρὸς ἐμοῦ κλέος μετέρχομαι, ἤν που ἀκούσω, I am going to seek tidings of my father, if I shall chance to hear of him, i.e. that I may hear of him if perchance I shall, or in the hope that I shall hear of him (Od. iii. 83). Here the protasis carries with it its own apodosis, which consists of an implied idea of purpose.¹ The whole sentence (both protasis and apodosis) is thus condensed into the protasis; but the apodosis is always felt in the implied idea of purpose or desire which is inherent in the idiom. As we have seen (312, 2) that final clauses with ἄν or κέ and the subjunctive originally included both a conditional relative clause and a final sentence, so here we have both a conditional and a final force included under a single conditional form; and this double force is felt also in the English translation, *if haply, in the hope that, in case that, etc.* E.g.

Αἰτᾶρ σοὶ πικνῶς ἰποθήσομεθ', αἶ κε πίθηαι, but we will make you a wise suggestion, for you to obey it if you will. Il. xxi. 293. (Here the protasis αἶ κε πίθηαι with its implied apodosis seems like πείθοι' ἄν εἰ πείθοι', you can obey if you please, AESCH. Ag. 1049, and χαίροισ' ἄν εἰ χαίροισ', Il. 1394.) So Il. i. 207, 420, xi. 791, xxiii. 82; Od. i. 279. Πέμψω δ' ἐς Σπάρτην . . . νόστον πεισόμενον πατρὸς φίλου, ἤν που ἀκούσῃ, ἥδ' ἵνα μιν κλέος ἔχησιν, I will send him to Sparta, to ask about his father's return, in hope that he may hear of it, and in order that glory may possess him. Od. i. 93. (Here the

¹ The English translation of certain conditional clauses in the New Testament which have this peculiar construction preserves the sense of purpose or desire with the original form of protasis. Thus, *that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, Acts xvii. 27*; and *he came (to the fig tree), if haply he might find anything thereon, MARK xi. 13.*

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Acts 17:9: Σητεῖν τὸν Θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε πληροῦσθαι αὐτοὶ καὶ εὐροῖσι
Mark 11:13 καὶ ἰδοὺ σκῆψιν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλον, ἥλθεν
εὐρίσκει ἐν αὐτῇ. These are the only passages in the N. T.
cf. Oskello 4. 2. 44



added final clause shows the distinction between this and the protasis (*ἦν που ἀκούσῃ*.) So Od. i. 281, ii. 216, 360, iii. 83. *Ἐπέ μοι, αἶ κέ ποθι γνῶω τοιούτων ἔόντα, if haply I may recognise him.* Od. xiv. 118. *Βάλλ' οὕτως, αἶ κέν τι φῶως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι, if haply you may become (i.e. in hope that you may become), etc.* Il. viii. 282. So Il. xi. 797, 799, xiii. 236, xiv. 78, xvi. 39, 41 (cf. 84), xvii. 121, 692, xviii. 199. *Καί οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δωκαίδεκα βούς ἱερευσέμεν, αἶ κ' ἐλείψῃ ἄστυ, . . . αἶ κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχη Ἰλίου ἱρής, let her promise to sacrifice twelve oxen (to Athena), in hope that she may pity the city, . . . if haply she may keep the son of Tydeus from sacred Ilios, etc.* Il. vi. 93. (For *αἶ κεν ἀπόσχη* Aristarchus read *ὡς κεν*.) *Εὐφημησαί τε κέλευθε, ἄφρα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ἀρήσομεθ', αἶ κ' ἐλείψῃ, in order that we may pray to Zeus to pity us if he will (if haply he shall pity us).* Il. ix. 171. So Il. vi. 281, 309, xvii. 245, xxii. 419, xxiv. 116, 301, 357; Od. xiii. 182. See also *εἶ κέν πως βούλεται λογῶν ἀμύνας*, Il. i. 66. *Πατρόκλιφ' ἔφεπε κρατερόνυχας ἵππους, αἶ κέν πῶς μιν ἔλγῃ, δῶγ δέ τοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων.* Il. xvi. 724. So Il. xv. 297; Od. xxii. 76. *Δεῦρ' ἰκόμεθ', αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς ἐξοπίσω περ παῖσση οὐδῆος.* Od. iv. 34. So Od. i. 379, ii. 144, xii. 215, xvii. 51, 60, xxii. 252. **Ἐκτορος ὄρωμεν κρατερὸν μένος, ἦν τινὰ που Δαναῶν προκαλέσεται.* Il. vii. 39. **Υψόσε δ' αἰγὴ γίγνεται αἰσσοῖσα περικτιόνεσσι ἰδέσθαι, αἶ κέν πως σὺν νησὶν ἀρής ἀλκτῆρες ἴκονται.* Il. xviii. 211. *Εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω παρανήσομαι, ἦν που ἐφείρω ἡμόνα, δαῖδα, κ.τ.λ., but if I shall swim on still farther, to find a shore if haply I may, I fear, etc.* Od. v. 417. (Here *ἦν που ἐφείρω* depends on an ordinary protasis, which, however, is not its apodosis.) **Ἄλλ' ἀγετ', αἶ κέν πως θωρήσομεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, i.e. let us arm them if we can.* Il. ii. 72 (so 83). *Σκέπτεω νῦν, αἶ κέ ἴθαι ζῶν ἔτ' Ἀντίλοχον, if haply you may see.* Il. xvii. 652. *Σφ' οἴκῳ δῶρον ποτιδέγμενος, αἶ κέ πόρρῃσιν, expecting a gift, if haply he shall give one (i.e. in hope that he will give one).* Od. ii. 186. So Od. xv. 312. **Ἄλλ' οὐ γάρ σ' ἐθέλω βαλέειν τοιούτων ἔόντα λάθρη ὀπιπέυσας, ἀλλ' ἀμφαδὸν, εἶ κε τύχωμι, if haply I may hit you.* Il. vii. 242. *Νῦν αὖτ' ἐγχείη πειρήσομαι, αἶ κε τύχωμι, I will try with my spear, if haply I may hit you.* Il. v. 279. **Ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν κεραμῆος πειρήσεται, αἶ κε θέρῃσιν, i.e. tries a wheel, in case it will run (i.e. to let it run if it will).* Il. xviii. 600. (The analogy of the two preceding examples shows that there is no indirect question.)

Παρέξω καὶ λαβὴ γούρων, αἶ κέν πως ἐθέλγῃσιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι ἀρήξαι, i.e. clasp his knees in the hope that he will aid the Trojans (that he may aid them in case he will). Il. i. 407. So Il. vii. 394, x. 55, xiii. 743, xviii. 457; Od. iii. 92, iv. 322. For these last examples, see 490, 2.

For *αἶ κε* in the common text of Homer, here as elsewhere, Bekker and Delbrück write *εἶ κε* (see footnote to 379).

2. In alternatives with two opposite suppositions, this construction implies that the subject is ready for either result, though the former is hoped for or expected. *É.g.*

'Ιθὺς φέρεται μένει, ἦν τινα πέφνη ἀνδρῶν ἢ αὐτὸς φθίεται πρώτῳ ἐν ὀμίλῳ, i.e. *he (a lion) rushes on, ready to slay or to perish*. Il. xx. 172. In Od. xxiv. 216, the common text has πατρὸς πευρήσομαι, αἶ κε (or εἰ κε) μ' ἐπιγνώῃ . . . ἦέ κεν ἀγνοῖσι, *I will try my father (ready for either result), in case he shall recognise me or shall not know me* (where κεν alone in the second clause is very strange). But La Roche reads ἦ κέ μ' ἐπιγνώῃ, as an indirect question, one Ms. having ἦ κε: see also Od. xviii. 265. 'Ἐπιγνώῃ is Hermann's conjecture for ἐπιγνοίῃ or γνοίῃ.

488. The optative with εἰ (rarely εἶ κε) is sometimes used in Homer like the subjunctive after primary tenses in sentences of this class. It is also very common after past tenses, representing a subjunctive of the original form, though occasionally the subjunctive is retained in indirect discourse (696). *E.g.*

'Ἄλλ' ἔτι τὸν δῖστυνον οἴομαι, εἰ ποθεν ἐλθὼν ἀνδρῶν μνηστῆρων σκέδασιν κατὰ δῶματα θείῃ, *but I am still expecting the poor man, if haply he should come and scatter the suitors*. Od. xx. 224. So Od. ii. 351. 'Ἀλλά τις εἴη Ἀγαμέμνονι, εἰ πλείονας παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐποτρύνειε νέεσθαι, *let some one go to A., in hope that he may exhort, etc.* Od. xiv. 496. See also 491, below.

Βούλειον ὄπος ὄχ' ἄρματα γένοιτο, εἰ τιν' ἐταίρουν θανάτου λίσσιν εἰροίμην, i.e. *if haply I might find some warrior*. Od. ix. 420. 'Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ παθίμην, ὄφρ' αὐτόν τε ἴδοιμι καὶ εἰ μοι ξείνια δοίῃ, *but I dis-obelied them, in order that I might see him (the Cyclops) and in hope that he would show me hospitality*. Od. ix. 228. (The final clause and the protasis are here again clearly distinguished: see Od. i. 93 under 487, 1.) Πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκέ' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἔχνη' ἐρεινῶν, εἰ ποθεν ἐξείροι. Il. xviii. 321. Πειρήθη δὲ εἰς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἔντερι, εἰ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἄγλαα γυῖα, i.e. *he tried himself in his armour, eager for it to fit him and for his limbs to play freely in it (if haply it should fit him, etc.)*. Il. xix. 384. (See the cases of the subjunctive after *πειρῶμαι* in 487, 1. Here there is no indirect question, for Achilles can have no real doubt about the fit.) Ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο ἕστασαν, εἰ ποτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οἰκαδὲ νοστήσειε, i.e. *the casks of wine were waiting for the return of Ulysses*. Od. ii. 340. Ἦστο κάτω ὀρώων, ποτιδέγμενος εἰ τί μιν εἴποι, i.e. *he sat looking down, waiting for Penelope to speak*. Od. xxiii. 91. Τὸδ' ἠνώγει εἰπεῖν ἔπος, εἰ κ' ἐθέλητε παύσασθαι πολέμου, *he bade me say this word, if haply you might be willing to stop the war*. Il. vii. 394. (This appears in vs. 387 as εἶ κε γένοιτο, and the direct form of the command in vs. 375 is εἶ κ' ἐθέλωσιν.) In Il. xiv. 163-165 we have εἰ πὼς ἱμείραιτο . . . τῷ δὲ χεῖρῃ after a past tense. Νῆχε παρέξ, εἰ πον ἐφείρου ἠμόνας. Od. v. 439. (Compare va 417, εἰ δὲ κε παρανήξομαι, ἦν πον ἐφείρω, under 487, 1.)

See also Il. ii. 97, iii. 450, iv. 88, x. 19, xii. 122, 333, xiii. 807, xx. 464, xxiii. 40; Od. i. 115, iv. 317, ix. 267, 317, 418, x. 147, xi. 479, 628, xii. 334, xiv. 460, xxii. 91, 381.

489. This construction (487; 488) with both subjunctive and

that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel
him and find him Acts xvii. 27; he came (to the fig-tree);
he might find anything thereon Mark x. 13.



optative is found also in Attic Greek and in Herodotus, but with less variety of expression, and at the same time with some extension of the usage. Especially to be noticed are the protases depending on verbs like βούλομαι and θέλω in Herodotus. *E.g.*

Θήβας ἡμᾶς πέμψον, εἰάν πως διακωλύσωμεν ἰόντα φόνον τοῖσιν ὁμαίμοις, *send us to Thebes, to prevent, if haply we may*, etc. SOPH. O. C. 1769. Τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ἀκούσον, ἦν τί σοι δοκῶ λέγειν, *hear my judgment, in the hope that you may think there is something in what I say*. EUR. H. F. 278. Ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου, εἰ κως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐουτῶν, *they besought A., if in any way he might supply them with an armed force and they might be restored to their own land (to do this)*. HDL. v. 30. Φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἐν γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, *having it at heart that, if it were in any way possible, the Hellenic race should be made one*. Id. vii. 145. Βουλομένην εἰ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοῖατο βασιλέες, *i.e. wishing that both might be made kings, if in any way this could be done*. Id. vi. 52. Ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ κως τοῦτους πρότους ἔλοι. Id. ix. 14. Πρώθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν (sc. τῆσι νησὶ), εἰ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. Id. viii. 6. Πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἰ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν περὶ νεωτερίζειν μηδέν, *to persuade them if they might*, etc. THUC. i. 58. Πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλεύα, εἰ πως πείσειαν αὐτόν, followed by βουλόμενοι πείσαι αὐτόν, εἰ δύναιτο, στρατεῖσαι, in nearly the same sense. Id. ii. 67. Πιπυθάνομενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν Καμάριαν πρεσβεῖσθαι, εἰ πως προσαγάγοιτο αὐτοῖς, *that they went on an embassy to C., to bring the town over if they could*. Id. vi. 75. (Compare ἐς Ἀκράγαινα Σικανὸν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅπως ἵταγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν εἰ δύναιτο, vii. 46. This might have been εἰ πως ἵταγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν, and in vi. 75 we might have had ὅπως προσαγάγοιτο αὐτοῖς εἰ δύναιτο, with nearly the same force, but with different constructions.) See v. 4, εἰ πως . . . διασώσειαν. Ἰκέται πρὸς σέ δὲνρ' ἀφίγημαθα, εἰ τινα πόλιν φρύσειας ἡμῖν εἶερον, *we have come hither to you as suppliants, in the hope that you might tell us of some city soft as a fleece (to have you tell us, if perchance you might do so)*. AR. AV. 120. Ἄκουσον καὶ ἐμοῦ, εἰάν σοι ταῦτ' ἀδοκῆ, *listen to me too, in the hope that you may think the same (in case the same shall seem true to you)*. PLAT. Rep. 358 B: so 434 A. Ὅρα οὔν καὶ προθυμοῦ καταδεῖν, εἰάν πως πρότερος ἐμοῦ ἴδῃς καὶ ἐμοῦ φρύσεις, *i.e. for the chance that you may see it first and tell me*. Ib. 432 C: so 618 C, Theaet. 192 C, Soph. 226 C. See also XEN. AN. ii. 1, 8, ἀν τι δύνωνται, and AR. Nub. 535. On this principle we must explain AR. Ran. 339, οὔκουν ἀτρέμ' ἔξεις, ἦν τι καὶ χορδῆς λάβῃς, *will you not keep quiet then, in the hope of getting some sausage too (i.e. to have some sausage if you chance to get any)?*

490. 1. The apodosis may, further, be suggested by the context, even by the protasis itself, without implying that the protasis expresses a purpose or desire of the leading subject. This gives rise to a variety of constructions. *E.g.*

Κτανεῖν ἐμοῖ νῦν δοκῶν, εἴτε μὴ κτανὸν θέλωμ' ἀγεσθαι πάλιν ἐς

'Αργείαν χθόνα, they gave her (Helen) to me to slay, or, in case I should prefer not to slay her but to carry her back to the land of Argos (for me to do this). EUR. Tro. 874. Ἦν (τὴν ξιμμαχίαν) γε οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐποιήσασθε, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἢν τις ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔη, i.e. you made it (to use) in case any of your enemies should come against you. THUC. vi. 79. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρου, they marched towards the city, (to be ready) in case the citizens should rush out. Id. vi. 100. Τάλλα, ἢν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, they made other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should venture on further sea-fights. Id. vii. 59. Κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται . . . τῶν νησιωτῶν εἴ τις βούλεται ἐπ' ἐλευθερίῳ ὡς σφᾶς ἀπιέναι, they make proclamation, in case any of the islanders wishes to come over to them with promise of freedom (for him to do so). Id. vii. 82. Οἰδεμία βλάβη τῶν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις διαπομπῶν ἔς τε κατασκοπὴν καὶ ἢν τι ἄλλο φαίνηται ἐπιτήδειον, there is no harm in the envoys whom we have sent to the various cities, partly for inquiry, and also in case any other advantage may appear (to secure this), i.e. to secure any other advantage that may appear. Id. vi. 41. So καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι, Id. v. 37. Ἀρὰς ποιοῦνται, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις, they invoke curses, if any one (i.e. to fall on any one who) sends heralds to the Persians. ISOC. iv. 157. Φιλοτιμείσθαι μηδ' ἐνὶ ἐφ' ἄλλῳ ἢ ἐπὶ χρημάτων κτήσει καὶ ἕαν τι ἄλλο εἰς τοῦτο φέρῃ, i.e. for anything else that may lead to this. PLAT. Rep. 553 D. See ARISTOT. Eth. x. 9, 2: ἔχειν (τὴν ἀρετὴν) καὶ χρῆσθαι πειρατέον, ἢ εἴ πως ἄλλως ἀγαθοὶ γινόμεθα, we must try to possess and employ virtue, or if there is any other means of becoming virtuous (to use this).

2. In the Homeric examples in which the protasis consists of an infinitive depending on ἐθέλω (487, 1, end), the apodosis is suggested by the infinitive rather than by ἐθέλω. This shows that αἰ κ ἐθέλωσι in itself has no final force. See also Od. xxii. 381, πάπτηνεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατ' ἐόν δόμον, εἴ τις ἔτ' ἀνδρῶν ζῶς ὑποκλοπέοιτο ἀλγίσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν, he went through his house, in case any man might still be alive and hiding himself (i.e. to find any such man), where no desire or hope is implied, and the construction is like that of THUC. vi. 100 (above).

In PLAT. Rep. 327 C, οὐκοῦν ἔτι ἐλλείπεται τὸ ἢν πείσωμεν ἡμᾶς ὡς χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἀφεῖναι; the subject of ἐλλείπεται is a protasis introduced by τὸ, into which the apodosis has been wholly absorbed. The construction is, is there not still left the supposition of our persuading you that you must let us go? But the meaning is, is it not left for us to persuade you that you must let us go, if we can (i.e. πείσαι ἢν πείσωμεν)? This is an important example for explaining this whole class of sentences (486-490). The cases in 490 make it plain that the final force often ascribed to εἰ or ἢν comes from the suppression of an apodosis containing the idea of purpose or desire, since the same form of protasis which is sometimes called final has no final force when a slightly different apodosis is implied (as in THUC. vi. 79, 100, vii. 59).



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491. Sometimes a clause with *εἴ κε* or *ἤν* (rarely *εἰ*) and the subjunctive, or with *εἴ κε* or *εἰ* and the optative, in Homer is the object of *οἶδα*, *εἶδον*, or a verb of *saying*, expressing in a conditional form a result which is hoped for or desired. These clauses have the appearance of indirect questions; but the analogy of the preceding examples (487-490) shows that all are based on the same idiom,—a protasis which involves its own apodosis so that it would be useless to express the latter separately. The examples are these:—

Τίς οἶδ' εἴ κε καὶ αὐτὸς ἰὼν κοίλῃς ἐπὶ νηὸς τῆλε φίλων ἀπόληται, *who knows the chances that he too may perish, etc.?* or *who knows the chances of his perishing, etc., if haply he may?* Od. ii. 332. (We may translate colloquially: *who knows? supposing he too shall perish?*) *Τίς οἶδ' εἴ κ' Ἀχιλλεύς φθῆῃ ἔμῳ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείσ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὑλέσσαι;* *who knows the chances that Achilles may first be struck (the chances of his being first struck, if haply he shall be)?* Il. xvi. 860. (We should naturally express this by a different construction, *whether he may not be first struck.*) *Τίς οἶδ' εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίνω παρειπών;* *who knows the chances of my rousing his spirit by persuasion, if haply I shall do so?* Il. xv. 403. In Il. xi. 792 we have Nestor's advice to Patroclus, *τίς οἶδ' εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίναις παρειπών;* *who knows the chances that you could rouse his spirit by persuasion? (ὀρίναις κε being potential).* *Οὐ μὲν οἶδ' εἰ αἴτε κακορραφίης ἀλεγυῆς πρώτη ἐπαύρημι καὶ σε πλεγγῆσιν ἰμάσσω*, *I am not sure of the chances of your being the first to enjoy your own device, etc., i.e. I am not so sure that you may not be the first to enjoy it, if it shall so chance.* Il. xv. 16. *Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, εἴ κέ μιν ἀγγείλαιμι ἰδών· ἐπὶ πολλὰ δ' ἀλήθην, Ζεὺς and the other immortals (alone) know this, the chance of my bringing news of him, if haply I have seen him and so might do this.* Od. xiv. 119. *Εἰ δ' ἄγε δῆ μοι τοῦτο, θεᾶ, νημερτὲς ἐρίσπες, εἴ πως τὴν ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν, τὴν δέ κ' ἀμνναίμην ὅτε μοι σίνοιτο γ' ἑταίρου;* *i.e. tell me this without fault, the chance of my escaping Charybdis if haply I should do this, and of my then keeping Scylla off if I could (lit. tell me this, supposing I should escape Charybdis and could then keep Scylla off).* Od. xii. 112 (this translation supposes *κ'* to be potential, affecting only *ἀμνναίμην*).

Ἥ μένετε Τρώας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα ἴδῃτ' αἰ κ' ἕμμιν ὑπέροσχῃ χεῖρα Κρονίων; *are you waiting for the Trojans to come near, that you may see the chances of the son of Cronos holding his hand over you?—or that you may see him hold his hand over you, if haply he may do this?* Il. iv. 247. (We might say, *is it that you may see it,—supposing the son of Cronos to hold his hand over you?*) *Τῶν σ' αἴτις μνήσω, ἢ ἀπολήξῃς ἀπατάων, ὄφρ' ἴδῃς ἤν τοι χραίσμῃ φιλότῃς τε καὶ εἰνή,* *i.e. that you may see the chances of your device availing you, or that you may see it if perchance your device shall avail you.* Il. xv. 31.

See also Il. xx. 435, *ἀλλ' ἤ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται.*

αὐτὸς κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἔων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωμαι, i.e. *this rests with the Gods, for me to take your life away, weaker though I am, if perchance I may*. The conditional construction is more obvious here than in *Il.* iv. 247 and xv. 31; but in all three we naturally fall into an indirect question when we attempt to express the thought in English.

492. A comparison of these peculiar conditional constructions (491) expressing hope or desire with clauses with *μή* expressing anxiety and desire to prevent a result, both depending on *οἶδα* or *εἶδον*, is suggestive. With *Od.* ii. 332 and *Il.* xvi. 860 (in 491) compare *Il.* x. 100, *οἶδέ τι ἴδμεν, μή πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μενοισήσῃσι μάχεσθαι*, nor do we know any way to prevent their being impelled, etc., and *PLAT. Phaed.* 91 D (quoted in 366); and with *Il.* iv. 247 and xv. 31 (491) compare *Od.* xxiv. 491, *ἴδοι μὴ δὴ σχεδὸν ὤσι κίοντες* (366). This comparison shows that *εἰδέναι* (or *ἰδεῖν*) *εἰ* κε τοῦτο γένηται means to know (or see) the chances of gaining this (object of desire); while *εἰδέναι* (or *ἰδεῖν*) *μή* τοῦτο γένηται means to know (or see) some way to prevent this (object of fear). The idea of desire or anxiety belongs to the dependent clause, and not at all to the leading verb.

493. These Homeric expressions (491), in which nearly all the force is in the protasis, so that the apodosis is not only suppressed but hardly felt at all, helps to show how the particle *εἰ* came to be an indirect interrogative, in the sense of *whether*. But in Attic Greek, where the interrogative use is fully established, only the simple *εἰ* (never *ἦν* or *εἶα*) can mean *whether*, even when the verb is subjunctive (680).

Εἰ AFTER EXPRESSIONS OF WONDER, INDIGNATION, ETC.

494. After many expressions of *wonder, delight, contentment, indignation, disappointment, pity*, and similar emotions, a protasis with *εἰ* may be used to express the object of the emotion. When the supposition of the protasis is present or past, a causal sentence would generally seem more natural. Such expressions are especially *θαυμάζω, αἰσχύνομαι, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγανακτῶ, and δεινόν ἐστιν*. *E.g.*

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε εἰ μηδὲς ἡμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμέται μήτ' ὀργίζεται, ὄρω, κ.τ.λ., I wonder that no one of you is either concerned or angry, whom he sees, etc. (lit. *if no one is either concerned or angry, I wonder*). *DEM.* iv. 13. *Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ποτε ἀντήμητε, νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτε ἐξίέναι καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν*, but I wonder at this, that you once opposed the Lacedaemonians, but now are unwilling, etc. *Id.* ii. 24. (The literal meaning is, *if (it is true that) you once opposed, etc., then I wonder*.) *Οὐκ ἀγαπῶ εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφανῶσθεφανωθήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ*, he is not content if he has not been punished; but if he is not also to be crowned with a





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golden crown, he is indignant. AESCHIN. iii. 147. Καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγανακτῶ, εἰ οὐτωςὶ ἂ νοῶ μὴ οἶός τ' εἰμὶ εἰπεῖν, *I am indignant that (or if) I am not able, etc.* PLAT. Lach. 194 A. Οὐ δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἔστιν, εἰ στρατευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκείνος αὐτὸς ἡμῶν μελλόντων καὶ ψηφίζομένων καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίγνεται, *it is no wonder that he gets the advantage of you, etc.* DEM. ii. 23. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῶν ταπτόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστῆκασιν, *ie. do not be discontented, if (or that) the Cypriotes have now withdrawn.* XEN. An. iii. 2, 17. Αἰνῶ σε, εἰ κτενεῖς δάμαρτα σὴν. EUR. Tro. 890.

Δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ οὐ τιμωρητόμεθα. HDT. vii. 9. Αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα ὑπέμεινα, ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοῖς λόγους ἀνέξασθε. DEM. xviii. 160. Δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἀπειροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν. THUC. i. 121. Τέρας λέγεις, εἰ . . . οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο λαθεῖν. PLAT. Men. 91 D (see 506). Δεινὸν εἰ οἱ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες τοῦτοις μὲν ἂν μαρτυροῦντες πιστοὶ ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπιστοὶ ἔσονται, *it is hard that the same witnesses testifying for them would have been trustworthy, and testifying for me are to be untrustworthy.* ANT. vi. 29. See AESCHIN. i. 85.

In all the preceding examples the protasis belongs under 402, the futures expressing present suppositions (407). For εἰ οὐ see 386 and 387, with examples.

495. The same construction is sometimes used when the leading verb is past. *E.g.*

Κατεμέμεστο αἰτῶν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αἰτῶ, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀκμάζειν μάλλον ἑαυτῶν ἐδόκουν. XEN. Cyr. iv. 3, 3. But generally such sentences are affected by the principle of indirect discourse, and have either the optative or the form of the direct discourse: see XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 3, ἢ χθέσθην εἰ τι μείον δοκοῖεν ἔχειν (where δοκοῖεν might have been used). See EUR. Med. 931, εἰσῆλθέ μ' οἶκτος, εἰ γενήσεται, and XEN. An. i. 4, 7, ὄκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσουτο. For such sentences see 697.

496. These expressions may also be followed by ὅτι and a causal sentence, as in PLAT. Theæt. 142 A, ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐχ οἶός τ' ἦ εἶρεῖν. The construction with εἰ gives a milder or more polite form of expression, putting the object of the wonder etc. into the form of a supposition, instead of stating it as a fact as we should do in English. They may also be followed by protases expressing ordinary conditions, which have nothing peculiar: see ISOC. xv. 17, ἀγαπητὸν (sc. ἔστιν) ἦν ἐκλαβεῖν διενηθῶσι τὸ δίκαιον, *they must be content if they are able* (cf. xix. 20); and PLAT. Prot. 315 E, DEM. ii. 23 (εἰ περιῆμεν).

497. This construction must not be mistaken for that in which εἰ is used in the sense of *whether*, to introduce an indirect question; as ἡρώτων εἰ ἦλθεν, *I asked whether he had come.*

MIXED CONSTRUCTIONS.

498. The forms of protasis and apodosis which are contained in the classification above (388-397) include by far the greater number of the examples found in the classic authors. Many cases remain, however, in which the protasis and apodosis do not belong to the same form. Especially, the great wealth of conditional expressions which the Homeric language exhibits in both protasis and apodosis (399) allowed great variety of combination; and the early poets used much greater freedom in these sentences than suited the more exact style of Attic prose.

I. *Optative in Protasis, with Future or Present Indicative or an equivalent form in Apodosis.*

499. (a) In the earlier language a protasis with the optative is not infrequently followed by an apodosis with the future indicative or imperative or (in Homer) with the subjunctive. The subjunctive or future indicative in Homer may also take *κέ* or *άν* (452). *E.g.*

Εἰ τίς μοι ἀνὴρ ἄμ' ἔποιτο καὶ ἄλλος, μᾶλλον θαλπωρῇ καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἔσται, if any other man should follow with me, there will be more comfort and greater courage. Il. x. 222. (The want of symmetry in the Greek is here precisely what it is in the English; and *εἴη* *άν* is no more required in the apodosis than *would be* is, though both are the conventional forms.) See Il. ix. 388, and xxiii. 893, *πύρρωμεν, εἰ ἐθέλοις. Τόν γ' εἴ πως σὺ δύναιο λοχιστάμενος λελαβέσθαι, ὡς κέν τοι εἴπησι ὀδόν, he will tell you, etc.* Od. iv. 388. See Il. xi. 386, *εἰ πειρηθείης, οἶκ' άν τοι χραιίσμῃρι βίωίς*; and Il. ii. 488, xx. 100, Od. xvii. 539. *Εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρποι, Δι τοῦτ' Ἐνναλίῳ τ' ἐκδώσομεν πρῶσσειν.* PIND. Ol. xiii. 105.¹ So in an old curse, *εἴ τις τάδε παραβαίνοι, έναγῆς ἔστω, AESCHIN.* iii. 110. See SOPH. O. T. 851, *εἴ τι κάκτρέποιτο, οὔτοι τόν γε Λαίου φόνον φανεῖ δικάως ὀρθόν.*

500. (b) A present indicative in the apodosis with an optative in the protasis is sometimes merely an emphatic futuro expression. *E.g.*

Πάντ' ἔχεις, εἴ σε τοῦτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν, you have the whole, should a share of these glories fall to your lot. PIND. Isth. iv. (v.) 14. *So καιρὸν εἰ φθέγγαιο, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώπων, i.e. should you speak seasonably, you are sure to be followed by less censure of men,* Pyl. i. 81. In THUC. ii. 39 we have *καίτοι εἰ βαθνίμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ ἐθέλοισιν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν, κ.τ.λ.,*

¹ For the cases in Pindar here and in 500 and 501, see *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. p. 444.

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~~uzupełnić w tym celu, jeżeli jest to możliwe, kolumny 1-10 w tabeli~~
~~z podanych danych, w szczególności w zakresie informacji o funkcjonowaniu.~~

and now supposing that we should choose to meet dangers with a light heart rather than with laborious training, we secure the advantage, etc. This sentence is loosely jointed, like the others which have this combination; the condition is stated as a remotely supposed case, in the vague future form, but the apodosis, *we at once gain this advantage*, etc., is adapted to a present supposition. The optative is generally emended to *ἐθέλομεν*, although it is one of the best attested words in Thucydides, being in the best Mss. and also being quoted by Dion. Hal. as a faulty expression. The criticism of Dionysius (*de Thuc. Idiom.* 12, 1) is instructive: *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐθέλομεν ῥῆμα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἴστι χρόνου δηλωτικόν, τὸ δὲ περιγίγνεται τοῦ παρόντος· ἀκόλουθον δ' ἂν ἦν εἰ συνέζυξε τῷ ἐθέλομεν τὸ περιέσται, i.e. the future expression εἰ *ἐθέλομεν* should have a future form like *περιέσται* to correspond to it.*

In DEM. xviii. 21, *εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδὲν ἔστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ*, the apodosis refers to the real protasis if there is any apparent fault.

501. (c) In most cases, however, the present indicative in the apodosis precedes, containing a general statement, and the optative adds a remote future condition where we should expect a general present supposition. *E.g.*

Οὔ μοι θέμις ἔστω, οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι, ξείνον ἀτιμῆσαι, *it is not right for me—even supposing a more wretched man than you should come—to dishonour a stranger.* OIL. xiv. 56. Θουραλέος γὰρ ἀνήρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων ἔργουσι τελέθει, εἰ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι. OIL. vii. 51. So v. 484, viii. 138; II. ix. 318. Οὔτ' οὖν ἀγγελίῃ ἐτι πείθομαι, εἰ ποθεν ἔλθοι, οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάζομαι, ἦν τινα μήτηρ ἐξερέρηται, *wither do I any longer put trust in reports—should any one come—nor do I regard any divination which my mother may ask.* OIL. i. 414. (Here the remoteness of the supposition in *εἰ ἔλθοι* is contrasted with the greater vividness of that expressed in *ἐξερέρηται*). Δεινόν τ', εἰ κ' ἐφ' ἄμαξαν ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος ἀείρας ἄξονα καυκάξαις τὰ δὲ φόρτι ἀμανρώθει, *it is hard, . . . supposing you should break your axle and your load should perish.* HES. OP. 692. Κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον, ἐκόντος εἰ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι, *it is the dearest gain, if one should bring it from the house of a willing giver.* PIND. PY. viii. 13. See 1sth. ii. 33. So SOPH. ANT. 1032.

In most of these examples a general supposition with the subjunctive (or present indicative) in the protasis would have agreed more closely with the thought. If the protasis had preceded, so as to determine the character of the sentence, the apodosis would naturally have had the optative with *κέ* or *ἂν*, or some future form (as in the cases under a).

502. (d) The optative in protasis sometimes depends on the present of a verb of obligation, propriety, or possibility with an infinitive, the two forming an expression that is nearly equivalent in sense to an optative with *ἂν*. *E.g.*

Εἰ γὰρ εἴησαν δύο τινὲς ἐναντίοι νόμοι, οὐκ ἀμφοτέροισι ἐνὶ δήπου ψηφίσασθαι, *for if there should be two laws opposed to each other, you could not surely vote for both.* DEM. xxiv. 35. This is analogous to the apodosis formed by εἶδει, χρῆν, ἐνῆν, etc., with the infinitive (415). There, for example, ἐνῆν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, *he could have gone*, is nearly equivalent to ἦλθεν ἄν, and here ἐνεστίην αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, *he could go*, is nearly equivalent to ἔλθοι ἄν. This use of the optative is more common in the corresponding relative conditional sentences (555).

II. Indicative or Subjunctive in Protasis, with Potential Optative or Indicative in Apodosis.

503. (a) A present or past tense of the indicative in the protasis with a potential optative or indicative (with ἄν) in the apodosis is a perfectly natural combination, each clause having its proper force. *E.g.*

Εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλονθας, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν ἐποικναιόισι μαχοίμην, *but if thou art one of the immortals come from heaven, I would not fight against the Gods of heaven.* IL vi. 128. Πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοῖς διαφθείρει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελοῦσιν, *for there would (naturally) be great happiness, etc.* PLAT. AP. 25 B. Εἰ τι θέσφατον πατρὶ χρησιμῶν ἰκνεῖθ', ὥστε πρὸς παίδων θανεῖν, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τοῦτ' ὀνειδίξοις ἐμοί; *if a divine decree came to my father through oracles that he was to die by his sons' hands, how can you justly reproach me with this?* SOPH. O. C. 969; so 974-977. "Ὡττ' εἰ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγοίμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμῆν ἐπέισθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην, *if you were persuaded to make war by thinking, etc., I should not now justly be charged with injustice.* THUC. ii. 60. Εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ἡμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεῶν ἀρχοῖτε, *for if these had a right to secede, it would follow that your dominion is unjust.* ID. iii. 40; see vi. 92, and DEM. xxi. 37. Καίτοι τότε τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν, *and yet, if he is now making true charges against me, he would then have prosecuted Hyperides with much more reason than (he now has for prosecuting) this man.* DEM. xviii. 223. Εἰ γὰρ γυναῖκες εἰς τόδ' ἤξουσιν θράσους, . . . παρ' οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἦν ἂν ὀλλίναί ποσεις, *for if women are to come to this height of audacity (407) it would be as nothing for them to slay their husbands.* EUR. OR. 566. Τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀποστεροῦσιν, ἀποδοῦναι προσήκεν, *even if they steal all the rest, they ought to have restored this (415).* DEM. xxvii. 37.

504. (b) An unreal condition in the indicative followed by a potential optative seldom occurs and is not a strictly logical combination. *E.g.*

Εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπεχέιρονν λέγειν, οὐκ ἔσθ' οὐτις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως

Κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστον ἔλαβες L. 7. 25



ἐπιτιμῆσειέ μοι, if I were undertaking to say this, (the result would be that) every one would censure me with reason. DEM. xviii. 206. (Here many Mss. and Dion. Hal. p. 1054 read ἐπετίμησε, the ordinary form in such an apodosis.) See [LYS.] xv. 8.

505. (c) When a subjunctive or a future indicative in protasis has a potential optative in the apodosis, there is sometimes a distinct potential force in the apodosis (as in 503), and sometimes the optative with ἄν is merely a softened expression for the future indicative (235). *E.g.*

Εἰ μὲν κεν πατρός βίοντα καὶ νόστον ἀκούσω, ἢ τ' ἂν τρυχόμενός περ ἔτι τλαίην ἐνιαυτόν, if I hear of my father's life and return, wasted as I am, I can still endure it for a year. OD. ii. 218. (See the next verses, 220-223, εἰ δέ κε τεθνεώτος ἀκούσω, with future forms in the apodosis. See also the corresponding verses, OD. i. 287-292.) 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι μὲν κε καὶ ὡς κακά περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε, αἱ κ' ἐθέλῃς σὸν θυμὸν ἐρκακέειν, but still even so, though suffering evils, you may come home, if you will curb your passion. OD. xi. 104; so xi. 110 and xii. 137. See II. xxi. 556. Εἰ δέ κεν ὄψ' ἀρόσῃς, τόδε κέν τοι φάρμακον εἶη, but if you plough late, this may be your remedy. HES. OP. 485; so 665. 'Ἄλλ' ἦν ἐφῆς μοι, . . . λέξαιμ' ἂν ὀρθῶς, i.e. I would fain speak. SOPH. EL. 554. So O. T. 216, Phil. 1259; EUR. HEL. 1085. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὄσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φηγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν, for not even if there are (shall be) many bridges, could we (in the case supposed) find a place to fly to and be safe. XEN. AN. ii. 4, 19.

Εἰ γάρ τι λέξεις ᾧ χολώσεται στρατός, οὐτ' ἂν ταφείη παῖς ὄδ' οἴκτου τύχοι, for if you say anything by which the army shall be made angry, this child cannot be buried or find pity. EUR. TRO. 730; see Suppl. 603, Cycl. 474. Φρούριον εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτειν ἂν τι μέρος, οὐ μέντοι ἰκανόν γε ἔσται κωλίειν ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., if they (shall) build a fort, they might perhaps injure some part of our land; but it will not be sufficient to prevent us, etc. THUC. i. 142.

In the following examples the optative with ἄν seems to form a future apodosis to the future protasis; though in some of them it may be thought to be potential:—

Εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοῖην δῶν κλιτὸς εἰσοσίγαιος, ἡματί κεν τριτάτῃ φθῶν ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην, i.e. on the third day I shall arrive. II. ix. 362. (The reference to this in PLAT. CRIT. 44 B shows that ἰκοίμην ἂν is a mere future.) See II. xiii. 377, xvii. 38; OD. xxi. 114. Ἀδικοίμην ἂν εἰ μὴ ἀποδώσω, I should be guilty of wrong, should I (shall I) not restore her. EUR. HEL. 1010. See Ion. 374, Suppl. 520, I. A. 1189, Cycl. 198. Ἦν οἶν μάθῃς μοι τὸν ἄδικον τοῦτον λόγον, οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίην οὐδ' ἂν ὀβολὸν οὐδενί, if you (shall) learn this chattering reason for me, I will not (or I would not) pay even an obol to any one. AR. NUB. 116. Καὶ οὕτως ἂν δεινότατα πάντων πάθοιεν, εἰ οἴτοι ὁμόψηφοι κατ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς τριάκοντα γενήσονται. LYS. xiii. 94. (Here we should expect εἰ γένοιτο.) Τῶν ἀποκ-

τάτων μέντ' ἂν εἴη, εἰ, ἂ νῦν ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων ὁμως ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα δινηθεῖς μὴ πράξει. DEM. i. 26.

III. *Potential Optative or Indicative (with ἄν) in the Protasis.*

506. A potential optative (with ἄν) in the protasis may express a present condition, and a potential indicative (with ἄν) a present or past condition. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὴδὲ δοῦλον ἀκρατῆ δεξαίμεθ' ἄν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτόν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; *if we would not take even a slave who was intemperate, how can it be other than fitting to guard oneself against becoming so?* XEN. Mem. i. 5, 3. Καὶ ἐγὼ, εἴπερ ἄλλῃ τῷ ἀνθρώπων πειθοίμην ἄν, καὶ σοὶ πείθομαι, and I, *if I would trust any man, trust you.* PLAT. Prot. 329 B. Οὔτοι παντελῶς, οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν τοῦτο ὡς ἐγώ γε φημι δεῖν, ἐκκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, *this (preparation) is not wholly to be despised, even if you would not do this as I say you ought.* DEM. iv. 18. Notice the difference between this supposition that you would not do this if you could (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιτε τοῦτο) and the ordinary εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτε τοῦτο, supposing you not to do this.

Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦτο ισχυρόν ἦν ἂν τοῦτω τεκμήριον, κάμοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον, κ.τ.λ., *if then this would have been a strong proof for him (sc. had he had it), so let it be also a proof for me, etc.* DEM. xlix. 58. Εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ τοιούτους βούλεσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πᾶν πολὺ μετὰ τοιούτων ἐπρέσβευσα, *had it not been for my wish to save these (captives), may I perish utterly and before my day if I would have gone on an embassy with these men even for very high pay.* DEM. xix. 172. (Here the protasis to which the apodosis ἀπολοίμην refers is really the whole expression εἰ . . . ἐπρέσβευσα ἂν εἰ μὴ . . . σῶσαι, *if I would have gone except to save these, ἐπρέσβευσα ἂν* in the protasis being itself the apodosis to εἰ μὴ . . . σῶσαι.) In DEM. xviii. 101, καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἰ τι τῶν ἰπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνευ ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν;—if we retain the final ἂν (strongly supported by MSS.), we must translate *if (it is true that) I would (under any circumstances) have undertaken, etc.*, and not simply *if I had undertaken* (εἰ ἐπεχείρησα). (See 557.)

507. It is obvious that such forms (506) express simple present or past conditions, the real protasis always being *if it is* (or *was*) *the case that something would now be* (or *would have been*), or *if it is the case that something would hereafter be under certain circumstances.* (See 409.)

IV. *Irregular Combinations.—Present or Past with Future in one Protasis.*

508. In a few irregular constructions, which are only cases

London-Smith p. 105 ? indeed if I was able, or rather if I had been able.

→ 101 page Horden. Herg.

Krieger 54.12.8, R-9. 577.9.

∴ C. 4. 6. 7; X. M. 1. 2. 36, 2. 39.

D. 18. 176

Hipp. M. 289c-d, Euth. 10e, Gorg. 453e, Prot. 311b
Ph. 67e.

of *anacoluthon*, the speaker adapts his apodosis to a form of protasis different from that which he has actually used. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν, εἰ ἔχοιμι, ὡς τάχιστα ὄπλα ἐποιούμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις. XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 9. (Here ἐποιούμην ἂν is used as if εἰ ἔδχον, if I were able, had preceded. We should expect ποιούμην ἂν, which is found in one Ms.) Εἰ οὖν εἶδεῖεν ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτοὺς, ἴεντο ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόρους . . . καὶ κατεργάζοιντο ἂν αὐτήν, if then they knew that she (virtue) sees them, they would rush into labours and would secure her. XEN. Cyr. xii. 22. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς γυναῖκα σωφρονεστέραν ξίφος μεθεῖμεν, δυσκλεῖς ἂν ἦν φόνος. EUR. Or. 1132. (Here we should expect εἰ.)

509. The same protasis may have one verb in the indicative referring to present or past time, and another in the optative referring to the future. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ οὖν δεῖνὰ ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταπτον, τότε μὲν ἔμενον, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάπτοντος λίποῖμι τὴν τάξιν, I should therefore (prove to) have behaved outrageously, if when the state authorities stationed me I stood my ground, but (if) now when God stations me I should desert my post. PLAT. Ap. 28 E. (Here the supposed combination of the two acts is the future condition to which the future apodosis refers.) Ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τοῖτοῖς, εἰ ἀληθὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότε εἰθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι, i.e. if I should speak the truth and if I did speak it then, etc. DEM. xviii. 141. Εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτε ἂν εἰπέιν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρὴν ποιεῖν; but if there neither is nor was (any such thing), and if no man yet even at this day could possibly tell of any, what ought the statesman to have done? Ib. 190.

V. Several Protases in one Sentence.

510. Two or more protases, not co-ordinate, may belong to the same sentence; but one always contains the leading condition, to which the rest of the sentence (including the other conditions) is the conclusion. Here several protases may belong to one apodosis; or the leading condition may be followed by two subordinate conditions, each with its own apodosis. *E.g.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῖν, for if anything shall happen to this Philip, you will soon create another if this is your way of attending to the business. DEM. iv. 11. So xviii. 195, 217 (two cases in each). Εἰ δ' ἦμεν νέοι δις καὶ γέροντες, εἰ τις ἐξημάρτανε, διπλοῦ βίου λαχόντες ἐξωρθοίμεθ' ἂν, if we were twice young and twice old, in case any one of us was in fault we should secure a double life and set ourselves right. EUR. Supp. 1084. See AR. Ran. 1449. Εἰ ξένος ἐτύχχανον ὦν, ξινηγιγνώσκετε δήπου ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔλεγον ἐν οἷσπερ ἐτεθράμην, i.e.

if I were a foreigner, you would pardon me if I spoke in my own dialect, etc. PLAT. AP. 17 D. *Ἐἴ τίς σε ἀνέροιτο τοῦτο, τί ἐστί σχῆμα; εἰ αὐτῷ εἶπες ὅτι στρογγυλότης, εἰ σοι εἶπεν ἄπερ ἐγώ, εἶπες δῆπου ἂν ὅτι σχῆμά τι.* Id. MEN. 74 B.

Ἐἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προτίθετο λέγειν, ἐπισηχῶν ἂν ἔως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γινώσκω λέγειν, i.e. if the subject of debate were new, I should have waited for others to speak; and then, if I liked anything that was said, I should keep quiet, and if not, I should try to say something myself. DEM. iv. 1; see also xxxiii. 25.

511. It will be noticed that when the leading condition is unreal (as in EUR. Supp. 1084, PLAT. Ap. 17 D, and DEM. iv. 1, above), this makes all subordinate past or present conditions also unreal, so far as the supposed case is concerned, without regard to their own nature. Thus, in DEM. iv. 1 and xxxiii. 25 we have two directly opposite suppositions both stated as contrary to fact, which could not be unless the leading supposition had made the whole state of things supposed in the sentence unreal like itself. It is obvious, therefore, that such a subordinate condition may refer to a case which is not *in itself* unreal, although it is part of a supposition which *as a whole* is unreal. This can be seen more easily in English. We can say, *if he had been an Athenian, he would have been laughed at if he had talked as he did*; but we are far from implying that the latter supposition (the subordinate one) is contrary to fact, although it would be expressed in Greek by *εἰ ἔλεγεν*. Still it is part of a supposed unreal state of things. This explains an apparent inconsistency in respect to sentences like *εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν, you ought properly to have suffered this*, when the opposite of the infinitive is implied (415), the expression being practically equivalent (as a conditional form) to *τοῦτο ἔπαθες ἂν εἰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔπαθες*. As *τοῦτο* and *τὸ εἰκὸς* are here identical, the apodosis is denied in the denial of the protasis. But if a new unreal protasis is added, the opposite of the infinitive is not necessarily implied (see 422, 1); and if we add a concessive protasis and say *καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἠδίκησας, εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν, even if you had done nothing unjust, you ought (still) to have suffered this*, *τοῦτο* generally represents what actually took place (see 422, 2). Here a new chief protasis has come in and changed the whole relation of the apodosis to the sentence. This offers a satisfactory explanation of the apparent anomaly in SOPH. O. T. 221, *οἶ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν ἔχρειον αὐτὸς, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σίμβολον, where μὴ οὐκ ἔχων* is obviously equivalent to the condition *εἰ μὴ εἶχον*, while there is yet no such opposite implied as *but I have a clue*. The chief condition lies in the emphatic *αὐτὸς*, which is especially forcible after *ξένος μὲν* and *ξένος δέ*, and involves *εἰ μόνος ἔχρειον*. The meaning is, *for I should not be very far on the track, if I were attempting to trace it alone without a clue*. Thus *without a clue* becomes part of the unreal supposition without being itself contrary to fact, while *μὴ* in *μὴ οὐκ*





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18.191 ε'σσειδιγ δ'οε τ'οτε, ἀλλὰ νεν δ'ετ'εγον

ἔχων shows that ἔχων is conditional, and not merely descriptive (as if it were οὐκ ἔχων). For μὴ οὐ with the participle, see 818.

Δέ, ἀλλά, AND αὐτάρ IN APODOSIS.

512. The apodosis is sometimes introduced by δέ, ἀλλά, or αὐτάρ, *but*, as if the apodosis were co-ordinate with the protasis, and were not the leading sentence. This occurs when the apodosis is to be emphatically opposed to the protasis. It is especially common in Homer and Herodotus. *E.g.*

Εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, *but if they do not give it to me, (then) I will take one myself.* II. i. 137. Εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε περικτεινόμεθα πάντες νηυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀργείων, σοὶ δ' οὐ δῖος ἔστ' ἀπολίσθαι. II. xii. 245. Εἰ περ . . . καταπίψῃ, ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κόπον. II. i. 81. Εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Ἀίδαο, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κείθι φίλον μεμνήσομ' ἑταίρων. II. xxii. 389. Εἰ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἴσασθε. HDI. viii. 22. Ἄλλ' εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦτο βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοῖντεῦθεν λέγε. XEN. Cyr. v. 5, 21.

513. This *apodotic* δέ cannot be expressed in English; as our adverbs *then, yet, still, etc.*, necessarily fail to give the force of the Greek δέ, which is always a conjunction.

The expression ἀλλὰ νῦν, *now at least*, is elliptical for εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν (with *apodotic* ἀλλά); as ἐὰν τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐθέλητε ὄραν, *if even now (though not before) you will do what is right*, AR. AV. 1598. See DEM. iii. 33. Sometimes ἀλλά alone seems to imply εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο; as in AR. Nub. 1364, ἐκέλευσ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μυρρίνην λαβόντα τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξαι τί μοι, *I bade him at least (if nothing more) take a myrtle branch and give me a bit of Aeschylus*. So 1369. In PLAT. Rep. 509 C, εἰ μὴ τι ἀλλὰ . . . διεξιῶν, *if for nothing (else), that you may at least describe, etc.*, ἀλλά introduces an apodosis after εἰ μὴ τι (sc. ἄλλο).

For δέ used in the same way to introduce the sentence upon which a relative clause depends, see 564.

SECTION VII.

Relative and Temporal Sentences.

514. Relative sentences may be introduced by relative pronouns and pronominal adjectives, or by relative adverbs of *time, place, or manner*. They include therefore all temporal sentences.

Clauses introduced by *ἕως*, *πρίν*, and other particles meaning *until* have many peculiarities, and are treated separately (611-661).

515. Relative sentences may be divided into two classes:—

First, those in which the antecedent of the relative is *definite*; that is, in which the relative pronouns refer to definite persons or things, and the relative adverbs to definite points of time, place, etc. Secondly, those in which the antecedent is *indefinite*; that is, in which no such definite persons, things, times, or places are referred to.

516. Both the definite and the indefinite antecedent may be either expressed or understood. *E.g.*

(*Definite.*) Ταῦτα ἃ ἔχω ὄρῳ, *you see these things which I have*; or ἃ ἔχω ὄρῳ. "Ὅτε ἐβούλετο ἦλθεν, (*once*) *when he wished, he came.*

(*Indefinite.*) Πάντα ἃ ἂν βούλωνται ἔξουσιν, *they will have everything which they may want*; or ἃ ἂν βούλωνται ἔξουσιν, *they will have whatever they may want.* "Ὅταν ἔλθῃ, τότε τοῦτο πράξω, *when he shall come (or when he comes), then I will do this.* "Ὅτε βούλοιτο, τοῦτο ἐπραύσει, *whenever he wished, he (always) did this.* "Ὡς ἂν εἴπω, οὕτως ποιῶμεν, *as I shall direct, so let us act.*

517. The relative may be used to express a *purpose* (565), or in a *causal* sense (580). The antecedent may then be either definite or indefinite.

518. When the antecedent is indefinite, the negative of the relative clause is *μή*; when it is definite, *οὐ* is used unless the general construction requires *μή* (as in prohibitions, wishes, final expressions, etc.).

A. RELATIVE WITH DEFINITE ANTECEDENT.

519. A relative with a *definite* antecedent has no effect upon the mood of the following verb; and it therefore may take the indicative (with *οὐ* for its negative) or any other construction that can occur in an independent sentence. *E.g.*

Λέγω ἃ οἶδα, *I say what I know.* Λέγω ἃ ἤκουσα. Λίξω ἃ ἀκήκοα. "Ἐλέξαν ἃ ἤκουσαν. Πάντα λέγει ἃ γενήσεται. Πράσσουσιν ἃ βούλωνται (or ὡς βούλωνται), *they are doing what (or as) they please.* (On the other hand, *πρίξουσιν ἃ ἂν βούλωνται, or ὡς ἂν βούλωνται, they will do what they please, or as they please; the antecedent being*





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indefinite.) Λέγω δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, *I am saying that of which I am not ignorant.*

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ β' ἐκ τοῦ δωδεκάτῃ γένητ' ἤως, καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἴσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, *but when now the twelfth day from that came, etc.* II. i. 493. Τίς ἔσθ' ὁ χώρος δῆτ', ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν. SOPH. O. C. 52. Ἔως ἔστι καιρὸς, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων, *i.e. now, while there is an opportunity, etc.* DEM. i. 20. (If the exhortation were future, he would say ἔως ἂν ἦ καιρὸς, *so long as there shall be an opportunity.*) Ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς, ἕως μὲν βᾶσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε περὶ. XEN. AN. iii. 4, 49. So II. i. 193, εἰος ὄρμαινε. Οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προΐδωμεν, *we who are to bear the greater part of the blame, etc.* THUC. i. 83. Ὅθεν δ' οὖν ῥᾶστα μαθήσεσθε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. DEM. xxvii. 3. (Here ἐντεῦθεν refers to the point at which he intends to begin.) Ἡ δὴ λοίγια ἔργ', ὅτε μ' ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις Ἡρη, ὅτ' ἂν μ' ἐρέθησιν ἀνειδείους ἐπέεσσιν, *surely there will be sad work, when you shall impel me, etc.* II. i. 518. (Here ὅτε refers to some time conceived as definite; whereas ὅτ' ἂν ἐρέθησιν, *when (if ever) she shall provoke me, is indefinite; see 530.*) Νίξ δ' ἔσται ὅτε δὴ στυγερὸς γάμος ἀντιβολήσει οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβον ἀπήνρα. Od. xviii. 272. (The time is conceived as definite.) Τηρικαῖτα, ὅτε οὐδ' ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν ἔξετε, *then, when you will not even be able to do what you ought.* DEM. xix. 262.

Ἀρξομαι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ῥᾶστ' ἂν μάθοιτε καὶ γὰρ τάχιστ' ἂν διδάξαιμι. DEM. xxix. 5. (With the potential optative compare the future indicative in DEM. xxvii. 3, above.) Νῦν δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν δῆμον ἐτίμησεν ἂν, *but he did not do this, in which he might have honoured the people.* Id. xxi. 69. Εἰς καλὸν ἡμῶν Ἄνιτος ὁδε παρεκαθέζετο, ᾧ μεταδῶμεν τῆς ζητήσεως. PLAT. MEN. 89 E (subjunctive in exhortation). Οἴκον ἀξίον τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις πιστεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὃν ἡμεῖς σαφέστατον ἔλεγον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς νομίσασθε. LYS. xix. 61. (Here the imperative νομίσασθε is used in a sort of exclamation after ὃν, where ordinarily δεῖ νομίσαι would be used. See 253.) Ἄν γὰρ ἀποφύγγε με οὗτος, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐπωβελίαν ὀφλήσω. DEM. xxviii. 67 (optative in wish).

So in μέννημι ὅτε and similar expressions. *E.g.*

Οὐ μέννη ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ἴψοθεν; *do you not remember (the time) when you hung aloft?* II. xv. 18. Εἰ μέννησαι ὅτ' ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀπεκρινάμην. PLAT. MEN. 79 D. Οὐστ' ὅτε ἐφάνη. EUR. HEC. 112. (See 913.)

B. RELATIVE WITH INDEFINITE ANTECEDENT.—CONDITIONAL RELATIVE.

520. A relative with an *indefinite* antecedent gives a



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indefinite.) Λέγω ἃ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, *I am saying that of which I am not ignorant.*

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκ τοῦ δωδεκάτῃ γένητ' ἡὼς, καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἴσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, *but when now the twelfth day from that came, etc.* II. i. 493. Τίς ἔσθ' ὁ χώρος δῆτ', ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν. SOPH. O. C. 52. Ἔως ἐστὶ καιρὸς, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων, *i. e. now, while there is an opportunity, etc.* DEM. i. 20. (If the exhortation were future, he would say ἔως ἂν ἦ καιρὸς, *so long as there shall be an opportunity.*) Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάϊμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε περὶ. XEN. AN. III. 4, 49. So II. i. 193, εἰς ὄρμαινε. Οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν τῆς αἰτίας ἐξομεν, οἳτοι καὶ κατ' ἠσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προΐδωμεν, *we who are to bear the greater part of the blame, etc.* THUC. i. 83. Ὅθεν δ' οὖν ῥῆματα μαθήσεσθε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. DEM. XXVII. 3. (Here ἐντεῦθεν refers to the point at which he intends to begin.) Ἡ δὴ λοίγια ἔργα, ὅτε μ' ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις Ἡρῆ, ὅτ' ἂν μ' ἐρήθην ὀνειδείους ἐπέεσσιν, *surely there will be sad work, when you shall impel me, etc.* II. i. 518. (Here ὅτε refers to some time conceived as definite; whereas ὅτ' ἂν ἐρήθην, *when (if ever) she shall provoke me*, is indefinite; see 530.) Νῆξ δ' ἔσται ὅτε δὴ στυγερὸς γάμος ἀντιβολήσει οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβον ἀπηύρα. OIL. XVIII. 272. (The time is conceived as definite.) Τηνικαῦτα, ὅτε οὐδ' ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν ἔξετε, *then, when you will not even be able to do what you ought.* DEM. XIX. 262.

Ἀρξομαι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ῥῆστ' ἂν μάθοιτε καὶ γὰρ τάχυστ' ἂν διδάξαιμι. DEM. XXIX. 5. (With the potential optative compare the future indicative in DEM. XXVII. 3, above.) Νῦν δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν δῆμον ἐτίμησεν ἂν, *but he did not do this, in which he might have honoured the people.* Id. XXI. 69. Εἰς καλὸν ἡμῖν Ἄντρος ὁδε παρεκαθίξετο, ᾧ μεταδῶμεν τῆς ζητήσεως. PLAT. MEN. 89 E (subjunctive in exhortation). Οὔκοιν ἄξιον τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις πιστεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὃν ἡμεῖς σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς νομίσασθε. LYS. XIX. 61. (Here the imperative νομίσασθε is used in a sort of exclamation after ὃν, where ordinarily δεῖ νομίσαι would be used. See 253.) Ἄν γὰρ ἀποφύγη με οἴτος, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐπωβελίαν ὕφλίσω. DEM. XXVII. 67 (optative in wish).

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B. RELATIVE WITH INDEFINITE ANTECEDENT.—CONDITIONAL RELATIVE.

520. A relative with an *indefinite* antecedent gives a

conditional force to the clause in which it stands, and is called a *conditional relative*. The conditional relative clause stands in the relation of a protasis to the antecedent clause, which is its apodosis (380). The negative particle is *μή*.

Thus, when we say *ἂ νομίζει ταῦτα λέγει*, *he is saying what he (actually) thinks*, or *ἂ ἐνόμιζε ταῦτα ἔλεγεν*, *he was saying what he thought*, the actions of *νομίζει* and *ἐνόμιζε* are stated as actual facts, occurring at definite times; but when we say *ἂ ἂν νομίζῃ (ταῦτα) λέγει*, *he (always) says whatever he thinks*, or *ἂ νομίζοι (ταῦτα) ἔλεγεν*, *he (always) said whatever he happened to be thinking*, *νομίζῃ* and *νομίζοι* do not state any such definite facts, but rather what some one *may think* (or *may have thought*) on any occasion on which he may speak or may have spoken. So, when we say *ἂ νομίζει ταῦτα λέξει*, *he will say what he (now) thinks*, *νομίζει* denotes a fact; but when we say *ἂ ἂν νομίζῃ λέξει*, *he will say whatever he happens to be (then) thinking*, *νομίζῃ* denotes a supposed future case. Again,—to take the case in which the distinction is most liable to be overlooked,—when we say *ἂ οὐκ οἶδα οὐκ οἴομαι εἶδέναι*, *what I do not know, I do not think that I know*, *οὐκ οἶδα*, as before, denotes a simple fact, and its object *ἂ* has a definite antecedent; but when Socrates says *ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἴομαι εἶδέναι*, the meaning is *whatever I do not know* (i.e. *if there is anything which I do not know*), *I do not even think that I know it*. In sentences like this, unless a negative is used (518), it is often difficult to decide whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite: thus *ἂ οἶδα οἴομαι εἶδέναι* may mean either *what I (actually) know, I think that I know*, or *whatever I know (if there is anything which I know), I think that I know it*.

521. The analogy of these indefinite relative clauses to conditional sentences will be seen at once. The following examples will make this clearer:—

Ὅτι βούλεται δώσω, *I will give him whatever he (now) wishes*. *Ἐἴ τι βούλεται, δώσω*, *if he wishes anything, I will give it*. (402.)

Ὅτι ἐβούλετο ἔδωκα ἂν, *I should have given him whatever he had wished*. *Ὅτι μὴ ἐγένετο οὐκ ἂν εἶπον*, *I should not have told what had not happened*. *Ἐἴ τι ἐβούλετο, ἔδωκα ἂν*, *if he had wished anything, I should have given it*. *Ἐἴ τι μὴ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν εἶπον*, *I should not have told anything if it had not happened*. (410.)

Ὅτι ἂν βούληται, δώσω, *I will give him whatever he shall wish*. *Ἐάν τι βούληται, δώσω*, *if he shall wish anything, I will give it*. (444.)

Ὅτι βούλοιο δοίην ἂν, *I should give him whatever he might wish*. *Ἐἴ τι βούλοιο, δοίην ἂν*, *if he should wish anything, I should give it*. (455.)





Ὅτι ἂν βούληται δίδωμι, *I (always) give him whatever he wishes.*
 Ὅτι βούλοιτο εἶδον, *I always gave him whatever he wished.* Ἐάν
 τι βούληται, δίδωμι, *if he ever wishes anything, I (always) give it.*
 Εἴ τι βούλοιτο, εἶδον, *if he ever wished anything, I (always) gave it.*
 (462.)

522. The particle ἂν (Epic κέ) is regularly joined with all relative words when they are followed by the subjunctive.

With ὅτε, ὅποτε, ἐπεὶ, and ἐπειδή, ἂν forms ὅταν, ὅποτε, ἐπὶ ἂν or ἐπὶ ἂν (Ionic ἐπεάν), and ἐπειδάν. In Homer, where κέ is generally used for ἂν, we have ὅτε κε, ἐπεὶ κε, etc. (like εἴ κε), also ὅτ' ἂν, where in Attic we have ὅταν, ὅποτε, ἐπειδάν. Ἐπὶ ἂν, however, occurs often, and ἐπεὶ ἂν once, in Homer. Both ἐπὶ ἂν and ἐπὶ ἂν are rare in Attic.

523. The classification of common conditional sentences, with four classes of ordinary conditions and two of general conditions, given in 388-395, applies equally to conditional relative sentences.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

524. The conditional relative sentence has *four* forms, two of *present* and *past* (525 and 528) and two of *future* conditions (529 and 531), which correspond to the four forms of ordinary protasis.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

525. When the relative clause simply states a *present* or *past* supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, the verb is in one of the *present* or *past* tenses of the indicative. The antecedent clause can have any form of the verb, like an ordinary apodosis. (See 402.)

E.g.

Ἄ μὴ οἶδα, οἷός μοι εἶδέναι (like εἴ τινα μὴ οἶδα). PLAT. AP. 21 D. (See 520.) Χρήσθων ὅτι βούλονται, *let them deal with me as they please* (i.e. εἴ τι βούλονται). AR. Nub. 439. Ἐπίσταμαι ὅραν θ' ἂν δεῖ με, *and not to see anything which I ought not.* EUR. ION, FR. 417. (Ἄ δεῖ is nearly equivalent to εἴ τινα δεῖ, and ἂ μὴ πρέπει to εἴ τινα μὴ πρέπει.) Τοὺς πλείστον ἐνθαπερ ἔπεσον ἐκάστον ἔθαψαν οὓς δὲ μὴ εὕρισκον, *kenotaphion* αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν, i.e. *they raised a cenotaph for any of them whom they did not find* (like εἴ τινος μὴ εὕρισκον). XEN. AN. VI. 4, 9. Τί γάρ; ὅστις δαπανηρὸς ὦν μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' αἰετῶν πλεονέκτην δεῖται, καὶ λαμβάνων μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ

λαμβάνων δὲ τὸν μὴ δίδόντα μισεῖ, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οἶτος χαλεπὸς φίλος εἶναι; (i.e. *surprising a case, εἴ τις . . . μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστίν*, κ.τ.λ.). *Id. Mem. ii. 6, 2. So ἦτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ*, *THUC. i. 35. "Ἄ γάρ τις μὴ προσεδόκησεν, οὐδὲ φυλάξασθαι ἐγγυρεῖ, for there is no opportunity even to guard against what we did not expect (like εἴ τινα μὴ προσεδόκησέ τις)*. *ANT. v. 19. Εἰς τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενούντας ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν* (like *εἴ τινα τῶν σκευῶν μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν*), i.e. *any which they did not need*. *XEN. AN. v. 3, 1. Ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν (ἢ θάλασσα) ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες*, i.e. *if any were unable to escape soon enough to the high land, so many the sea destroyed*. *THUC. iii. 89. Οἷς μὲν αἴρεις γεγένηται τᾶλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλῆ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, κ.τ.λ.*, *for any who have had the choice given them, while they are prosperous in other respects, it is great folly to go to war (i.e. εἴ τισιν αἴρεις γεγένηται)*. *Id. ii. 61. Πάντες ὡμεν Χαβρίαν οὔτε τίπτουτα οὐθ' ἀρπάζοντα τὸν στέφινον οὐθ' ὄλωσ προσιώνθ' ὅποι μὴ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, nor going anywhere at all where it was not lawful for him (i.e. εἴ ποι μὴ προσῆκεν)*. *DEM. XXI. 64. Πῶς οὖν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φίλοι ἔγονται, οἳ μῆτε ἀπόντες ποθεινοὶ ἀλλήλοις μῆτε παρόντες χρεῖαν αὐτῶν ἔχουσι;* (i.e. *εἰ μὴ ἔχουσι*). *PLAT. LYS. 215 B. Νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει σινοῖσεν* (i.e. *εἴ τι μέλλει*), *may any ship prevail which will benefit you all*. *DEM. iv. 51.*

526. Care must be taken here (as in conditional sentences) not to include in this class general suppositions which require the subjunctive or optative (532). On the other hand, the examples falling under 534, in which the indicative is allowed, might properly be placed here, as they state a general supposition as if it were a particular one.

527. A conditional relative clause (like a clause with *εἰ*, 407) may take the future indicative to express a *present* intention or necessity. *E.g.*

Ἐν τούτῳ κεκώλυσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται, each man felt that all progress was at an end in any affair in which he was not personally to take part. *THUC. ii. 8. The direct form was ἐν τούτῳ κεκώλυται (51 : 122) ᾧ μὴ παρέσομαι. Οὐδὲ ἀληθείας τις ἀτηχῆσει, ποτὲ τοίτου ἐπιστήμων ἔσται; but if one is to miss the truth of anything, will he ever understand it?* *PLAT. Theaet. 186 C. So probably XEN. Cyr. i. 5, 13, ὅ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλείπον ἔσται, i.e. if there is to be any failure on your part to come up to my expectations, the loss will fall on me.*

This is the only form of conditional relative sentence that regularly takes the future indicative. (See 530.)

528. When a relative clause expresses a *present or past* condition, implying that it *is not* or *was not* fulfilled (like a protasis of the form 410), the verb is in a *past* tense of the indicative.





The antecedent clause generally has a past tense of the indicative with *ἄν*; but it may have a past tense of the indicative in an unreal condition, in an unaccomplished wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Ἄ μὴ ἐβούλετο δοῦναι, οὐκ ἂν ἔδωκεν, *he would not have given what he had not wished to give* (i.e. εἴ τινα μὴ ἐβούλετο δοῦναι, οὐκ ἂν ἔδωκεν). Ὅποτέρον τούτων ἐποίησεν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἦττον Ἀθηναίων πλοῦτεροι ἦσαν, *whichever of these he had done (he did neither), they would be as rich as any of the Athenians.* LYS. xxxii. 23. Οὔτε γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐπεχειροῦμεν πράττειν ἂ μὴ ἠπιστάμεθα, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπετρέπομεν ὧν ἤρχομεν ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἢ ὃ τι πράττοντες ὀρθῶς ἐμελλον πράξειν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἂν οὐ ἐπιστήμην εἶχον, *for (if that were so) we should not be undertaking (as we are) to do things which we did not understand, nor should we permit any others whom we were ruling to do anything else than what they were likely to do properly; and this would be whatever they had knowledge of.* PLAT. CHARM. 171 E. (Here ἂ μὴ ἠπιστάμεθα = εἴ τινα μὴ ἠπιστάμεθα, *if there were any things which we did not know*,—ὧν ἤρχομεν = εἴ τινων ἤρχομεν,—ὃ τι ἐμελλον = εἴ τι ἐμελλον,—and οὐ ἐπιστήμην εἶχον = εἴ τινος εἶχον. It is implied that none of the cases here supposed ever actually arose. Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἄλλων τινῶν τετάρων, εἰ ἔν τι ἐζητοῦμεν αὐτῶν ἐν ὄψοι, ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο ἐγνωμεν, ἰκανῶς ἂν εἶχεν ἡμῖν, εἰ δὲ τὰ τρία πρότερον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, αὐτῷ ἂν τούτῳ ἐγνώριστο τὸ ζητούμενον. PLAT. Rep. 428 A. (Here the antithesis of ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο ἐγνωμεν, *in (whatever) case we had recognised this first*, and εἰ τὰ τρία πρότερον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, *if we had recognised the three sooner*, makes the force of the relative especially clear.) Ἐβουράνισον ἂν μέχρι οὐ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, *they would have questioned them (under torture) so long as they pleased.* DEM. liii. 25. Εἰ δὲ οἴκοι εἶχον ἕκαστοι τὰς δίκας, τούτους ἂν ἀπόλλισαν οἵτινες φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ, *if each had their trials at home, they would ruin any who were especially friendly, etc.* XEN. Rep. Ath. i. 16. (Here οἵτινες ἦσαν. = εἴ τινες ἦσαν, forms a second protasis to the apodosis ἀπόλλισαν ἂν. See 511.) Καὶ ὅπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὸς, ὁμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, *and if he ever appeared to have done this, his form of accusation would agree with his acts.* DEM. xviii. 14.

Εἰ ξένος ἐτίγχανον ὧν, ξινεγιγνώσκετε δήπου ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔλεγον ἐν οἷσπερ ἔτεθράμην, *if I happened to be a foreigner, you would surely pardon me, if I were (now) addressing you in both the language and the manner in which I had been brought up.* PLAT. AP. 17 D. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον μάκαρός νύ τευ ἐμμεναὶ νῖος ἀνέρος, ὃν κτεάτεσσιν εἰς ἐπὶ γῆρας ἔτετμεν, *O that I were the son of some fortunate man, whom old age had found upon his own estate (i.e. if old age had found any such man, would that I had been his son).* OIL. i. 217. So IL. vi. 348 and 351.

So when the relative sentence depends on a past indicative in a final clause (333): as in DEM. xxiii. 48, ταῦτά γε δήπου προσήκε

γράφαι, ἵνα ὅτῳ ποτὲ τοῦργον ἐπράχθη, τοίτῳ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἰπῆρχε δίκαια, *he ought to have written it in this way, in order that any one by whom the deed had been done might have his rights according to the laws.* (This implies that the law was not so written, so that the case supposed in ὅτῳ ἐπράχθη never arose.) So DEM. liii. 24, ἵν' ἀκούσαντες ἐκ τοίτων ἐψηφίσασθε ὁποῖόν τι ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, *that you might have voted whatever seemed good to you.*

All examples of this form fall equally well under the general rule for assimilation (559).

(b) FUTURE CONDITIONS.

529. (*Subjunctive.*) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the more vivid form (like a protasis of the form 444), and the verb of the antecedent clause also refers to the future, the relative is joined with ἄν (or κέ) and takes the subjunctive. *E.g.*

Τῶν ἦν κ' ἐθέλωμι φίλην ποιήσομαι ἀκοιτιν (like εἴ κέ τινα ἐθέλωμι), *whomever of these I may wish I shall make my wife.* II. ix. 397. Ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέστω τίσιν ἔσεται Ἀτρεΐδου, ὅππότε ἂν ἠβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἰμείρεται αὐῆς, i.e. *whomever will come from Orestes, when he shall grow up, etc. (like εἴν ποτε ἠβήσῃ).* Od. i. 40. Τότε δ' αὖτε μαχήσεται, ὅππότε κέν μιν θημὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἀνώγῃ καὶ θεὸς ὄρσῃ. II. ix. 702. Ἄλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼν εἶπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες, *let us obey as I may direct, i.e. if I give any direction (εἴν πως εἶπω), let us obey it.* II. ii. 139. Ἡμεῖς αὖτ' ἀλόχοις τε φίλας καὶ νῆπια τέκνα ἄξομεν ἐν νῆεσσι, ἐπὶν πολλέθρον ἔλωμεν, *when we shall have taken the city.* II. iv. 238. So εἴτ' ἂν πίπτωσιν, II. i. 242. Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι, *therefore, when I shall have no more strength, I will cease.* SOPH. ANT. 91. Ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴν περὶ τοῦ γένους εἶπω, τότε ἐρῶ, *I will speak of this, when I shall have spoken about my birth.* DEM. IVII. 16. (See 90.) Ἐπειδὴν διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἤξω. XEN. AN. II. 3, 29. Τίνα οἴσθε αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξειν, ὅταν ἐμὲ ἰδῇ τῶν πατρῶν ἀπερτηρημένον; *what feelings do you think she will have, when (or if at any time) she shall see me, etc.?* DEM. XXVIII. 21. Τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναίων φημι δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίων, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, *from whatever age it shall seem good to you to take them (i.e. if from any particular age, etc.)* Id. iv. 21. Τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους (ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ), ἵνα ἃ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ ταῦτα πράττηται, *in order that whatever shall seem good to them shall be done.* Ib. 39. Οἷ μοι φόβον μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπαρεῖν, ἕως ἂν αἰθῆ πῦρ ἐφ' ἑρτίας ἐμῆς Ἀργισθοῦ, *so long as Argisthus shall kindle fire upon my hearth.* AESCH. AG. 1434.

530. The future indicative is very rarely used in conditional relative clauses, as it is in common protasis (447), in the place of the subjunctive; as it would generally be ambiguous, appearing as if the ante-





μετ. σφ. αἰ. ἑστ. ἰσχυρὸν, κ. λουγ' α. ἰσχυρὰ (ἀντιβ. § 614)
 θ. π. ο. λ. δ. ο. δ. δ. ο. κ. εἰ (ὁ) γ. κ. α. ρ. ἰ. ο. γ. ρ. (ἰ. ἄ. ἰ. ο. λ. ο. ρ. εἰ. α. ρ. δ. ο. γ.)
 π. ρ. ἡ. γ. ε. ν. ἴ. ο. ρ. μ. η. δ. εἰ. ν. κ. α. ρ. α. ο. μ. οἰ. ε. ν.

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α. δ. ο. γ. ρ. ε. ἰ. ο. ρ. μ. η. δ. εἰ. ν. κ. α. ρ. α. ο. μ. οἰ. ε. ν.

cedent were definite. Some cases of ὅσος with the future, as ὅσοι βουλήσονται, THUC. i. 22, are perhaps exceptions. (See 527.)

531. (Optative.) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the less vivid form (like a protasis of the form 455), and the antecedent clause contains an optative referring to the future, the relative takes the optative (without ἄν).

The optative in the antecedent clause may be in an apodosis with ἄν, in a protasis, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Μάλα κεν θρασκευάρδιος εἶη, ὃς τότε γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν πόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο (i.e. εἰ τις γηθήσειε, μάλα κεν θρασκευάρδιος εἶη), any one who should then rejoice would be very stout-hearted. Π. xiii. 343. Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάροπος εἶναι θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ . . . ᾧ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἶη, I should wish to be a scuf attached to the soil, serving another man who had not much to live on. Od. xi. 489. Ζητὸς οὐκ ἂν ἄιστον ἰκοίμην, ὅτις μὴ αὐτὸς γε κελενοί, unless he should himself bid me. Π. xiv. 247. So Π. vi. 329 and 521; and ὅστις καλέσειε, AR. Nub. 1250. Οὐκ ἂν ὄν θρέψαις ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἐθέλοι τε καὶ δύναιτο σοῦ ἀπερίκειν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν σε; would you not support any man who should be both willing and able, etc. ? XEN. Mem. ii. 9, 2. Πεινῶν φάγοι ἂν ὅποτε βούλοιο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἰ ποτε βούλοιο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς οὖν ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τοῦτον τοῦ πράγματος οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπειρος εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἄρ' ἂν ἡγοῖο ταῦτα σὰ εἶναι, ἃ σοι ἐξείη καὶ ἀποδοῦσθαι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ θῆσαι ὅσῳ βούλοιο θεῶν; Id. Euthyd. 302 A. Τί ἂν παθεῖν (δύναιτο), ὃ μὴ καὶ ἑφ' αὐτοῦ πάθοι; what could he suffer, unless he should suffer it also from himself? (i.e. εἰ μὴ πάθοι). Id. Lys. 214 E. Ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀγαπήη, οὐδ' ἂν φιλοῖ (i.e. εἰ τι μὴ ἀγαπήη, οὐδ' ἂν φιλοῖ τοῦτο). Ib. 215 B. Ἰδίαν ἕκαστος ἂν κατασκευὴν κατασκευάζοιτο, ἥτις ἕκαστον ἀρέσκοι. Id. Rep. 557 B. Ὅσῳ δὲ πρεσβύτερος γίγνοιτο, μᾶλλον αἰεὶ ἀσπάροιο ἂν (χρήματα), the older he should grow, the more he would always cling to it (i.e. εἰ τι πρεσβύτερος γίγνοιτο, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἀσπάροιο ἂν). Ib. 549 B. So 412 D. Φήσομεν μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἂν μείζον μηδὲ ἕλαττον γενέσθαι, ἕως ἴσον εἶη αὐτὸ εἰνῶ, so long as it should remain equal to itself. Id. Theaet. 155 A.

Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο τῶν φίλων τινὰ προτρέψασθαι ὅποτε ἀποδημοίης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σῶν, τί ἂν ποιήης; XEN. Mem. ii. 3, 12. Εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικώτερος εἶη, ὅστις μὴ ὅποτε ἐν ἀπόροις εἶη τότε κολακεῖοι, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα πράττοι τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνῶτο. Id. Cyr. i. 6, 3. Ὡς ἀπόλοιο καὶ ἄλλος, ὃ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι, O that any other man might likewise perish who should do the like (i.e. εἰ τις τοιαῦτα ῥέζοι). Od. i. 47. Εἰ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο

δυσιγχείος ὧδε δυναίμην νόσφιν ἀποκρίψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἰκάνοι. II. xviii. 464. Δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοίεν, *may he have gifts of the Gods, whatever they may give.* Od. xviii. 142. Ἐγίγνωσκε δεῖν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τοῦτο ἀρκεῖν, ὡς πάντα νομίζοιεν πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πρῆττειν ὅσα ὁ ἄρχων προστάττοι. XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 31.

For *κέ* or *ἄν* in these relative sentences in Homer, see 542. All these examples fall also under the general rule for assimilation (558).

II. GENERAL CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

532. A conditional relative sentence may express a *general* supposition, when the verb of the antecedent clause denotes a customary or repeated action or a general truth, while the relative clause refers in a general way to *any* act or acts of a given class. Here the subjunctive with *ὅς ἄν*, *ὅταν*, etc., follows primary tenses, and the optative (without *ἄν*) follows secondary tenses. (See 462.) *E.g.*

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἴδιδαι πύλῃσιν, ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κείθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη, *for that man (i.e. any man) is hated by me like the very gates of Hades, who conceals one thing in his mind and speaks another.* II. ix. 312. Νεμεσώμαι γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίειν ὃς κε θνήσκει βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ἐνίσπη, *I am never at all indignant at weeping for any mortal who may die, etc.* Od. iv. 195. Οἶνος, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους βλάπτει, ὃς ἄν μιν χάνδον ἔλγῃ μηδ' αἴσιμα πίνῃ. Od. xxi. 293. Καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν τοῖσι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἄν ὀρώσι παρεσκευασμένους, *for all men are (always) willing to be allies to those whom they see prepared.* DEM. iv. 6. Καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἄν πολεμῶσι, τὸν παρόντα (πόλεμον) αἰετὸν μέγιστον κρινόντων, *although men always consider the present war the greatest, so long as they are engaged in it.* THUC. i. 21. Πορεύονται τε γὰρ αἱ ἀγέλαι ἢ ἄν αὐτὰς εὐθύνοσιν οἱ νομῆες, νέμονται τε χωρία ἐφ' ὅποια ἄν αὐτὰς ἐφίωσιν, ἀπέχονται τε ὧν ἄν αὐτὰς ἀπειργωσι· καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ἔωσι τοῖς νομῆες χρῆσθαι οὕτως ὅπως ἄν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται· ἀνθρώποι δὲ ἐπ' οὐδένας μᾶλλον σιγίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖσι τοῖς οὓς ἄν αἰσθωνται ἄρχειν αὐτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας. XEN. Cyr. i. 1, 2. Νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὃς ἄν ὀρῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη, *i.e. such as one ought always to be, who, etc.* Id. Hell. ii. 3, 51. Καταφρόνησις δὲ (ἐγγίγνεται), ὃς ἄν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν δπάρχει. THUC. ii. 62. (Here the *ὃ* refers to all that precedes, as a definite antecedent.)

Ὁὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος, ὄφρα κ' ἔρῃσιν, ἢ ὃ τι ποσσίν τε ῥέξῃ καὶ χερσίν. Od. viii. 147. ("Ὁφρα κ' ἔρῃσιν, *so long as he lives.*") (θεοῖς) παρατρῶπῶσ' ἀνθρώποι λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῆῃ καὶ ἀμάρτη. II. ix. 500. Ἦμισυ γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται εὐρύσσοι Ζεὺς ἀνέρος, εὐτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δοῦλιον ἡμῶν ἔλγῃσιν. Od. xvii. 322. Φιλῆει δὲ κως προσημίμειν, εὐτ' ἄν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ

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ἴθνεϊ εἶσεσθαι. HDT. vi. 27. Φεύγουσι γάρ τοι χοῖ θρασεῖς, ὅταν πέλαι ἦδῃ τὸν Ἄϊδῃν εἰσορῶσι τοῦ βίου. SOPH. ANT. 580. Ἦνίκ' ἂν δ' οἴκοι γένωνται, δρώσιν οὐκ ἀνασχετά. AR. PAC. 1179. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορά ἦ, λάρνακας ἄγουσιν ἄμαξαι. THUC. ii. 34. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψουσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ ἡρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπαινον τὸν πρόποντα. *Ibid.* Ἔως ἂν σφίξῃται τὸ σκάφος, τότε χρὴ προθύμους εἶναι. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχηγ, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. DEM. ix. 69. So ἔστ' ἂν δείσωσιν, XEN. Mem. iii. 5, 6.

Ὅν δ' αὖ δῆμον ἄνδρα ἴδοι βόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι, τὸν σκῆπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν, *whatever man of the people he saw and found bawling, he drove him with his sceptre.* II. ii. 198; see ii. 188. Οὐ τινα γὰρ τίεσκον ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλὸν, ὃ τίς σφεας εἰσαφίκοιτο, i.e. *they were never in the habit of honouring any one who came to them.* Od. xxii. 414. Ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν, . . . θεῶν. II. xx. 226; so 228. See Od. xx. 138. Καὶ οὓς μὲν ἴδοι εὐτάκτους καὶ σιωπῆ ἰόντας, προσελαύνων αὐτοῖς τίνες τε εἰεν ἡρώτα, καὶ ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο ἐπῆνει. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 55. (Here ἡρώτα and ἐπῆνει denote the habit of Cyrus.) Καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκείνοι ξυμφέρουεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ, ὅποτε ἀποσταίεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο, *and the Athenian navy continued to increase from the money which these contributed (pres), and they, whenever they revolted (aor.), always found themselves unprepared and inexperienced for war.* THUC. i. 99.

Ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλείος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπ' ὀκτῶ πῆχεις, ἄρδεσκε Δῆγγπτον τὴν ἐνερθε Μέρφιως, i.e. *whenever the river rose.* HDT. ii. 13. Τὸν δὲ χοῖν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τύγγιν ἐξεφέρουεν, i.e. *they carried it away every night.* Id. ii. 150. Οἱ δὲ (Κῆρες), ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουσι οἱ τὰς νέας. Id. i. 171. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθεῖν, εἰσηγεμὴν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, i.e. *each morning, when the prison was opened, etc.* PLAT. Phaed. 59 D. Ὅτε ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον, *many used to leave him when they were out of danger.* XEN. An. ii. 6, 12. (If ἐγένοντο had been used, the whole sentence would refer to a particular case.)

533. The gnomic aorist and the other gnomic and iterative tenses (154-164) can be used in the antecedent clause of these general propositions. The gnomic aorist, as usual, is a primary tense, and is followed by the subjunctive (171). *E.g.*

Ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπεῖθῃται, μάλα τ' ἔκλιον αὐτοῦ, *whosoever obeys the Gods, to him they are ready to listen* (ἔκλιον is aoristic). II. i. 218. Ὅταν τις ὡσπερ οἶτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις ἅπαντα ἀνεχάιτισε καὶ διέλιπεν. DEM. ii. 9. Ὅποτε προσβλέψει τις τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, εἶπεν ἂν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, κ.τ.λ., i.e. *he used to say, etc.* XEN. Cyr. vii. 1, 10. Οἷτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὃ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοῖσιν πεπεισμένος ὦ, *I have never on other occasions preferred to say anything to please which I have not been convinced would also be for your advantage.* DEM. iv. 51. (Here εἰλόμην has a sense

approaching that of the gnomic aorist, and is followed by a subjunctive. See 156.)

Homeric examples of relatives with *κέ* or *άν* and the subjunctive in general conditions are here included with the others, because this construction is fixed in the Homeric usage. In the greater number of general relative conditions which have the subjunctive, however, Homer uses the relative without *κέ* or *άν*, as he prefers the simple *εί* in the corresponding conditional sentences (468). See examples in 538.

534. (*Indicative.*) The indicative is sometimes used instead of the subjunctive and optative in relative sentences of this class. (See 467.) Here one of the cases in which the event may occur is referred to as if it were the only one. This use of the indicative occurs especially after the indefinite relative *όστις*; as the idea of indefiniteness, which is usually expressed by the subjunctive or optative, is here sufficiently expressed by the relative itself. *E.g.*

Ἐχθρός γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν
Γίγνεται, ὃς πενίη εἶκον ἀπατήλια βάζει. *Od.* xiv. 156.

(Compare this with *Il.* ix. 312, the first example under 532.)

Ἐμοὶ γάρ ὅστις πάσαν εἰθύνων πόλιν
Μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπτεταὶ βονλειμάτων,
Ἄλλ' ἐκ φόβου του γλῶσσαν ἐγκλείσας ἔχει,
Κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ·
Καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αἰτοῦ πάτρας
Φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω. *SOPH. Ant.* 178.

(Here we might have had *ὃς άν . . . μὴ ἀπτηται, ἀλλ' . . . ἔχη*, and *ὃς άν νομίζει*, without any essential difference in meaning.)

Οἷτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἤκωτα λυποῦνται, ἔργω δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οἷτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοὶ εἰσιν. *THUC.* ii. 64. So in the same chapter, *ὅστις λαμβάνει*. Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βιουλιέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὔτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο, *whom he came to him, he always sent away, etc.* *XEN. An.* i. 1, 5. Ὅσον δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνν εἶη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους ἵππους ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον. *Ib.* i. 9, 27. (In the last two examples there is some *Ms.* authority for the more regular *ἀφικνεῖτο* and *δύνατο*.)

535. This use of the indicative (534) is rare in temporal sentences. See, however, the following:—

Περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀδικούντων, ὅτε δικάζονται, δεῖ παρὰ τῶν κατηγορῶν πινέσθαι. *LYS.* xvii. 22. Ἐἶχον μαχαίριον, ᾧ ἑσφαττον ὄν κριτεῖν δύναιτο, καὶ ἀποτέμοντες άν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. *XEN. An.* iv. 7, 16. So *ὅποτε ἀφίστατο*, ii. 6, 27.

All these examples fall under the first class of conditional relative sentences (525).

536. The Greek generally uses the indicative in relative clauses

let. part : p...
... $\frac{1}{2} = 0.5$...

τα ται καδά, τῶσι τ' αἰσχρὰ μὴ μέμικται Σιν.



οὐχ ὀρῶ λόγον ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἑμῶν ἂ' ἀροσῆκε. Συν.
τῆς πόλις σῶσαι Δ. 8. 77.

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depending on general negative sentences, where in Latin a subjunctive is more common. A general negation is really particular. *E.g.*

Παρ' ἐμοί δὲ οὐδείς μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἰκανός ἐστιν ἴσα ποιεῖν ἐμοί, i.e. *no one who is not able (no one unless he is able), nemo qui non possit.* XEN. Hell. vi. 1, 5. Οὐδείς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ἀργίζετο ὅστις μὴ ψέτο ἀπολείσθαι, *for no one was angry with any one who did not think that he was about to perish (i.e. εἰ μὴ ψέτο).* Ib. vii. 4, 37. Οὐδαμοῦ πάποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθη ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθείς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππον πρέσβων, *nowhere, whither I was sent as ambassador, did I ever come off worsted by Philip's ambassadors.* DEM. xviii. 244. Here the leading sentence is particular, *on no single occasion was I worsted*, so that ἐπέμφθη is regular; if the nearly equivalent universal affirmative *on every occasion I proved superior* had been intended, we should have had πεμφθείην. See xviii. 45, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην; and the following in 244, ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. Notice the imperfects in the two affirmative examples, and the aorist in the preceding negative example.

537. 1. The indicative is generally used in Greek (as in Latin) in parenthetical relative clauses, like ὃ τι ποτ' ἐστίν, *whatever it is (quidquid est)*, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν (or ἔσται), etc. *E.g.*

Ζεὺς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ, τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω, *Zeus, whoever he may be, etc.* AESCH. Ag. 160. Δουλείομεν θεοῖς, ὃ τι ποτ' εἰσὶν θεοί. EUR. Or. 418. Ἡμῶν γε κρέσσον . . . δουληίην ἱπομείναι ἢ τις ἔσται, *but it is better for us to submit to slavery, whatever it may be.* HDT. vi. 12. So ὃ τι δὴ κοτὲ ἔσται, vii. 16.

2. But ὅστις in such expressions can have the construction of an ordinary conditional relative, so that in future and general conditions it may take the subjunctive. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ὃ προκαψόμενος αὐτῶν, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ, λόγον παρέχει, *but each one who has to do with them, whoever he may be, gives his own account of them.* AESCHIN. i. 127. Ἄλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ, *but this officer ought always to be elected by you, whoever he may be.* DEM. iv. 27. See THEOG. 964.

Homeric and other Poetic Peculiarities in Conditional Relative Sentences.

SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT ΚΕ OR ἂν.

538. In general conditions which take the subjunctive, Homer commonly uses the relatives without κέ or ἂν. This corresponds to his preference for the simple εἰ in general conditions (468); but relative clauses of this class are much more frequent with him than the clauses with εἰ. *E.g.*

"Ὅτι μάλ' οἷ δηναῖος ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχηται. II. v. 407. Ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ, καὶ τίννται ὃς τις ἀμάρτη. Od. xiii. 214. Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν, ἐσθλοῖς ἤδὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν, ἐκάστω. Od. vi. 188. Οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅπποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον. II. i. 163. So also II. i. 554, iii. 109, xiv. 81; Od. viii. 546, xviii. 134. Here the meaning is essentially the same as when *κέ* or *ἄν* is added, as in the examples under 532. The greater development of the general relative condition in Homer, especially in the use of the optative, compared with the less developed general condition with *εἰ*, has already been noticed (17; 400; 468).

539. The relative (like *εἰ*) is sometimes found in Homer without *κέ* or *ἄν* in future conditions. *E.g.*

Γήμισθ' ὅς τις ἄριστος ἀνὴρ καὶ πλείστα πόρῃσιν, (*tell her*) to marry whoever may be the best man and may offer the most. Od. xx. 335. But in vs. 342, referring to the same thing, we have γήμισθ' ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃ, to marry whom she may please. Πείθεο δ' ὡς . . . ἐν φρεσὶ θεῶν. II. xvi. 83; so Od. vi. 189. Οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσασθαι ὀπίσω, ὅφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχῃσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη, *he says he shall never suffer evil hereafter, so long as the Gods shall supply valour, etc.* Od. xviii. 132. So II. xiii. 234.

540. Ἄν is sometimes omitted in general relative conditions with the subjunctive in lyric, elegiac, and dramatic poetry, as in Homer. A few examples occur in Herodotus; and even in Attic prose exceptional cases are occasionally found in the manuscripts. (See 469-471.) *E.g.*

Μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεὶ, ᾧτινι σὸν γέρας ἔσπητ' ἀγλαόν, *great always is his glory, whom thy illustrious honours (Olympia) follows.* ΠΙΝΔ. OL. viii. 10. So OL. iii. 11, Nem. ix. 44. Πάντας ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω ἐκὼν ὅστις ἔρδῃ μηδὲν αἰσχρόν. ΣΙΜΟΝ. v. 20 (but ὃς ἄν μὴ κακὸς ᾧ in the same ode). See ΤΥΡΤ. xii. 34; ΣΟΛ. xiii. 9 and 55, xxvii. 3; ΣΙΜΟΝ. lviii. 5, lxxxv. 7 (ὄφρα . . . ἔχῃ, but ὅταν ᾧ in vs. 10).

Γέροντα δ' ὀρθοῦν φλαῦρον, ὃς νέος πείσῃ. ΣΟΦΗ. O. C. 395. Τῶν δὲ πημονῶν μάλιστ' λιποῦσ' αἰ φανῶσ' ἀνθυίρετοι. Id. O. T. 1231. So AESCH. Sept. 257, Eum. 211, 661, and probably 618 (ὃ μὴ κελείσῃ, for Mss. κελείρει, after εἶπον denoting a habit). Τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄσπεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, . . . κῶς οὐκ ἄν εἶσαν οἶτος ἄμαχοι; HDT. iv. 46. So i. 216, ii. 85, iv. 66. Ἐπιχώριον ὄν ἡμῖν οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι, *it being our national habit not to use many words where few suffice.* THUC. iv. 17. (Here οὐ μὲν . . . πολλοῖς make five feet of an iambic trimeter, and the words are probably quoted from some poet. See Classen's note. The sentence continues, πλείοσι δὲ ἐν ᾧ ἄν καιρὸς ᾧ, κ.τ.λ.) See also PLAT. Leg. 787 B, οἷς ᾧ and ὅσοις μετᾷ.

541. In the lyric and elegiac poets, as in Homer, the form with *ἄν* or *κέ* was in good use in these sentences. See PIND. Py. i. 100 (ὃς ἄν



ὅτι ἀπόχαρας συμφορὰ καθέτης. Morris says: The phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν τις) is used when the speaker wishes to avoid reference to particular cases, especially to any future occasion or state of affairs. Hence the governing verb is generally a present or perf. indic.





ἐγκύρσῃ), v. 65 (ὄς ἂν ἐθέλῃ); MIMN. ii, 9, iii. 1 (ἐπὶν παραμείψεται); SOL. xiii. 75; THEOGN. 405, 406 (ἃ μὲν ἦ κακά, . . . ἃ δ' ἂν ἦ χρήσιμα). (For ordinary protasis see 469 and 470.) In the dramatists the relative with ἂν is completely established with the subjunctive as the regular form (like εἰάν, etc.) in both general and particular conditions. (See 471.)

RELATIVE WITH ΚΕ OR ἂν AND THE OPTATIVE IN CONDITIONS.

542. In Homer the conditional relative (like εἰ) sometimes takes κέ or ἂν with the optative, the particle apparently not affecting the sense. *E.g.*

Ἡ δὲ κ' ἔπειτα γήμαιθ' ὅς κεν πλείωτα πόροι καὶ μόνιμος ἔλθοι, and she then would marry whoever might give the most gifts, etc. Od. xxi. 161. Ὡς κε . . . δοίῃ ᾧ κ' ἐθέλοις, that he might give her to whomsoever he pleased. Od. ii. 54. In these two cases ὅς πόροι and ᾧ ἐθέλοι would be the common expressions. In Od. iv. 600, however, δῶρον δ' ὅττι κέ μοι δοίης, κειμήλιον ἔστω, whatever gift you might choose to give me, etc., may be potential. Νῦν γάρ χ' Ἔκτορ' ἔλοις, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχέδον ἔλθοι. Il. ix. 304. Ὅς τὸ καταβρόζειν ἐπὶν κρητῆρι μιγείῃ, οὐ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν, whoever should drink this when it was mingled in the bowl, would let no tear fall down his cheeks on that day. Od. iv. 222. So ἐπὶν . . . εἶην, Il. xxiv. 227.

One case occurs of ὅτε κε with the optative in a general relative sentence of past time: ἐπειθόμεθα . . . ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι, Il. ix. 525.

HOMERIC SIMILES WITH Ὡς ETC.

543. In Homer similes and comparisons may be expressed by the subjunctive with ὡς ὅτε (rarely ὡς ὅποτε), as when, sometimes by ὡς or ὡς τε, as. Except in a few cases of ὡς ὅτ' ἂν, neither ἂν nor κέ is found in these expressions.

544. With ὡς ὅτε or ὡς ὅποτε the subjunctive clearly expresses a general condition, and the meaning is as happens when, etc. *E.g.*

Ὡς δ' ὅτε κινήσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺν λήιον ἔλθων,
λίβρος ἐπαιγίζων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμίει ἀσταχίεσσιν,
ὡς τῶν πᾶσ' ἀγορῇ κινήθη,

and as (happens) when the west wind comes and moves a deep grain field, and it bows with its ears, so was their whole assembly moved. Il. ii. 147.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπωρινὸς Βορέης φορέησιν ἀκάνθας
ἄμ πεδίον, πικιναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,
ὡς τῆν ἄμ πέλαγος ἀνεμοὶ φέρον ἐῖθα καὶ ἐνθα. Od. v. 328.

See Il. v. 597, vi. 506, viii. 338; Od. ix. 391, xix. 518; for ὡς ὅποτε, Od. iv. 335, xvii. 126.

‘Ὡς δ’ ὄτ’ ἂν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠνικόμοιο, ὡς πικίν’ ἐν στήθεσσι ἀνεστενάχῃ’ Ἀγαμέμνων. *Il.* x. 5. So *Il.* xi. 269, xv. 170; *Od.* v. 394, xxii. 468.

545. With ὡς or ὡς τε the conditional force of the subjunctive is not so obvious, especially as it depends directly on the verb of the antecedent clause, which is always particular and generally past. Here we should expect the present indicative, which sometimes occurs (548). We may suppose that the analogy of the far more frequent clauses with ὡς ὅτε (544)¹ caused the same construction to be used also in these, in which the meaning is clearly the same. *E.g.*

‘Ὡς δὲ γυνὴ κλαίῃσι φίλον πόσιν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα,
ὅς τε εἰς πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσῃσιν,
ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔλεεινὸν ὑπ’ ὄφρῖσι δάκρυον εἶβεν,

i.e. Ulysses weeps as a wife weeps, etc. Od. viii. 523.

‘Ὡς δὲ λέων ἐν βοῦσι θορῶν ἐξ αἰχένα ἄξῃ πόρτιος ἠὲ βοῶς, . . . ὡς τοὺς ἀμφοτέροις ἐξ ἵππων Τυδέος υἱὸς βῆσε, and as a lion leaps among the cattle and breaks the neck of a heifer or an ox, so did the son of Tydeus dismount them both from their chariot. *Il.* v. 161. So *Il.* ix. 323, x. 183, 485; *Od.* v. 368.

546. In all the cases of ὡς τε the pronominal article οἱ or τοῖς precedes, referring to the subject or object of the antecedent clause. *E.g.*

Οἱ δ’ ὡς τ’ ἀμιγῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν, ὡς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες δῆον, and they,—as reapers against each other drive their swathes,—so did Trojans and Achaeans leap upon each other and destroy. *Il.* xi. 67. So *Il.* xii. 167, xv. 323; *Od.* xxii. 302.

547. When a simile has been introduced by the subjunctive with ὡς or ὡς ὅτε, it may be continued by verbs in the present indicative, which seem to be independent of the original construction. Even the aorist indicative may be used to add vividness to the description. *E.g.*

‘Ὡς δ’ ὅτε τίς τ’ ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοῖνικι μίγη
Μηῶν ἠὲ Κείραι, παρήιον ἐμμεναι ἵππῳ·
κεῖται δ’ ἐν θαλάμῳ, πολέες τέ μιν ἠρήσαντο
ἵππῆς φορέειν· βασιλῆι δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα·
τοιοῖ τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αἵματι μηροῦ. *Il.* iv. 141.

‘Ὡς δ’ ὄτ’ ἀφ’ ἰψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μέγαλοιο
κινήσῃ πικνὴν νεφέλην στεροπηγερέτα Ζεὺς·
ἐκ τ’ ἔφανε πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
καὶ νάπαι, οὐρανόθεν δ’ ὑπερράγῃ ἀσπετος αἰθήρ·
ὡς Δαηιοὶ ἰγῶν μὲν ἀπωσάμενοι δῆμον πῦρ
τυτθὸν ἀνέπνευσαν πολέμοι δ’ οὐ γίγνεται ἔρωψ. *Il.* xvi. 296.

¹ Delbrück, *Conj. u. Opt.* pp. 161, 162, cites 63 cases of this construction (49 in the *Iliad*, 14 in the *Odyssey*), of which 35 have ὡς ὅτε, 10 ὡς ὄτ’ ἂν, 3 ὡς ὅποτε, 8 ὡς, and 7 ὡς τε.





᾽Ως δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκηται
 ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο, θεῶν δέ ἐ μῆνις ἀνήκεν,
 πᾶσι δ' ἔθηκε πόνον, πολλοῖσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήκεν,
 ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κήδε' ἔθηκεν. Π. cxi. 522.

548. Sometimes the first clause of the simile has the present or aorist indicative. *E.g.*

᾽Ως δ' ἀναμαιμάει βαθὲ' ἄγκρα θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ, ὡς ὃ γε πάντη
 θῦνε. Π. xx. 490. ᾽Ως δ' ὅποτε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισιν,
 πολλὰς δὲ ὄρυς ἐσφέρειται, ὡς ἔφειπεν. Π. xi. 492. Ἦριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε
 τις ὄρυς ἤριπεν, and he fell as when an oak falls (once fell). Π. xiii. 389.
 ᾽Ως δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη. Π. iii. 33: so
 ὡς τε λέων ἐχάρη, iii. 23.

549. Another form of Homeric simile consists of ὡς with a noun, followed by a relative with the subjunctive, which may be followed by an indicative as in 547. *E.g.*

᾽Ο δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέτεν, αἰγείρος ὡς,
 ἢ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκη
 λείη, ἀτὰρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν·
 τὴν μὲν θ' ἄρματοπηγὸς ἀνὴρ αἰθωνι σιδήρω
 ἐξέταμ', ὄφρα ἴτιν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίφρω·
 ἢ μὲν τ' ἀζομένη κείται ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας·
 τοῖον αἶρ' Ἀνθεμίδην Σιμοείσιον ἐξενάριξεν
 Ἄλας διωγενίης. Π. iv. 482.

For ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἴ τε with the optative in Homeric similes, see 485.

᾽Ο τι μὴ and ὅσον μὴ without a Verb. *Κ. Ζ. π 184.*

550. ᾽Ο τι μὴ and ὅσον μὴ, like εἰ μὴ (476), are used in the sense of *except, unless*, with no verb expressed. *E.g.*

᾽Ο τι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθήναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον, for *except Athens (what was not Athens) there was no (Ionic) city of any account.* ΗΡΤ. i. 143. So i. 18, οὐδαμοὶ ὅ τι μὴ Χίοι μοῖνοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρίνη, ὅ τι μὴ μίμ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει, for *there was no spring, except one on the very citadel.* ΤΗΥC. iv. 26: so iv. 94, vii. 42. Οὐτ' ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ἐξήλθες ὅ τι μὴ ἀπαξ εἰς Ἴσθμόν, οἷτε ἄλλοτε οὐδαμόσε εἰ μὴ ποι στρατεινόμενος. ΠΛΑΤ. Crit. 52 B. So Phaed. 67 A, Rep. 405 C.

Ἴσθι γὰρ δοκῶν ἐμοὶ καὶ ξυμφυτεῖσαι τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι θ', ὅσον μὴ χερσὶ καίνων, i.e. *and to have done the deed too, except so far as you did not slay with your own hands.* ΣΟΡΗ. O. T. 346.

551. Homer once has ὅ τι μὴ or ὅτε μὴ in the same sense: οὐ τέ τω σπένδεσκε θεῶν ὅ τι μὴ Διὶ πατρί, i.e. *except to Zeus (ὅ τι μὴ = εἰ μὴ)*, Π. xvi. 227. Here Lange (p. 161) reads ὅτε μὴ.

Special Forms of Antecedent Clause.

552. A conditional relative clause (like a protasis with *εἰ*) may depend on an infinitive or participle (with or without *ἄν*), on a final clause, on a protasis, or on a verbal noun representing the antecedent clause (or apodosis). *E.g.*

See DEM. xxi. 64 (quoted in 525); PLAT. Ap. 17 D, DEM. xxiii. 48 (quoted in 528); AESCH. Ag. 1434, DEM. iv. 21 and 39, xxviii. 21 (quoted in 529); PLAT. Euthyd. 302 A, Theaet. 155 A, XEN. Mem. ii. 3, 12, Cyr. i. 6, 3, ii. 1, 31 (quoted in 531). Ὅρω σοι τοῦτων δεήσον ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσης φιλίαν πρὸς τινὰ ποιῆσθαι. XEN. Mem. ii. 6, 29.

Καὶ ἐμὲ δεῖ ἀπηλλάχθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πρωταγόρου λόγου τέλος σχοίη, i.e. *I ought to be released according to what we agreed to do when the discussion of the doctrine of Protagoras should come to an end.* PLAT. Theaet. 183 C.

553. After past verbs of *waiting* or *expecting* in Homer ὅποτε with the optative sometimes has the meaning of *until*, like *ἕως*. *E.g.*

Οἱ δ' ἔατ' . . . ποτιόεμενοι ὀππότε ἄρ' ἔλθοι Ἰδαίος, *and they sat waiting until (for the time when) Idaeus should come.* Il. vii. 414. So iv. 334, ix. 191, xviii. 524. (See 698.)

Mixed Conditional Constructions.

554. The relative with the optative sometimes depends on a present or future tense. This occurs chiefly in Homer, and arises from the slight distinction between the subjunctive and optative in such sentences. *E.g.*

Λίπυ οἱ ἰσσεῖται νῆϊς ἐνιπρήσαι, ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλοι αἰθόμενον δαλὸν νῆεσσι, *it will be a hard task for him to fire the ships, unless the son of Kronos should himself hurl a flaming brand upon the ships.* Il. xiii. 317. (Regularly ὅτε κε μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ, *unless he shall hurl*.) So Od. xix. 510. Καὶ δ' ἄλλῃ νεμεσῶ ἢ τις τοιαῦτα γε ρέξοι, *and I am angry with any other woman who says (should say) the like.* Od. vi. 286. (This resembles the loosely jointed examples in 500.)

Τοιοῦτω δέ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε, εἰδόμεναι μαλακῶς, *and you seem like such a man as would sleep comfortably (like one likely to sleep comfortably) after he had washed and eaten.* Od. xxiv. 254. (This resembles the examples in 555.)

The optative regularly follows an optative in a wish (177).

555. In Attic Greek an optative in the relative clause sometimes depends on a verb of *obligation*, *propriety*, *possibility*, etc., with an infinitive, the two forming an expression nearly equivalent





to an optative with *ἄν*, which would be expected in their place. (See 502.) *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἂν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλέειν, *we should obey any one whom the state might appoint (if the state should appoint any one, we ought to obey him)*. SOPH. ANT. 666. (Χρὴ κλέειν is followed by the optative from its nearness to *δικαίως ἂν κλέοι τις*.) Ἄλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἂ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείη φείδασθαι δεῖ, *i.e. we ought to abstain, etc.*; like *φείδοιτο ἂν τις*. XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 19. Οὓς δὲ ποιήσασθαι τις βούλοιτο συνεργοῖς προθύμοις, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατέον εἶναι (θηρατέον εἶναι = θηρᾶν δεῖν). Ib. ii. 4, 10. Ὑπερορᾶν οὐ δυνατόν ἡμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὅς εἰδείη κυρίου ὄντας ὃ τι βούλοισθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι. Id. Hell. vii. 3, 7. So Ib. iii. 4, 18. Σωφρόνων ἐστὶ μὴδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἴη πόλιμον ἀναρρεῖσθαι. Ib. vi. 3, 5. So after *πολὺ ῥῆόν (ἐστὶ)*, Ib. vi. 5, 52. Σωφρόνων ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν, *i.e. it is proper for prudent men, etc.* THUC. i. 120. Ἀποδοτέον οὐδ' ὀπωστωῦν τότε, ὅποτε τις μὴ σωφρόνως ἀπαιτοῖ. PLAT. Rep. 332 A.

556. An indicative or subjunctive in the relative clause may depend on a potential optative (with *ἄν*), sometimes when the potential force is felt in the apodosis, and sometimes when the optative with *ἄν* is treated as a primary tense from its nearness to the future indicative. *E.g.*

Ὀκοῦν καὶ τὸ ἰγυαίνειν καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν, ὅταν ἀγαθοῦ τινοσ αἴτια γίγνηται, ἀγαθὰ ἂν εἴη, *therefore, both health and disease, when they prove to be the causes of any good, would naturally be good things*. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 32; so ii. 2, 3. Ὅταν δὲ τις θεῶν βλάβητι, δύναιτο ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύον φυγεῖν, *when one of the Gods does mischief, not even a strong man could escape*. SOPH. El. 696. Ὡστ' ἀποφύγοις ἂν ἦντιν' ἂν βούλη δίκην, *so that you can (could) get off in any suit you please*. AR. Nub. 1151. Οἷτινες τοῖς μὲν ἴσοις μὴ εἴκουσι, τοῖς δὲ κρείσσοσι καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἡσσοῖς μέτροι εἰσι, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῦντο. THUC. v. 111. Ὅ δὲ μὴδὲν κακὸν ποιεῖ, οὐδ' ἂν τινοσ εἴη κακοῦ αἴτιον; *and what does no harm could not be the cause of any harm at all, could it?* PLAT. Rep. 379 B. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἂν εἰς Ἀθηναίων λείπηται, οὐδέποτε' ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ πόλει, *I would never advise the city to make this peace, so long as a single Athenian shall be left*. DEM. xix. 14. (Here *ἕως λείποιο*, so long as one should be left, would be more regular.) Ὅταν δ' ἀφανίσουσ τις τὰκριβὲς λόγῳ ἐξυπατῶν πειρᾶται, πῶσ ἂν δικαίως πιστεῖοιτο; Id. xxxiii. 36. (See 178.)

557. A conditional relative clause may contain a potential optative or indicative (with *ἄν*), which has its proper meaning. *E.g.*

Ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις εἰ λέγων διαβάλλοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοῖσ κείσασθαι (εἴφη), *he said that they would form their opinion upon any slanders which any good speaker might chance to utter*. THUC. vii. 48. Ὅντιν' ἂν ἡμέισ

εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε, οὗτος τῶν ἰσῶν αἴτιος ἦν ἂν κακῶν ὅσων περ καὶ οὗτος, any one soever whom you might have appointed to this post would have been the cause of as great calamities as this man has been. DEM. xix. 29. (Without ἂν, ὅτινα κατεστήσατε would be equivalent to εἴ τινα ἄλλον κατεστήσατε, if you had appointed any one else (which you did not do). With ἂν, it is a potential indicative.)

See 506, and for the optative with κέ in conditional relative sentences in Homer (probably not potential), see 542.

Assimilation in Conditional Relative Clauses.

558. When a conditional relative clause referring to the future depends on a subjunctive or optative referring to the future, it regularly takes by assimilation the same mood with its leading verb. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Ἐάν τινες οἱ ἂν δύνωνται τοῦτο ποιῶσι, καλῶς ἔξει, if any who shall be able do this, it will be well. Εἴ τινες οἱ δύναιτο τοῦτο ποιοῖεν, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι, if any who should be able should do this, it would be well. Εἴθε πάντες οἱ δύναιτο τοῦτο ποιοῖεν, O that all who may be able would do this. (Here the principle of assimilation makes οἱ δύναιτο after an optative preferable to οἱ ἂν δύνωνται, which would express the same idea.) Τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, may I die when these are no longer my delight. MIMN. i. 2. So in Latin: Si absurde canat is qui se haberi velit musicum, turpior sit.—Sic injurias fortunae quas ferre nequeas defugiendo relinquo.

For examples see 529 and 531.

559. When a conditional relative clause depends on a past tense of the indicative implying the non-fulfilment of a condition, it regularly takes a past tense of the indicative by assimilation. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Εἴ τινες οἱ ἐδύναντο τοῦτο ἐπραξάν, καλῶς ἂν ἔσχεν, if any who had been able had done this, it would have been well. Εἴθε πάντες οἱ ἐδύναντο τοῦτο ἐπραξάν, O that all who had been able had done this. So in Latin: Nam si solos eos diceres miseros quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum qui viverent exciperes.

For examples see 528.

560. It will be seen that this principle of assimilation accounts for the unreal indicative and the optative in conditional relative sentences, which have been already explained by the analogy of the forms of protasis. (See 528 and 531.) In fact, wherever this assimilation occurs, the relative clause stands as a protasis to its antecedent clause.

4.31

1.13

0.11.14

19.24J



... και η' ε' ε' ε' ... μέλλει συνοίσειν δ. 4. 57. ...
m. 52c.
δ' ο' ε' c1 [wh at ever you use about to decide]. δ' ο' ε' pte
by Sandy's.



Occasionally this principle is disregarded, so that a subjunctive depends on an optative (178).

For the influence of assimilation in determining the mood of a dependent sentence, see 176.

561. The indicative in the construction of 525, referring simply to the present or past, cannot be affected by assimilation, as this would change its time. *E.g.*

Ἔμεις δ' ἐλουσθε ὃ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοῖσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει, and may you choose what is likely to benefit the state and all of you. DEM. iii. 36. Compare this with DEM. ix. 76, ὃ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξετε (so Σ originally), τοῦτ', ὃ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι, whatever you may decide, may this be for our good. § 712

In SOPH. Ant. 373, ὃς τὰδ' ἔρδει would belong here; but ὃς τὰδ' ἔρδοι (Laur.), = εἰ τις τὰδ' ἔρδοι, falls under 558.

562. The principle of 558 and 559 applies only to conditional relative clauses. If the relative refers to a definite antecedent, there can be no assimilation, and the indicative or any other construction required by the sense is used. *E.g.*

Εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷσι νῦν πιστεύομεν, τοῖτοισι ἀπιστήσομεν, οἷς δ' οὐ χρώμεθα, τοῖτοισι χρῆσάμεσθ', ὥσως σωθείμεν ἂν. AR. Ran. 1446. Εἴθ' ἦσθα δευατὸς δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ, ὅ that thou couldst do as much as thou art eager to do. EUR. Her. 731. (With ἦσθα for εἶ the meaning would be as much as thou wert (or mightest be) eager to do.)

563. Conditional relative clauses depending on a subjunctive or optative in a general supposition (462; 532) are generally assimilated to the subjunctive or optative; but sometimes they take the indicative (534). *E.g.*

Οἶδ', ἐπειδὴν ὦν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιχρήται. DEM. xviii. 47. See PLAT. Rep. 508 C and D (reading ὦν ὁ ἥλιος καταλάμπει); Charm. 164 B. Ὅ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαιρεν, ὅποτε τάχιστα τυχόντας ὦν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι. XEN. Ag. ix. 2.

Αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ψιλῆ χρῆσάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παρασχῆται πίστιν ὦν λέγει, ἐλεγχος δὲ, ὅταν ὦν ἂν εἶπῃ τις καὶ τάλῃθες ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. DEM. xxii. 22. (Here ὦν λέγει and ὦν ἂν εἶπῃ are nearly equivalent.) Ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐτίμα ὅποτε τινὰς ἴδοι τοιοῦτον ποιήσαντας ὁ πάντας ἐβούλετο ποιεῖν. XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 30. (Here βούλοιο for ἐβούλετο would correspond to δέοιντο in Ag. ix. 2, above.)

Δέ in the Antecedent Clause.

564. The conjunction δέ sometimes introduces the clause on which a relative depends. Its force here is the same as in apodosis (512). *E.g.*

Οἷη περ φέλλον γενεῆ, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Π. vi. 146. Ἐπει

τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὃ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύνάμιν, and when the war broke out, (then) he appears, etc. THUC. ii. 65. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχον τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰοί τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντείχον, so long as their archers both had their arrows and were able to use them, they held out. Id. iii. 98. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν . . . φαίνονται δὲ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι. Id. i. 11. Ὡσπερ οἱ ὀπλίται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί. XEN. Cyr. viii. 5, 12.

FINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES EXPRESSING PURPOSE.

565. (*Future Indicative.*) In Attic Greek a relative with the future indicative often expresses a purpose, like a final clause. Its negative is μή. *E.g.*

Προσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἣτις ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ καὶ παρῆσται τοῖς πράγμασιν, and to send an embassy to say these things, and to be present at the transaction. DEM. i. 2. Φημί δὴ δεῖν ἡμᾶς πρὸς Θετταλοὺς προσβείαν πέμπειν, ἢ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ. Id. ii. 11. Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεῖσουςι, the people voted to choose thirty men, to compile the ancestral laws by which they were to govern. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 2. Εἴσω δὲ πέμψαι (ἐκέλευσε) τινα, οἵτινες αὐτῷ τὰ ἔνδον ἰδόντες ἀπαγγελοῦσιν. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 3. Ναυτικὸν περισκεύαζον ὃ τι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκιδαν, ὃς ἐμελλεν ἐπιπλείεσθαι. THUC. iii. 16. See DEM. xxi. 109. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι χρήματα, ὅποθεν ἐκτίσω, for I have no money to pay the fine with. PLAT. Ap. 37 C.

Ῥιψὼν με γῆς ἐκ τῆσδε, ὅπου θνητῶν φανοῦμαι μηδενὸς προσήγορος. SOPH. O. T. 1437; so 1412. Μέλλουσι γὰρ σ' ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν, ἐνθα μή ποθ' ἡλίω φέγγος προσόψει, ἥσα δ' ὑμνήσεις κακά, they are to send you where you shall never behold the sun's light (to some place, that there you may never behold, etc.). Id. El. 379. So Aj. 659; Tr. 800.

566. The antecedent of the relative in this construction may be either definite or indefinite; but the negative is always μή because of the final force. The future indicative is regularly retained after past tenses, as in object clauses with ὅπως (310); but see 573 and 574.

567. A past purpose may be expressed by the imperfect of μέλλω. See 76; and THUC. iii. 16, quoted in 565.

568. (*Subjunctive and Optative in Homer.*) In Homer these final relative clauses have the subjunctive (generally with κέ) after primary tenses, and the present or aorist optative (without κέ) after secondary tenses. *E.g.*

Καὶ ἄμ' ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὕπαινον, ὃς κέ με κεῖσ' ἀγάγη, and also send a good guide, who shall lead me thither (to lead me thither). Od. xv. 310.

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What is the fundamental principle of the law?



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Αὐτὸς νῦν ὄνομ' εὔρεο, ὃ τι κε θῆαι παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλω, find a name to give the child. Od. xix. 403. Τῶν οὐνομα εἶπε, ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον. ᾧ κε σὺ χαίρης. Od. ix. 355. Αὐτίκα μάντις ἐλεύσεται, ὃς κέν τοι εἴπῃσιν ὁδόν. Od. x. 538. Ἐλκος δ' ἰητῆρ ἐπιμάσσεται, ἦδ' ἐπιθήσει φάρμαχ', ἃ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδινάων. Il. iv. 191. Ἄλλ' ἄγετε, κλητοὺς ὀτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα ἔλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην Πηληιάδew Ἀχιλῆος. Il. ix. 165. Ἐκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' εἴκεν, ἣ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται. Il. iii. 459. The last verse (found also iii. 287) is the only case of the relative with the subjunctive without κέ in these sentences. *ca. p. 241*

Ἄγγελον ἦκαν, ὃς ἀγγείλειε γυναικί, they sent a messenger to tell the woman. Od. xv. 458. Πάπτηνεν δ' ἀνά πύργον Ἀχαιοῶν, εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο ἡγεμόνων, ὃς τίς οἱ ἀρῆν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύναι. Il. xii. 333. This optative is rare.

569. The earlier Greek here agrees with the Latin in using the subjunctive and optative, while the Attic adopts a new construction with the future indicative.

570. The future indicative occurs in Od. xiv. 333, ὥμοσε νῆα κατεϊρήσθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἑταίρους, οἳ δὴ μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν. The potential optative with κέ may take the place of a future form; as οἷδέ οἱ ἄλλοι εἴσ', οἳ κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἀλάλκοιεν κακότητα, Od. iv. 166. So τῶν κ' ἐπιβίαιην, Il. v. 192 (cf. xxii. 348). In none of the Homeric examples of this construction is the relative clause negative.

571. A final force is seen in a few Homeric temporal clauses with ὅτε (ὄτ' ἄν, ὅτε κε) or ὁπότε with the subjunctive, which are chiefly expressions of emphatic prediction:—

Ἔσσειται ἡμῶν ὄτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή, Ζεὺς δέ σφιν αὐτὸς ἐπισείησιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πάσιν, a day shall come when sacred Ilios shall fall (i. e. a day for the fall of Ilios) and when Zeus shall shake his terribleegis before them all. Il. iv. 164; so vi. 448. See Il. viii. 373, xxi. 111. See Monro, *Hom. Gr.* p. 209. § 159. 1. *emphatic prediction*

572. In Attic Greek the subjunctive is not used in final relative sentences as it is in Homer (568). The subjunctive in a few expressions like ἔχει ὃ τι εἴπῃ, he has something to say, seems to be caused by the analogy of οὐκ ἔχει ὃ τι εἴπῃ, he knows not what to say, which contains an indirect question (677). E.g.

Τοιοῦτον ἔθος παρέδωσαν, ὥστε ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, that both may have things in which they may glory. Isoc. iv. 44. (Here there is really no indirect question, for the meaning is not that they may know in what they are to glory.) Οἷδὲν ἐτι διοίσει αὐτῷ, εἰν μόνον ἔχη ὅτῳ διαλέγεται, if only he shall have some one to talk with. PLAT. Symp. 194 D. Τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἕξειν ὃ τι εἰσφέρωσιν. XEN. Oec. vii. 20. Compare ἀπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς and εἰπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς in the same sentence, PLAT. Ion. 536 B.

573. On the other hand, the present or aorist optative rarely occurs

in Attic Greek in a final sense after a past tense or after another optative. *E.g.*

Ἄνδρα οὐδέν' ἔντοπον (ἡρώων), οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσον κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο, i.e. *when I saw no one there to assist me*, etc. SOPH. Ph. 281. Κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, βρυχᾶτο, Id. Tr. 903. Εἴ τις θεῶν ἄνδρα θεῖη εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπου αὐτῷ μηδεὶς μέλλοι βοηθήσειν, *if some God should place a man in a desert, where there should be no one likely to help him* (this may be purely conditional). PLAT. Rep. 578 E.

574. The future optative also occasionally occurs, as the natural correlative of the regular future indicative, which is generally retained after past tenses (566). *E.g.*

Ἐφευγον ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην ὀνειδῆ τελοίμενα, *I fled to (some place) where I might never see the disgrace accomplished*. SOPH. O. T. 796. Ἐσκόπει ὅπως ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅστις ζῶντα γηροτροφήσοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι. ISAE. ii. 10. Αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε ξηγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οἷστίνας πολιτεύσονται, *having been chosen with the condition that they should compile laws, by which they were to govern*. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (See Ib. ii. 3, 2, quoted in 565, where καθ' οἷς πολιτεύσονται is used in the same sense.)

CONSECUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES EXPRESSING RESULT.—

CAUSAL RELATIVE.

575. (*Indicative, with negative οὐ.*) The relative with any tense of the indicative can be used to denote a *result*, in the sense of ὥστε with the indicative (582). The negative here is οὐ. This occurs chiefly after negative clauses, or interrogatives implying a negative. *E.g.*

Τίς οὔτω μαινεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι; *who is so mad that he does not wish to be your friend?* XEN. An. ii. 5, 12. (Here ὥστε οὐ βούλεται might be used.) Ἀκούσας τοιαῦθ' ἃ τὸν τοιῦδ' οὐ ποτ' ἐφφρανεῖ βίον. SOPH. O. C. 1352. So HDT. vii. 46. Τίς οὔτως ἐρήθης ἔστιν ἡμῶν, ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο ἤξοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν; i.e. *who of you is so simple that he does not know*, etc. DEM. i. 15. (Here ὥστε ἀγνοεῖ might be used.) Τίς οὔτω πόρρω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἦν πραγμάτων, ὅστις οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἤναγκάσθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν; ISOC. iv. 113. Τίς οὔτως ῥάθνημός ἐστιν, ὅστις οὐ μεταωχρεῖν βουλήσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατείας; Id. iv. 185.

So also with the potential optative; as οἷδεῖς ἂν γένοιτο οὔτως ἀδάμάντιος, ὅς ἂν μείνειεν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρίνῃ, *no one would ever become so adamantine that he would remain firm in justice*. PLAT. Rep. 360 B.

576. (*Future Indicative, with negative μή.*) The relative with the future indicative may denote a result which is *aimed at*, in the same general sense as ὥστε with present or aorist infinitive (582), but with more exactness (577.) The negative is μή. *E.g.*





Εὐχετο μηδεμίαν οἱ συντιχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέφασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, i.e. *no such occurrence as to prevent him from subjugating Europe*. HDI. vii. 54. (We might have ὥστε μιν παύσαι. Compare εἰς τοσαύτην ἦλθε μεταβολὴν ὥσθ' ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας γενέσθαι δεσπότης, ISOC. v. 96.) Ἀνόητον ἐπὶ τοιοῦτους ἴναι ὧν κρατήσας μὴ κατασχῆσει τις, *it is absurd to attack men of such a kind that if we overcome them we shall not hold them*. THUC. vi. 11. (Here ὥστε μὴ κατασχῆναι, *so as not to hold them*, could express only the general sense of the construction.) Ὁ γράφων ἰδίᾳ τι Χαριδῆμῳ τοιοῦτον ὃ μὴ πᾶσι καὶ ὑμῖν ἔσται. DEM. xxiii. 86. Τοιαῦτ' ἀπαγγελοῦσι ἐξ ὧν μὴδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ κινηθῆσονται. Id. xix. 324. Τίς οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ᾗ μὴ διαλύσει χρηστὸς ὧν; ISOC. iii. 16. Οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα λέγειν (πρέπει) ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μὴδὲν ἐπιδώσει τῶν πεισθέντων. Id. iv. 189. Τοιαῦτα ζητήσεις λέγειν ἐξ ὧν μήτε αὐτὸς χείρων εἶναι δόξεις μήτε τοὺς μιμομένους λυμανεῖ. Id. xi. 49.

577. The construction of ὥστε after τοιοῦτος (584), which best corresponds to this relative expression, is not common, as οὕτως is the natural antecedent of ὥστε, while τοιοῦτος is naturally followed by οἷος or ὅς. The relative clause with the future is a much more definite expression, with its power of designating time, number, and person, than the infinitive. (See THUC. vi. 11, under 576.) Τοιοῦτος may also be followed by οἷος and the infinitive (759).

578. Ὅπως as a relative is sometimes used in this construction in a way which illustrates its use as a final particle. (See 313.) *E.g.*

Ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅπως τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μὴδὲν, *and act so that there shall be nothing wanting on your part; lit. act in that way by which, etc.* HDI. vii. 18. Τὸ οὕτως ἐπίστασθαι ἀνθρώπων ἄλλων προστατεῖν ὅπως ἔξουσι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, . . . τοῦτο θανμαστὸν ἐφαίνετο, i.e. *in such a way that they should have, etc.* XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 7. So Cyr. ii. 4, 31.

579. (*Optative.*) The relative in this consecutive construction does not take the subjunctive. The optative occurs occasionally depending upon another optative. We find the future optative in PLAT. Rep. 416 C, φαίη ἂν τις δεῖν καὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰσίαν τοιαύτην αὐτοῖς παρασκευάσασθαι, ἥτις μήτε τοῖς φύλακας ὡς ἀρίστοις εἶναι παύσοι αὐτοῖς, κακοργεῖν τε μὴ ἐπαροῖ περὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίτας, with which compare 415 E, τοιαύτας οἷας χειμῶνός τε στέγειν καὶ θέρος ἱκανὸς εἶναι. The aorist occurs in DEM. vi. 8, τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοσοῦτον οἰδὲ ποιήσειεν, ἰφ' οὐ πεισθέντες τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, i.e. *nothing so great as to persuade you to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him (= ὥστε ἡμᾶς πεισθέντας προεῖσθαι)*. The practical difference between the pure optative here and the potential προεῖσθε ἂν, like ὅς ἂν μείνειεν in PLAT. Rep. 360 B (quoted in 575), is slight; but it would be seen if we had ὥστε προεῖσθαι here (*so great as to make you sacrifice*) and ὥστε μείνειεν ἂν there (*so firm that he would remain*).

580. The relative may have a causal signification, being equivalent to *ὅτι*, *because*, and a personal pronoun or demonstrative word. The verb is generally in the indicative, as in ordinary causal sentences (713); but it may be in the potential optative or potential indicative. The negative is *οὐ*; but when the relative clause is conditional as well as causal, the negative is *μή*. *E.g.*

Θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὅς ἡμῖν οὐδὲν δίδως, *you do a strange thing in giving us nothing* (like *ὅτι σὺ οὐδὲν δίδως*). XEN. Mem. ii. 7, 13. Δόξας ἀμαθία εἶναι, ὅς . . . ἐκέλευε, *believing him to be unlearned, because he commanded*, etc. HDT. i. 33. Τὴν μητέρα (ἐμακάριζον), οἷων τέκνων ἐκέρησε (like *ὅτι τοίω*). Id. i. 31. Εὐδαίμων ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως ἐτελείετο, *i.e. because he died so fearlessly and nobly* (ὡς being equivalent to *ὅτι οὕτως*). PLAT. Phaed. 58 E.

Ταλαίπωρος εἶ, ᾧ μήτε θεοὶ πατρῷοὶ εἰσι μήθ' ἱερά, *you are wretched, since you have no ancestral Gods (if you really have none)*, etc. Id. Euthyd. 302 B. Ἦὼς ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐμοῦ καταγιγνώσκοιτε, ᾧ τὸ παράπαν πρὸς τοιτοῦ μὴδὲν συμβόλαιόν ἐστιν; *i.e. since I have no contract at all with this man (or if I have no contract)*. DEM. xxxiii. 34. Ὅπου τοῖνυν μηδεὶς τετόλμηκε τῶν οἰκείων τοῦτω μαρτυρῆσαι, πῶς οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἠγγείσθαι με τάληθῆ λέγειν; *whereas then (or if then) no one has dared*, etc. Id. xlix. 38. So IV. 26. Ὅποτε αἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνθήκαι ἠφανίσθησαν ἕτεροι δὲ μὴ ἐγράφησαν, πῶς ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμοὶ δικάζοιτο, καθ' οὗ μὴ ἔχει παρασχέσθαι συνθήκας; *whereas the original agreement disappeared and the other was never written, how can he justly go to law with me, when (or if) he cannot bring forward any agreement against me?* Id. xxxiii. 30. So SOPH. O. T. 817, 1335, O. C. 1680, Ant. 696, Ph. 178, 255; AR. Ran. 1459; HDT. i. 71 (τοῖσι γε μὴ ἐστὶ μὴδὲν); THUC. iv. 126 (οἳ γε μὴδὲ . . . ἤκετε). The potential imperfect occurs in ANT. v. 66, μὴ τοῖνυν ἐμοὶ νεῖμῃτε τὸ ἀπορον τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ μὴδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ εἰπορεῖτε, *do not then bring upon me this perplexity, in which you yourselves would not know what to do* (half causal, half conditional).

581. In the last examples with *μή*, the causal and the conditional forces are united, but in English we can express only one of them. Thus *ᾧ μήτε θεοὶ πατρῷοὶ εἰσι*, besides its causal force, implies a condition; so that we might translate equally well *if (as it appears) you have no ancestral Gods, you are wretched*. The same combination of cause and condition is seen in the Latin *siquidem*.

CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES WITH ὥστε OR ὡς AND WITH
ἐφ' ᾧ OR ἐφ' ᾧτε.¹

582. A consecutive clause expresses a consequence, that

¹ See Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* vii pp. 161-175; and Seume, *De Sententiis Consecutivis Graecis*, Göttingen, 1883.

Berol. H. 1: *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Konsekutivklause mit ὥστε*
Eichst.

Kel.: *How an an index of style in the orator. Baltimore, 1901.*

ἡ κοταίμων ἐστὶν, ὅσους οὐδὲν τῆς φύσεως

: when the relative denotes one of a class which, one who
has suggests it may be ditotal

is, the effect or result (actual or potential) of something that is stated in the leading clause. Such a clause is introduced by some relative word, generally by ὥστε, *so as, so that*. (See 575.) The consequence may be either one which the action of the leading verb aims at and *tends* to produce, or one which that action actually *does* produce. This is the fundamental distinction between ὥστε with the infinitive (with μή for its negative) and ὥστε with the indicative (with οὐ for its negative). *E.g.*

Πάν ποιῶσιν ὥστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, *they do everything in such a way as (i.e. so as) not to suffer punishment, i.e. they aim, in all they do, at not being punished; it is not, however, implied that they actually escape.* PLAT. Gorg. 479 C. On the other hand, πάν ποιῶσιν ὥστε δίκην οὐ διδῶσιν would mean *they do everything in such a way that (i.e. so that) they are not punished.*

583. Though this illustrates the fundamental distinction in thought on which the distinction in form is based, there are many examples in which ὥστε with the infinitive and ὥστε with the indicative seem to amount to essentially the same thing, although the processes by which the meaning is expressed in the two constructions are essentially different. Thus we can say οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὥστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, *he is so skilful as not to be punished*, and also οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὥστε δίκην οὐ διδῶσιν, *he is so skilful that he is not punished*; and though we should receive the same impression from both statements, so that both might be made of the same man under the same circumstances, yet the two constructions (one stating a *tendency* and the other a *fact*) are very different, and they seemed far more so to a Greek than they do to us.

584. Ὡστε is properly a relative particle of comparison, meaning *as*. Its correlative *so* may be expressed in a demonstrative like οὕτως, or implied; as οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὥστε σε πείσῃ, *he is so skilful as to persuade you*, or ἡ πόλις τετείχισται ὥστε ἰκανὴ εἶναι σφῆεν τοῖς ἐνοικοῦντας; *the city is walled so as to be able to keep its inhabitants safe*. (See τοιοῦτους καὶ οὕτω τρέφειν κίνας ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι, PLAT. Rep. 416 A; and compare τοιοῦτος οἶος with the infinitive in 759.) These expressions in Greek *state* no more than *he has the skill to persuade you* and *the city has walls enough to be able, etc.*; the further ideas that *he does persuade* and *the city is able* are inferences, which are strongly suggested and generally felt when the expressions are used, but they do not lie in the words. When the Greek wishes to express these facts definitely and not to leave them to inference, it uses the indicative with

ὥστε; as οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὥστε σε πείθει, *he is so skilful that he persuades you*, or ἡ πόλις τετείχισται ὥστε ἰκανὴ ἐστίν. But here the use of a finite verb compels the writer to make his expression more definite than it was before; for, whereas ὥστε πείσῃαι and ὥστε ἰκανὴ εἶναι meant only (*so*) *as to persuade* and (*so*) *as to be able*, without limiting the expressions to past, present, or future time, he cannot use a tense of the indicative without fixing its time, that is, without making a definite statement. So long as the infinitive has no subject and can be translated by our simple infinitive (as above), we can generally express its force without putting into our translation more than we find in the Greek; the formal distinction between *so skilful as to persuade* and *so skilful that he persuades* being apparent even when we mean substantially the same by both. When the clause with ὥστε is negative, a marked distinction appears in Greek to show the different point of view taken in the two expressions, and we have ὥστε μὴ πείσῃαι and ὥστε οὐ πείθει. This is of course lost in English with our single negative. But when the infinitive has a subject, it must be translated by a finite verb in some definite tense, number, and person, that is, by a statement and not by a mere expression of tendency, although the force of the infinitive in Greek is the same as before. Thus we generally translate ἀρχολάτεις, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ (EUR. Hec. 730), *you delay, so that I am astonished*, as if it were ὥστε θαυμάζω ἐγώ, simply because we cannot use our infinitive with a subject expressed. If, however, we substitute an equivalent form which avoids this difficulty, like *so as to astonish me*, we see that there is really no such definite character in ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ as we impose upon it, and that it no more expresses a statement than ὥστε σε πείσῃαι (above) does. The same difficulty of translating the Greek infinitive with its subject has done much to obscure the force of the tenses of the articular infinitive and of the infinitive with ἀν. (See also 603.)

In many uses of the infinitive with ὥστε it is not even inferred that the result towards which the infinitive expresses a tendency is actually reached. Thus, in clauses with ὥστε expressing a purpose or a condition, and where the infinitive is generally used without ὥστε, we cannot substitute the indicative for the infinitive (see the examples under 587, 2 and 3, and 588).¹

¹ Shilleto (in the Appendix to his edition of Demosthenes *de Falsa Legatione*) thus illustrates the distinction between ὥστε οὐκ ἐβούλετο and ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι. "The difference seems simply to be this: οὕτως ἀφρων ἦν ὥστε οὐκ ἐβούλετο, *he was so foolish that he did not wish* (expressive of the *real* result or consequence); οὕτως ἀφρων ἦν ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι, *he was so foolish as not to wish* (expressive of the *natural* consequence). . . . Now it is obvious that an energetic speaker, wishing to express that the result (was not only of a

ὅταν οὐ καὶ ὁ εἶς ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι λογίσασθαι D. 18. 120. a
you so stupid that you are not able. (this μὴ δ. - are you
stupid enough not to be able?) 9. ad. loc.



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διαφοράν, for we should be content to abide by the decision so as to have no difference with him. DEM. xxvii. 1. Πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω ἀρκοίντως ἐρεῖν, ὥστε ἡμᾶς μὴτ' ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν πραγμάτων μὴτ' ἀγνοήσαι, κ.τ.λ. Id. xxvii. 2. Τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδουσαν, ὥστε σπειραμένοις συνελθεῖν ἐς ταῦτόν. ISOC. iv. 43. So iv. 42. Εἰ τοιοῦτον εἶη ἡ σοφία, ὥστ' ἐκ τοῦ πληρεστέρου εἰς τὸν κενώτερον ῥεῖν ἡμῶν, of such a nature as to flow. PLAT. Symp. 175 D.

Πείσομαι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ὥστε μὴ οὐ καλῶς θανεῖν, for I shall suffer nothing so terrible as to prevent me from dying gloriously. SOPH. Ant. 96. (For μὴ οὐ see 815, 2.)

2. The consequence may have the form of a stipulation, condition, or limitation. *E.g.*

Ποιοῦνται ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Πάχητα, ὥστε Ἀθηναίους ἐξεῖναι βουλεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, they make a treaty with Paches, to the effect that the Athenians shall be permitted, etc. THUC. iii. 28. Ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, having removed them on condition of doing them no harm. Ibid. So i. 29, vii. 83. So Id. iii. 114, ξιμμάχων ἐπιούργησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε μὴ στρατεύειν. Ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχεῖν Ἑλλήνων, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς ὑπακοῦειν βασιλεί, it being in their power to rule the rest of the Greeks, on condition that they should themselves serve the King. DEM. vi. 11.


3. The consequence may be aimed at as a purpose, the consecutive clause becoming also final. *E.g.*

Πάν ποιῶσαν, ὥστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, they do everything in such a way as not to suffer punishment, i.e. that they may not suffer. PLAT. Gorg. 479 C. (Here ἵνα μὴ with the subjunctive might be used, but it would express only the final element.) Ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν εἰ δεήσει, they wished to appropriate Eleusis, so that they might have a refuge if they should need it. XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 8. Μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ εἰσιν, ὥστε διαφεύγειν θάνατον, there are many devices for escaping death. PLAT. Ap. 39 A. (Here we might have ὅπως διαφειξέται τις.) Μηχανὰς εἰρήσομεν, ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων, we will find devices to free you, etc. (= ὅπως σε ἀπαλλάξομεν). AESCH. Eum. 82.

588. The infinitive with ὥστε sometimes follows verbs of wishing, commanding, etc., which regularly takes a simple infinitive of the object (746), less frequently verbs which take an infinitive of the subject (745); and sometimes adjectives and nouns which regularly take the simple infinitive (758). *E.g.*

Κίπρις γὰρ ἤθελ' ὥστε γίγνεσθαι ταῦδε, for the Cyprian Goddess wished this to be done, i.e. had (such) a wish (as) that this should be done. EUR. Hipp. 1327. Δικαιῶν ὥστ' ἐμοῦ κλύειν λόγους, asking that he (Polynices) should hear my words (to the effect that he should hear). SOPH. O. C. 1350. Τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἐδίδασκεν ὥστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν πείσαι, he instructed him to give money and persuade the generals. THUC. viii. 45. Τὸ μὲν δύνασθαι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, ὥστε





list of examples from Thuc. as my note on E. 2.23
δέομαι. δόξαν, προτρέομαι, προδουρόμαι

ἀγωνιστὴν τέλειον γενέσθαι, *the ability to become a finished disputer* (i.e. *having such power as to become*), PLAT. Phaedr. 269 D. Ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἄργει ἐπιχειρήσαι. THUC. iii. 102. (In the same chapter, πείθει Ἀκαρνᾶνας βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ.) Ἐπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥστε ἔξαγαγεῖν ἐκ Πύλου Μεσσηνίους. Id. v. 35. Ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ πρόωτοι ὥστε πάση προθυμίᾳ ἀμύνειν, *having voted to defend them*, etc. Id. vi. 88. Εἰς ἀνάγκην καθίσταμεν ὥστε κινδυνεύειν. ISOC. vi. 51. (See 749.) Σὸ δένανιν ὥστε ἐγγενέσθαι, *power to grow up in it*, PLAT. Rep. 433 B. Εἰ τι θεόφατον πατρὶ χρησμοῖσιν ἰκνεῖθ', ὥστε πρὸς παίδων θανεῖν, i.e. *if my father was warned by oracles that he should perish by his children's hands*. SOPH. O. C. 969.

Πάνυ μοι ἐμέλησεν ὥστε εἰδέναι, *it concerned me very much to know*. XEN. Cyr. vi. 3, 19. Ἀδύνατον ἡμῖν ὥστε Πρωταγόρου τοῦδε σοφώτερόν τινα ἐλέσθαι, *it is impossible for you to choose any one wiser than Protagoras here* (you have not such power as to choose). PLAT. Prot. 338 C. So XEN. Mem. i. 3, 6. Ξυμβίβη εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄψασθαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον. THUC. v. 14. (Here the construction changes suddenly to the indicative in εἶχον.) Ἄρ' ἔστιν ὥστε κάγγυθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν; *is it possible for me to have a sight of it near by?* SOPH. Ph. 656.

Πῶς γὰρ τις ἱκανὸς γένοιτ' ἂν ὥστε αἰεὶ προστάττειν τὸ προσῆκον; *for how could one become capable of always giving the proper command (so capable as)?* PLAT. Polit. 295 A. Πότερα παῖδες εἰσι φρονιμώτεροι ὥστε μαθεῖν τὰ φραζόμενα ἢ ἄνδρες; i.e. *are they wiser than men in learning*, etc.? XEN. Cyr. iv. 3, 11. Νέοι ὥστε τοσοῦτο πρᾶγμα διελέσθαι, *too young to decide*. PLAT. Prot. 314 B. So γέρων ὥστε σ' ὠφελεῖν, EUR. Andr. 80. Ψυχρόν (ἔστι τὸ ὕδωρ) ὥστε λούσασθαι, *the water is too cold to bathe in*. XEN. Mem. iii. 13, 3. (Cf. λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον and θερμότερον πικεῖν, in the same section.)

In many of these cases it seems impossible to believe that ὥστε added anything to the sense, even as it was felt by the Greeks. The expressions were probably stereotyped in usage, and their origin was forgotten. Indeed, ὥστε and ὡς (608) sometimes seem to have no more meaning than our *to* with the infinitive, which in some cases we can use or omit at pleasure, though with some change of sense, as in *I dare say* and *I dare to say*. Compare *I command you to go* and *I bid you go*. The examples show that there is hardly a construction in which the simple infinitive was used where ὥστε is not occasionally prefixed to it. It is important here to remember that ὥστε means only *as* (or, including the antecedent, *so as*); never *so that*, except in the construction with the finite moods, although this is often a necessary makeshift in our translation.

For ὥστε or ὡς with the infinitive after the comparative and ἤ, see 775 (b).

589. (Ὡς τε in Homer.) The only two Homeric examples of ὥστε (ὡς τε) with the infinitive are Il. ix. 42, εἰ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ θυμὸς

ἐπίσονται ὡς τε νέεσθαι, ἔρχο, *but if your own mind is eagerly set upon returning, go*; and Od. xvii. 20, οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἐπιτηλίκος εἰμὶ, ὡς τ' ἐπιτελαμένῳ σημάντορι πάντα πιθέσθαι, *for I am no longer of a fit age to abide at the sheepfolds, (and there) to obey in everything a master's command* (this comes under 587, 2, above). These cases seem to show that the usage was already established; although Lehrs (*de Aristarchi Stud. Hom.* p. 157) proposes to expunge ὡς τε in both. In Hes. Op. 43 we have βηιδίως γὰρ κεν καὶ ἐπ' ἡματι ἐργάσασαι, ὡς τέ σε κείς (= καὶ εἰς) ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἀεργὸν εἶναι, *i.e. so as to have enough for a year, even without working*.

590. (*Tenses.*) The tenses of the infinitive most frequently used with ὥστε are the present and aorist, with their usual distinction (87). See the examples above.

The perfect is sometimes used to express completion or decisiveness of the action (109; 110). *E.g.*

Νεωστὶ ἀπὸ νόσου βραχὺ τι λεωφῆκαμεν, ὥστε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἠϋξήσθαι, *i.e. we have recovered a little, so as to have increased*. THUC. vi. 12. Λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινῶν ἂν σε ποιούντο, ὥστε μηδὲ ἐν σε λεληθέναι ἂν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι, *so that not a single one of the things we wish to know should have escaped you*. XEN. Cyr. vi. 1, 40. Τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλίσθαι (ἐμοὶ ὑπῆρξεν) ὥστε πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν, κ.τ.λ., *so as often to have been crowned (perfect), and so as not even to have my enemies undertake (present) to say, etc.* DEM. xviii. 257. See Id. xxiii. 68; Lys. xxxii. 27; Isoc. iii. 32, iv. 45; ISAE. x. 1; and the examples quoted in 109 and 110.

591. 1. The future infinitive with ὥστε is common only when it depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse and represents a future indicative of the direct form; so εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναιδείας αὐτὸν ἤξειν ἀκούει, ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίῳν κατηγορήσειν, DEM. xix. 72. So Lys. v. 2. See other examples under 594.

2. Elsewhere it is rare and perhaps doubtful. In DEM. xxix. 5 and xxx. 5, ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας εἴσεσθαι is found in all Mss., and it is no more objectionable than other exceptional uses of the future, as that after βούλομαι and δέομαι (see 113), or than ὥστε with the infinitive with ἂν not in indirect discourse (211; 592). In DEM. xvi. 4 we have, ἔστι τοίνυν ἐν τινι τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ τὰ πράγματα νῦν, . . . ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίους δ', εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, πάλιν ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι, the change of time making the change of tense natural.

In THUC. iii. 34 we have, προκαλεσόμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππίαν, ὥστε, ἦν μηδὲν ἀρέσκον λέγει, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σὺν καὶ ὕγιᾳ, *on the condition that, if his proposals should not be satisfactory, he would restore H. to the fort safe and sound*. Here καταστήσειν represents καταστήσω in the words of Paches; but the future is still exceptional in its use (see 113). In THUC. i. 29, iii. 28 (two passages) and 114,





vii. 83, where there was the same ground for the future, we find the present or aorist infinitive with ὥστε.

592. The infinitive with ἄν (not in indirect discourse) can follow ὥστε to express a consequence in a potential form, corresponding to the potential optative or indicative. *E.g.*

Ἀποτειχιζόμενοι ἂν ἦσαν, ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ μετέπεμψαν ἐτι ὁμοίως ἂν αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν, they would have been already walled in, so that, even if they had sent for them, it would not any longer have been of as much use to them. THUC. vii. 42. Τῶν οἰκείων μοι πραγμάτων τοιούτων συμβεβηκότων ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἂν ἀκούσαντας ἐλεῆσαι, such as would make you pity me if you should hear them. DEM. I. 59. Ἀποληφθέντος, ὥστε μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε, so that he would not be able to return. Id. viii. 35. See also the examples under 211, and the cases of indirect discourse with ὥστε ἂν under 594. (The translation of the infinitive here is necessarily inexact. See 584.)

593. Herodotus often writes οὕτω ὥστε together, οὕτω referring to the whole leading sentence, and not (as it generally does) to a single word or expression. *E.g.*

Ἀπίδωρ ἐς Τεγεάν, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύων ἐς ἔλμη, οὕτω ὥστε τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγῇ, he escaped to Tegea, travelling by night and hiding in the woods by day, (in such wise) as on the third night to arrive at Tegea. HD. ix. 37. So iii. 105, viii. 27, ix. 61, 73.

For the same usage before a finite verb, see 601 (end).

594. (Ὡστε with Infinitive in Indirect Discourse. Ὡστε οὐ.) When a clause with ὥστε depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse, and is itself a part of the quotation, its verb representing a finite mood of the direct form, it regularly has the infinitive, in the tense of the direct discourse, even when on other grounds a finite verb would seem more natural. Here the future infinitive and the infinitive with ἄν may be used, as in other indirect discourse (135; 204). The negative οὐ of the direct form is generally retained with such an infinitive. *E.g.*

Ἐφασαν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρωπίας εἶη (they said εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἦλθον ὥστε οὐκ ἤθελον πίνειν, they said that the soldiers became so fastidious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a strong bouquet. XEN. Hell. vi. 2, 6. Ὑμᾶς εἰδῆναι ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον οὕτω σκαιὸν εἶναι ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι μαθεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα. LYS. x. 15. Οὕτω δὲ ἀτόπους τινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι λουδορομῆσι αὐτῶ (i.e. οὐτως ἀτοποι ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνονται). DEM. xix. 308. So xviii. 283, xix. 152. Ἐἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλοις (sc. ἐφη), οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συντάξεως, ὥστε οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσσεσθαι ἀπορίαν (i.e. ἄλλοι εἰσὶν, οὓς βούλομαι (see 755) κοινωνεῖν, ὥστε οὐκ ἔσται ἀπορία). AESCHIN. iii. 96: so i. 174. Τοσοῦτον φρονῆσαι φῆς αὐτοῖς ὥστε οὐχ ἡγήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἀξίους εἶναι ζῆν, κ.τ.λ.

(i.e. τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν ὥστε οὐχ ἠγήσαντο). ISOC. xii. 255. Εἶναι δὲ (sc. λέγεται) ταχιστῆτα οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφῶν ἀποσφύζεσθαι (i.e. εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ συλλέγοντο, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποσφύζοιτο). HDI. iii. 105 (see 755): so i. 189. Τοιαῦτα ἐνομίζετο τὰ ἰπάρχοντα αὐτῆ εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἑτέρας ἐπιθυμήσαι πολιτείας (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε). LYS. xviii. 6: so xxi. 18. See also THUC. v. 40, viii. 76; ISAE. iii. 39, xi. 27; PLAT. AP. 26 D, Euthyd. 305 C, Leg. 806 A, Alcib. ii. 143 D.

595. Ὡστε μὴ, however, as the ordinary form with the infinitive, may be used in indirect discourse (594), even with the future infinitive or the infinitive with ἂν. *E.g.*

Τηλικαντήν ἠγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκῆν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν οἰοῖν ἢ δεινὸν πείσασθαι. DEM. ix. 67. Ὡμῶν οὕτως ἐμφανῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀλαζονεομένοις πολεμῶν, ὥστε μὴδὲν ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πιστὸν τῶν λεγόντων. ISOC. xii. 20: so xii. 144. In ISAE. iii. 51, ὥστε μὴδὲ ἐκδοῦναι would have been the same in the direct form.

596. Cases of ὥστε with a finite verb in indirect discourse are rare, but sometimes occur; as οἴομαι σ' ἀναπέσειν, ὥστε γε οἶδεν ἀντερεῖς, AR. Nub. 1342. So EUR. Tro. 973; PLAT. Leg. 692 D.

597. 1. Occasionally ὥστε οὐ with the infinitive represents a finite mood with οὐ of direct discourse, even when there is no preceding infinitive to assimilate it (as there is in all the cases in 594). *E.g.*

Ἐννομήτω ὅτι οὕτως ἤδη τότε πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἦν ὥστ', εἰ καὶ μὴ τότε, οὐκ ἂν πολλῶ ἕστερον τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον, let him reflect that he (Socrates) was then already so far advanced in life that he would have ended his days not much later, etc. (i.e. οὐκ ἂν πολλῶ ἕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν). XEN. Mem. iv. 8, 1. (Seume classes this with the cases in 597, 2 because of οὐ πολλῶ. But the infinitive depends directly on a clause with ὅτι in indirect discourse.) So in ARISTOT. Pol. ii. 9, 17: λέγοντι ὡς μετεοῖδουσιν τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε τὴν ὀλιγαριθμοσίαν.

2. Sometimes οὐ is found with ὥστε and the infinitive when the negative belongs to a single word, as in οὐ πολλοί for ὀλίγοι. See ISOC. viii. 107: οὕτω κακῶς προύστηται τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστ' ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοῖς ἕτερον ἕτερον πάλιν ἐπιπολάσει. So ISAE. ix. 17.

598. In a few cases, however, ὥστε οὐ is found with the infinitive where none of the preceding explanations (594; 597) will apply. Such are the following:—

Ὡστ' οὐτε νυκτὸς ἕπρον οὐτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας ἐμὲ στεγάσειν ἠδὲν, ἀλλ' ὁ προστατῶν χρονὸς διήγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θινουμένην, so that neither by night nor by day did you spread her wings over me. SOPH. El. 780. (Here there is an easy transition from the infinitive to the following indicative.) Οὐ μακρὴν γὰρ τειχέων περιπτεχὰ, ὥστ' οὐχ ἀπαντὰ σ' εἰδέναι τὰ δρώμενα, not so large that you do not know all (i.e. the city is so small, that you know all) that is done. EUR. Ph. 1357. Ὡστ' οὐδ'





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ἔχρος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές, *yes; so that not even a trace of the walls is to be seen.* Id. Hel. 107. Νῦν δὲ περιέστηκεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὥστε τὸν ἰδία κινδυνεύοντα οὐ φιλόπολιν ἀλλὰ φιλοπράγμονα δοκεῖν εἶναι. LYCURG. 3. Οὐδ' αὖ οὕτως ἄπορος ἦν οὐδ' ἄφιλος ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἀπογράψοντα, *not, moreover, was I so helpless or friendless that I could not find one to bring an ἀπογραφὴ (οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύριμι).* DEM. liii. 1. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ἀνείσθαι παρ' οὐδενός οὐδέν. Id. ix. 48. (This may be explained as oratio obliqua, on the ground of ἀκούω and the infinitive in the preceding clause. But I agree with Seume in thinking this connection too remote to account for ὥστε οὐ. Here there is neither an assimilating infinitive, as in the examples in 594, nor a leading clause with ὅτι or ὡς, as in those in 597, 1. In fact, ὥστε οὐ gives the only ground for calling the clause with εἶχον indirect discourse.)

599. The examples in 598 have one common character: in all of them the thought could be expressed equally well by ὥστε with the infinitive or ὥστε with a finite verb, for even in EUR. Ph. 1357 and DEM. liii. 1 a fact rather than a mere tendency is expressed. We can, therefore, easily suppose a mixture of two constructions by which, for example in EUR. Hel. 107, instead of ὥστε μὴ εἶναι or ὥστε οὐκ ἔσται, either of which would express the sense, we have ὥστε οὐκ εἶναι.¹ This occasional confusion would be made easier by familiarity with ὥστε οὐ and the infinitive in indirect discourse.

600. In a few cases ὥστε seems to be omitted, even when its antecedent is expressed; as in AESCH. Ag. 478, τίς ὦδε παιδὸς ἢ φρενῶν κεκομμένους, φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν χείους πρῶθεντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ' ἀλλαγα λόγον καμείν; *who is so childish, etc., (as) to be inflamed in heart, etc., and then to suffer from a change of report?* See also HDT. iii. 12, οὕτω ἰσχυραῖ, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ πάσας διαρρήξαις, *so strong, you could hardly break them with a stone.*

"Ωστε WITH THE FINITE MOODS.

601. "Ωστε with the indicative means properly *so that*, and expresses the actual result of the action of the leading verb. *E.g.*

¹ The explanation of ὥστε οὐ with the infinitive on the ground of oratio obliqua was first made, I believe, by Shilleto in the Appendix to his *Demosthenes de Falsa Leptione* (1844). It is also given by Madvig (*Synt.* § 205, *Ann.* 3), who confines ὥστε οὐ to clauses depending on the infinitive of oratio obliqua after verbs like φημί, οἶμαι, etc. (*i.e.* like the examples in 594). Shilleto's faith in his own explanation was somewhat shaken by finding that four of the passages quoted in 598 could not be brought under his canon. Under the influence of Shilleto's essay, I originally suggested the mixture of two equivalent constructions given above, as applicable to all cases of ὥστε οὐ, not appreciating the wide influence of the principle of oratio obliqua upon the construction.

Οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετε, ὥστε ἐλπίζετε αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.; are you so senseless that you expect, etc.? DEM. ii. 26. (Here ὥστε ἐλπίζειν, so senseless as to expect, would express the senselessness of expecting, without necessarily implying that you do expect.) Βέβηκεν, ὥστε πᾶν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, πάτερ, ἔξεστι φωνεῖν, he has gone, so that we can say everything in quiet. SOPH. O. C. 82. So PH. 75, EL 1204. Οὕτως ἡμῖν δοκεῖ παντὸς ἄξια εἶναι, ὥστε πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ μάλιστα φεύγομεν, so that we all especially avoid, etc. XEN. Mem. ii. 2, 3. Οὐχ ἦκεν ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον. ID. An. ii. 3, 25. Εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας ἦλθον, ὥσθ' οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν οὕτως ἐπεθύμησαν λαβεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀφίστασαν. ISOC. xii. 103. Ταῦτα πεποιήκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων, ὥσθ', εἴπερ εὐφρονεῖτε, τοίοις μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεῦσετε. DEM. xviii. 40. Οὕτως ἐναργές ἐστι, ὥσθ' εὐρήσετε. AESCHIN. i. 128. Ὡστ' ἐὰν τέτταρας μόνον πολεὺς πείσης, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολλῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξεις. ISOC. v. 31. (Examples like ὥστ' . . . πιστεῦσετε in DEM. xviii. 40 might be punctuated in this way.)

So οὕτω ὥστε in Herodotus (see 593); as ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐγίνοντο, vii. 118.

602. As ὥστε in this construction has no effect upon the mood of its verb, it may have any construction that would be allowed in an independent sentence. It may thus take a potential optative or indicative with ἄν, a prohibitory subjunctive, an imperative, or an interrogative. *E.g.*

Ὡστ' οὐκ ἄν αὐτὸν γνωρίσαιμ' ἄν εἰσιδῶν. EUR. Or. 379. Παθῶν μὲν ἀντέδρων, ὥστ', εἰ φρονῶν ἐπρασσον, οὐδ' ἄν ὧδ' ἐγγιγνόμεν κακός. SOPH. O. C. 271. Ὡστ', εἰ μακρὰ ἢ περίοδος, μὴ θαυμάσης. PLAT. Phaedr. 274 A. Ονητὸς δ' Ὀρέυτης ὥστε μὴ λιὰν στένε. SOPH. EL. 1172. Ὡστε πόθεν ἴσασιν; so how do they know? DEM. xxix. 47. So οὐ μὴ and the subjunctive (296); οὕτως ἐπιτεθίμηκα ἀκοῦσαι, ὥστε . . . οὐ μὴ σου ἀπολειφθῶ, PLAT. Phaedr. 227 D (see 296, above).

603. Occasionally there is a change from the infinitive to a finite verb in a sentence after ὥστε, with a corresponding change in meaning; as in THUC. iii. 21, ὥστε πύροdon μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν μέσων διήεσαν, i.e. the towers were built so as to allow no passage by a tower outside, but so THAT the men passed through the inside of them. (See 584.)

604. A few cases occur of a peculiar assimilation of a clause with ὥστε to a preceding optative in protasis, ὥστε having apparently the force of a conditional relative. *E.g.*

Εἴ τις τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὕτω θεραπεύσειεν ὥστε φιλεῖν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιήσειεν ἑαυτὸν ἢ σέ, ἂν' ἄν σε εὐφραίνει; if one should cure your wife so as to make her more fond of himself than of you, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 5, 30 (two Mss. have ποιήσειεν). So v. 3, 47 (εἰσοίτο). Εἴ τις χρῆστο τῷ ἀγγυρίῳ ὥστε πριμμένος οἶον ἐταίρην διὰ ταύτην κάκιστον

• τῆσι δὲ εἰ... ἵσταν' ἐν δύνανται λογισασθαι κτλ. D. 18. 120



x. c. 7. 5. 46

μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἔχοι, κάκιον δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, πῶς ἂν ὠφέλιμον εἴη; *Id.* *Oec.* i. 13. Καταγελαστότερον εἰ . . . ἡμεῖς εἰς τοσοῦτον μικροψυχίας ἔλθοιμεν, ὥστε τὰ προστάγματα τούτων ὑπομείναίμεν (so *Cod. Urb.*; other *Mss.* ὑπομείναι). *Isoc.* vi. 84.

605. A few cases occur of ὥστε with the optative in indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικόν, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἴη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἔκειντο, ὥστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὐσι ῥάδιον εἴη ἀνελεῖσθαι. *XEN.* *Hell.* iii. 5, 23. See also *Isoc.* xvii. 11.

606. As the regular negative of the infinitive after ὥστε is μή, so that of the indicative and potential optative is οὐ. In *DEM.* xix. 218 we have ὥστε μήτε . . . μήτε . . . μήτε . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . εἴτα τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσασθε ἀγαπητῶς, where the force of a preceding εἰ seems really to govern the verb, that of ὥστε being wasted in the eight lines which separate the verb from it. In *DEM.* liv. 15, μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἔσται can be taken with εἰ. In *SOPH.* *Tr.* 575, ἔσται τοῦτο κηλητήριον, ὥστε μήτιν' εἰσιδὼν στέρξει γυναῖκα κείνος ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον, i.e. a charm to prevent him from loving more than you any other woman whom he may see, ὥστε μή seems to have a final sense with the future, like a final relative. Compare ὥστε μή with the infinitive in *PLAT.* *Gorg.* 479 C (quoted in 587, 3).

"Ὡστε WITH THE PARTICIPLE.

607. (a) As a clause with ὥστε depending on an infinitive in indirect discourse is generally assimilated to that infinitive, so one depending on a participle in indirect discourse may be assimilated to the participle. *E.g.*

Οὐδ' οὕτως ἀγνώμονα οὐδ' ἄτοπον οὐδένα (sc. ὁρῶ ὄντα) ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ποιήσονται ἅπαντες ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς, οὐ φάσκοντα ποιήσονται οὐδὲν οὐδ' αὐτόν, nor do I see that any one is so unwise or absurd, that, if all will not do whatever he does, he too refuses to do anything (i.e. οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀγνώμων ἔστιν ὥστε οὐ φάσκει). *DEM.* x. 40. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα (ὁρῶ) εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πευσόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον, but I see things have come to this, that we must (ὥστε δεῖ) consider how we may not ourselves suffer harm first. *Id.* iii. 1. Ἐπιδείξω Ἀστυφίλιον οὕτω σφόδρα μισοῦντα τούτου, ὥστε πολὺ ἂν θάττον διαθέμενον μηδένα ποτὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείων διαλεχθῆναι Κλέωνι, μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦτου υἱὸν ποιησάμενον, I will show that Astyphilus so hates him, that he would much sooner have ordered in his will that no one of his relatives should ever speak to Cleon, than have adopted his son as his own (πολὺν ἂν θάττον διέθετο). *ISAE.* ix. 16. Other examples are [*DEM.*] *Erot.* 3; *Isoc.* iv. 64; *PLAT.* *Rep.* 519 A.

(b) In two cases there is a like assimilation to a participle not in indirect discourse:—

Τῶν θεατῶν συμφιλονεικούντων ἐκείνῳ καὶ μισούντων τούτων, ὥστε τῶν χορῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπαινούντων, τοῦ δ' ἀκροάσασθαι οὐκ ἐθέλοντων. AND. iv. 20. Συγγνώμην ἔχειν εἰ, προεληλιθὼς εἰς τοῦτο ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμαιτοῦ δούλων ὑβρισθεῖς, οὐ δύναμαι κατασχέειν, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xlv. 83.

The last examples seem to show that clauses with ὥστε can be assimilated to a preceding participle as we have seen them assimilated to an optative (604). Compare with this construction Isoc. iv. 21, οἷδεῖς γὰρ ἂν ἐτέρμιν πόλιν ἐπιδείξειε τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ γῆν ὑπερέχουσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσαν.

Ὡς USED LIKE ὥστε.

608. In their original use ὡς and ὡς τε are related precisely as ὅς and ὅς τε in Homer. But in consecutive sentences ὥστε gradually gained almost exclusive control, so that ὡς here became very rare. Ὡς occurs chiefly in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, and Xenophon, where it is used in the same constructions and in the same sense as ὥστε. *E.g.*

(With Infin.) Ἴκκοικιν ἐκφυγόντες· ὡς στένειν πόλιν Περσῶν. AESCH. Pers. 510. Πεπωκὼς γ', ὡς θρασύνεισθαι μᾶλλον, βρότειον αἷμα, κόμος ἐν δόμοις μένει, *having drunk of mortals' blood so as to be more emboldened, a band of revellers abides in the house.* Id. Ag. 1188. So Pers. 437, Ag. 546, Eum. 36, 427, 799, 895. Σύμμετρος γὰρ ὡς κλέειν, *for he is just in time for us to hear.* SOPH. O. T. 84. Οἷδ' ὑπὸ ζιγῶ λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ. Id. Ant. 292. So Tr. 1125. Οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας. HDT. iii. 146. Ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ λέγεται, ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι, *and it (the mountain) is said to be so high, that it is not possible to see its summits.* Id. iv. 184. Ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρυτα ὑπερέχειν τοῦ βάθους. XEN. An. iii. 5, 7. So ii. 3, 10. Φέρονται κώθονα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρίσασθαι. Id. Cyr. i. 2, 8. Ἐν τῷ ἀρφαλεῖ ἦδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἂν ἐτι κακὸν παθεῖν. Ib. viii. 7, 27. See iv. 2, 8. Οὕτω γὰρ δοκοῦμεν παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς, ἣν μὲν ἀληθεύητε, ἱκανοὶ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰ ποιεῖν· ἣν δὲ ἐξαπατᾶτε, οὕτω νομιζόμεν ἔχειν ὡς οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν γενήσεσθαι. Ib. iv. 2, 13. (In the last clauses we have ὡς in indirect discourse, like ὥστε in 594, the direct form being οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς γενήσεσθε. Most Mss., however, have γενέσθαι.)

(With Indic.) Πρὸς ταῦδ' ὡς Σοίτων μὲν ἄστν πάν κανανδρίαν στένει. AESCH. Pers. 730. Οὕτως ἔχει γ' ἡ πίστις, ὡς τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἔνεστι, πέρι δ' οὐ προσωμίλησά πω, *so stands my confidence, that belief is in it, while I have had nothing to do yet with testing it.* SOPH.





Τρ. 590. Οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ γέγνετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδόπιος τὸ ὄνομα ἐξέμαθον, i.e. so that all the Greeks came to know well the name of Rhodopia. HDt. ii. 135. Τούτω προσφιλέες οὔτω δὴ τι γέγοντο ὡς σφείας ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι. HDt. i. 163. So iii. 130. Οὕτω μοι προθύμως ἰβοιήθησας ὡς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἴχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι. XEN. CYC. v. 4, 11. Τοσοῦτω πλεονεκτήσαι ὡς πεινήσας τῶν ἡδίστων σιτίων τεύξεται. Ib. vii. 5, 81. So Hell. iv. 4, 16.

609. Besides the authors above mentioned, Euripides has one example of ὡς with the infinitive like ὥστε, Cycl. 647; Thucydides one, vii. 34; and Plato one, Rep. 365 D. We have ὡς with the indicative in PLAT. Men. 71 A; and with the participle in XEN. Cyc. vii. 5, 46, and PLAT. Tim. 56 C (ὡς here having both the participle and the infinitive).

For ὡς with the infinitive after the comparative and ἤ, see 764.

'Εφ' ᾧ AND ἐφ' ᾧτε WITH THE INFINITIVE AND THE FUTURE INDICATIVE.

610. 1. 'Εφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' ᾧτε, on condition that, for the purpose of, take the infinitive, like ὥστε in some of its senses. E.g.

Ἐλεπεν ὅτι σπεισάσθαι βούλοιο, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιτῆδεια ὅσων δέοντο. XEN. AN. iv. 4, 6. Πῶς ἂν οὗτος ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ κακὸδοξος εἶναι; Id. Ag. iv. 1. Ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τοῦτω μέντοι, ἐφ' ᾧτε μηκέτι φιλοσοφεῖν, on condition that you will no longer be a philosopher. PLAT. Ap. 29 C. Αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστας πολιτεύσονται, for the purpose of compiling laws. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (For πολιτεύσονται, see 574.) Διομολογήθη αὐτῷ ἀποσταλῆσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου μᾶς εἴκοσι, ἐφ' ᾧτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεισιν. AESCHIN. iii. 114. (For the future infinitive, see 113.)

2. Herodotus and Thucydides sometimes have ἐφ' ᾧ or ἐφ' ᾧτε, on condition that, with the future indicative. E.g.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτω δὲ ἰπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἰπ' οὐδενὸς ἡμέων ἀρξομαι, I withdraw upon this condition, that I shall be ruled by none of you. HDt. iii. 83. Τοῦτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος εἶν κατῆγαγε, ἐφ' ᾧτε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἰροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. Id. vii. 153. Καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πάσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐξέλινται. THUC. i. 113. Ξινέβησαν ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐξίαισιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἰπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς, they made an agreement with the condition that they should depart from Peloponnesus under truce, and never again set foot in it. Id. i. 103.

Temporal Particles signifying Until and Before.

A. "Ἔως,¹ ὄφρα, εἰς ὃ OR εἰσόκε, ἔστε, ἄχρι, μέχρι, UNTIL.

611. All of these words are used also in the sense of *while*, *so long as*, and have the constructions of ordinary relative clauses (514). In common with *dum*, *donec*, and *quoad* in Latin, and *while* or *whiles* in Elizabethan English,² they mean not only *during the time when*, but also *up to the time when*. As relatives, in the former sense they can have an antecedent like *τέως*, *so long*, *ἔως* etc. meaning *as*; in the latter sense they can have one like *μέχρι τούτου*, *down to that time*, *ἔως* etc. supplementing this by *at which* or *when*. The idea of a clause with *until* is that the action (or negation) of the leading clause continues to a time *at which* that of the dependent clause takes place. That the former action then *ceases* is an inference generally made, but not positively implied in the language, and not necessary. Our word *until* thus includes what the Greek may express by *μέχρι τούτου* *ἔως* or (omitting the antecedent) by *ἔως* alone.

612. A clause with *until* referring to an actual past occurrence (613) is simply a temporal clause of this peculiar character, with the construction of a relative clause with a definite antecedent (519). But when it refers to the future, it becomes a conditional relative clause, and *μαχοῦμαι ἔως ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἔλω*, *I shall (continue to) fight to the time at which I shall take the city*, has the conditional force which comes from the indefinite antecedent; for even if *μέχρι τούτου* were inserted here, it would denote no definite period, but only one limited or *conditioned* by the future capture of the city. The actual apodosis to the condition is not *μαχοῦμαι* alone, but rather the whole implied idea, *I shall go on fighting* to the future time, the limit of which is set by *ἔως ἂν ἔλω*. It has been seen (486; 490) that ordinary conditional clauses may condition not their expressed leading clause, but one which the context implies; as *ἔννεμιχίαν ποιοῦμεν, ἣν τις ἐφ' ἡμῶς ἴη*, *we are making an alliance, (to be ready) in case any one shall attack us*. Again, a conditional clause may refer to an object which is aimed at in the action of the leading verb; as *Πάτροκλον ἔφεπε ἵππους, εἴ κέν μιν ἔλγῃ*, *turn your horses on P., if haply you may take him*, i.e. *that you may take him, if haply you may* (487, 1). In like manner a conditional relative clause with *until* is

¹ In Homer, where the form *ἔως* would seldom suit the verse, *εως* or *εως* is commonly written.

² "He shall conceal it *whiles* (= *until*) you are willing it shall come to note." Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, iv. 3. See Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 93.

Scottish and North Eng last while cases for title

a main positive clause the action continues to a time at which the
pendent clause takes place. (He kept looking at me until I crossed the bridge)
& a negative main clause. E.g. implied 'action negation' main verb in
did not look at me until I crossed the bridge ^{or} 'implication' = but he did look

οὐκ ἔβλεπε με ἕως ἵνα διαβῆτον, ἔως ὅταν διαβῆτον

to me. "εἰς" involves all that εἰς does locative the time when,

He never reported of this until he dies"



very apt to refer to an object aimed at, and thus to become at once final, relative, and conditional: thus in Il. iii. 291 (see 613, 3), it is distinctly implied that the *end of the war* (τέλος πολέμοιο) is a condition which is to limit the time of fighting, and also an object at which the fighting aims. The same is true in general of the other forms of conditional relative sentence which the clause with *until* may take. It will be seen (614, 2) that in the *Odyssey* ἕως develops a peculiar force in this direction, which makes it almost a final particle.

613. (ἕως.) 1. When ἕως, *until*, refers to a definite past action, it takes the indicative, usually the aorist. *E.g.*

Νῆχον πάλιν, εἰς ἐπὶ λήθον εἰς ποταμόν, *I swam on again until I came into a river.* Od. vii. 280. Ἀντάρ ὁ περὶς θῆνε διὰ προμάχων, εἰς φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν. Il. xi. 341. So Od. v. 123. Οἰμογῆ κατέχευε πελαγίαν ἄλα, ἕως κελευμένης νυκτὸς ὄρμ' ἀφείλετο, *until the eye of dark night interrupted.* AESCH. Pers. 426. Πίνει ἕως ἐθέρμην' αὐτὸν ἀμφιβᾶστα φλόξ οἴνου. EUR. Alc. 758. Ἐμείναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ στρατηγοί. XEN. Hell. i. 1, 29. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν ἕως ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆν. Id. Cyr. iii. 3, 4. Οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, ἕως τὴν πόλιν εἰς στήσεις κατέστησαν. LYS. xxv. 26. Μέχρι τούτου φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὀλυμπον. DEM. xviii. 48.

In the last two examples πρότερον and μέχρι τούτου are antecedents of ἕως, *until*, as τῶς often corresponds to ἕως, *while*.

2. When a clause with ἕως, *until*, refers to a result which was *not attained* in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of a condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative, like a conditional relative clause in a similar case (528). *E.g.*

Ἡδέος ἂν τούτῳ ἔτι διελεγόμην, ἕως ἀντὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἀπέδωκα ῥῆσιν ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Ζήθου, *I should gladly have continued to talk with him, until I had paid him back Amphion's speech in return for Zethus's.* PLAT. Gorg. 506 B. Οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύομην, ἕως ἀπεπειράθην τῆς σοφίας ταυτησί. Id. Crat. 396 C. Ἐπισχῶν ἂν, ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰσθότων γνώμην ἀπεφύγαντο, . . . ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, i.e. *I should have waited until most of the regular speakers had declared their opinion, etc.* DEM. iv. 1. (For ἂν here, see 223.) So AR. Pac. 71. In LYS. xvii. 12 we have ἕως ἐπέλιπε after ἐχρῆν φαίνεσθαι.

The leading verb must be an indicative with ἂν, or some other form implying the non-fulfilment of a condition. (See 559.)

3. When a clause with ἕως refers to the future, and depends on a verb of future time (not an optative), ἕως has ἄν or κέ and the subjunctive, like a conditional relative clause (529). *E.g.*

Μαχήσομαι ἄθι μένων, εἰως κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχείω, *I shall remain here and fight, until I (shall) find an end of the war.* Π. iii. 291. So xxiv. 183. "Ἐως δ' ἂν οἶν πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα, *until you learn the whole from him who was present, continue to hope.* SOPH. O. T. 834. So AR. Nub. 1489. Μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρήναι κατηγορεῖν, ἕως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξια εἰργάσθαι, *for so far do I think I ought to proceed in my accusation, until it shall appear that deeds deserving death have been done by the defendant.* LYB. xii. 37. Δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν, *we must not wait until they are upon us.* ISOC. iv. 165. Οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἕως ἂν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται, *we are not waiting until our land shall be ravaged (i.e. until the ravaging shall be going on).* XEN. Cyr. iii. 3, 18. The present subjunctive is rare; but when it is needed, it is unobjectionable: see THUC. i. 90 (quoted in 614, 1).

4. When a clause with ἕως refers to the future and depends on an optative with ἄν, it generally has the optative (without ἄν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (531). *E.g.*

Εἰ δὲ πᾶν σπουδάξοι φαγεῖν, εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἔσθιν, ἕως παρατείνειαι τοῦτον, *but if he should be very eager to eat, I should tell him that his dinner is with the women, until I put him to torture.* XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 11. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἂν ἐξαλείφοιεν, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐγγράφοιεν, ἕως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπεια ἦθη θεοφιλή ποιήσειαν, *and they would blot out one thing and again put in another, until they made human characters as pleasing as possible to God.* PLAT. Rep. 501 B. Ὡσαύτως ἂν διδοίης (λόγον), ἕως ἐπὶ τι ἱκανὸν ἐλθοῖς. Id. Phaed. 101 D. So after an infinitive depending on an optative; as δέοιτό γ' ἂν ἀποῦ μένειν ἕως ἀπέλθοις, *he would ask him to remain until you departed (should depart).* XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 13. In Od. ii. 77 we have ἕως κε with the optative (512): τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ ἄστυ ποτιπτισοῖμεθα μίθῳ χρέματ' ἀπειτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη. In PLAT. Phaed. 101 D, ἕως ἂν σκέψωμαι represents ἕως ἂν σκέψωμαι of direct discourse (see 702).

The optative with ἕως is most common after past tenses, in the construction of 614.

5. When the clause introduced by ἕως, *until*, depends upon a verb denoting a *customary* or *repeated action* or a *general truth*, and refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class, it takes ἄν and the subjunctive after primary tenses, and the simple optative after secondary tenses. (See 532.) *E.g.*

"Ἄ δ' ἂν ἀνέντακτα ἦ, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἀεὶ πράγματα παρέχειν, ἕως ἂν χώραν λάβῃ, *they must always make trouble until they are put in order.* XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 37. Ποιοῦμεν ταῦθ' ἐκάρταθ', ἕως ἂν αὐτὸν ἐμβάλωμεν ἐς κακόν, *we always treat him thus, until we cast him into*

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cf. C.R. vii p.7-11; viii p.166. A.J.P. 24. 396ff.

Hompson p. 232: Such sentences do express purpose, but this is not as in the temporal formula \rightarrow its conclusion, but in the nature of principal verb contrast with the indefinite tense-view.

1. commonly regard $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as denoting futurity; but $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is de purpose here, and for this $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ we might have $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ with 'of'.

παγγελθειν in § 698 is referred to indirect-discourse. How is there any purpose if $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ might have been used?

αὐτοῦμα ἰ' ἴστο, ἴσαντο καὶ τάρροι οἱ δὲ ἐδ' ἕνανιο πρὸ αὐτῶν, $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
πὸ δὲ ἰστο βουδυσοισιν (v.l. αὐτῶν) F. H. 4. 4. 9.

trouble. AR. NUB. 1458. Περιεμμένονεν ὄν ἐκάστοτε, ἕως ἀνοιχθεῖη τὸ δεσμωτήριον, *we waited every day until the prison was opened.* PLAT. Phaed. 59 D.

614. (*Final use of ἕως.*) 1. It will be seen by the examples under 613 (see the first under 3 and the first three under 4) that the clause with ἕως very often implies a *purpose*, the attainment of which is aimed at or expected. When such a clause, implying a purpose which would originally be expressed by a subjunctive, depends on a past tense, it generally takes the optative; but the subjunctive also may be used, to retain the mood in which the purpose would be originally conceived, as in final clauses (318). *E.g.*

Οὐδ' ἔτλη πόσιος εἶρυσθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπερές, εἰς ἵκοιτο, *nor did she dare to guard her husband's great house constantly until he should come.* OD. xliii. 150. Ἠσύχαζε τῷ στρατῷ, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις θεοῖ βοηθεῖν, *he kept quiet until it should be necessary to help the Ambraciots.* THUC. iii. 102. (The present optative is rare.) So LYS. xiii. 25. Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθεῖη τὰ λεχθέντα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, *they made a truce, (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta.* XEN. Hell. iii. 2, 20. (Here ἕως ἂν ἀπαγγελθῆ might have been used, as in the following examples.) Ἔως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. *Ib. v. 3, 25.* Ἄλλ' ἐπωχεῖν (τοῖς πρέσβεισι ἐκέλευεν) μέχρι τοσοῦτον, ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἴρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι, *but he bade them detain the ambassadors until they (the Athenians) should be getting their wall high enough to defend.* THUC. i. 90. (Most editors emend αἴρωσιν to the aorist ἄρωσιν, which with ἕως would mean *until they should get the wall high enough*, the former being less definite and exact in its time, and therefore more appropriate here.)

For the intermediate form of ἕως ἂν with the optative in such sentences, see SOPH. Tr. 687, AND. i. 81, ISOC. xvii. 15 (in 702).

2. In five passages in the Odyssey ἕως with the optative after a past tense has an unusually strong final force, so that it appears almost like a final particle.

Ἠέμπε δέ μιν πρὸς δόματ' Ὀδυσσῆος, εἰς Πηνελόπειαν ὀδύρομένην γούσκων παύσειε κλανθμοῖο, *she sent her to the house of Ulysses, (to the end) that she might cause Penelope to cease her lamenting.* iv. 799. Ὠρεε δ' ἐπὶ κρατῖνον Βορέην πρὸ δὲ κύματ' ἔαξεν, ἕως ὃ γε Φαιήκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι μεγείη, *and she rous'd swift Boreas and broke the waves before him, that Ulysses might come to the oar-loving Phaeacians.* v. 385. Μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδοῦ ἤλασα πολλῆς, εἰς θερμαίνοιτο, *I pushed the club under the deep ashes, that it might be heated (to remain until it should be heated).* ix. 375. So δῶκεν ἔλαιον, εἰς χυτλῶσαιτο, vi. 79; and ἀρώμενος εἰς ἵκοιτο, xix. 367.

In none of these cases will *until* express the final force of the clause with ἕως. It appears as if ἕως here began the same course by

which ὄφρα, ὡς, and ὅπως became final particles (312-314), but did not complete the change.

615. (Ὀφρα.) In epic poetry ὄφρα, *until*, is used like ἕως. *E.g.*

Ὡς μὲν Οἰρήκας ἄνδρας ἐπόχετο Τυδέος υἱός, ὄφρα δινώδεκ' ἔπεφνεν, *until he had slain twelve*. Il. x. 488. Ἦρχ' ἵμενα, ὄφρ' ἀφίκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν, ἧ μὲν ἀνώγει. Il. xiii. 329. Ἦιεν, ὄφρα μέγα σπέος ἵκετο. Od. v. 57. (See 613, 1.)

Ἄλλὰ μὲν, ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιθήεα οἶνον ἐνεΐκω, *but wait, until I shall bring you honey-sweet wine*. Il. vi. 258. Τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὄφρ' ἂν Ἀχαιοὶ υἱὸν ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὀφέλλωσιν τέ ἐτιμῆ. Il. i. 509. So Il. xv. 232. (See 613, 3.)

Νωλεμέως δ' ἐχόμην, ὄφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσω ἰστὸν καὶ τρόπιν αὐτίς, *I clung steadfastly, until she (Charybdis) should vomit forth again the mast and keel*. Od. xii. 437. (See 614, 1.)

616. (Εἰς ὃ κε and ἐς ὃ.) Homer uses εἰς ὃ κε (or εἰσόκε), *until*, like ἕως κε, with the subjunctive, and once with the optative. Herodotus uses ἐς ὃ and ἐς οἷ, *until*, like ἕως, with the indicative, and ἐς ὃ ἂν with the subjunctive. *E.g.*

Μίμνετε εἰς ὃ κε ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἔλωμεν, *wait until we capture Priam's great city*. Il. ii. 331. Ὑψι δ' ἐπ' εἰνῶων ὀρμίσσομεν, εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃ νύξ ἀμβρότη, *and we will pour them far out by stones, until divine night shall come*. Il. xiv. 77. In Il. xv. 70 we have εἰς ὃ κ' Ἀχαιοὶ Ἴλιον ἔλοιεν, depending on an optative with ἂν (613, 4; 542).

Ὀὔτος δὲ ἀνηκοίστέε τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην, *but he disobeyed and paid no attention to me, until he got his punishment*. Il. i. 115. Ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. Id. i. 98. So i. 158, 202; v. 92; vi. 75. Ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, ἐς οἷ δὲ Λίχης ἀνέστρε. Id. i. 67. (Many editors change ἐς οἷ to ἐς ὃ.) In ii. 143, ἕως οἷ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπῶσας αὐτάς, *until they had shewn them all, ἕως οἷ of the Mss. is generally emended to ἐς ὃ*. Ἄλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλλήνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ, *I shall keep them until he comes himself and wishes to take them away*. Id. ii. 115.


A singular case of ἐς ὃ occurs in Thuc. v. 66, ἐς ὃ ἐμνήμητο, *as far back as they remembered* (Schol. μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μνήμην).

617. (Ἔσπε.) Ἔσπε, *until*, is not found in Homer, but is used like ἕως in tragedy, in Attic prose (especially in Xenophon), and in Herodotus. *E.g.*

Χρόνον ταῖδ' ἦν ποσοῖτον, ἔστ' ἐν αἰθέρι μῶφ κατίστη λαμπρὸς ἡλίον κύκλος καὶ κατ' ἔθαλπε. SOPH. ANT. 415: so EL. 763; AESCH. PROM. 457. Ξενεῖρον ἀπῶντες, ἔσπε ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο, *they marched away without stopping, until they came to the tents*. XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 6; so AN. iii. 4, 49.

Τὴν παροῦσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην, ἔστ' ἂν Διὸς φρόνημα λαφύσῃ





περιέμειναι ἐν κἀρχῇ, μέχρι ἔλθω, κ. 11. ... 3...

χόλου. AESCH. PROM. 375; so 697. Ἐφθογγον εἶναι τὸν πυλαμναῖον νόμος, ἔστ' ἂν σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι, *it is the law that the murderer shall be speechless until streams of blood have been poured upon him.* Id. EUM. 448. Αὐτοῦ τῆδε μενέομεν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. HDT. vii. 141. Περιμένετε ἔστ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω. XEN. AN. v. 1, 4.

Ἐπιμῖναι κελύσαντες ἔστε βουλευσάιντο, ἐθύνοντο, *bidding them wait until they had consulted, they made sacrifice.* Id. AN. v. 5, 2. (Ἐστ' ἂν βουλευσώνται might have been retained from the direct form, as in the next example.) Ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτὰ, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθὼν λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα, *until he should come and take the gifts.* Id. HELL. iii. 1, 15. So AN. vii. 1, 33; HDT. viii. 4.

Ὅποτε ὦρα εἴη ἀρίστων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοῖς ἔστε ἐμφάγοιέν τι, ὡς μὴ βουλιμῶεν, *he always waited until they had eaten something.* XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 44.

618. (Ἄχρι and μέχρι.) Ἄχρι and μέχρι, *until*, are used like ἕως, but chiefly in prose and in later Greek. *E.g.*

Καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο, *until darkness came on.* XEN. AN. iv. 2, 4; so iii. 4, 8. Εἰστήκει μέχρι ἕως ἐγένετο. PLAT. Symp. 220 D.

Μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω, αἱ σπονδαὶ μεόντων, *but until I come, let the truce remain.* XEN. AN. ii. 3, 24; so i. 4, 13. Εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελύειν τοῖς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ, *to wait until he should find leisure.* Ib. ii. 3, 2. Μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἰδῶμεν, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι, *but until we see this, we shall remain by ourselves.* HDT. iv. 119 (for the omission of ἂν see 620). Herodotus prefers the form with οὐ (619).

Ἄχρι is much less common in this sense than μέχρι. The forms ἄχρισ and μέχρισ are not used by the best writers.

619. Ἄχρι οὐ and μέχρι οὐ are used like ἄχρι and μέχρι. *E.g.* Τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων, ἄχρι οὐ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο, Τισίφορος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε. XEN. HELL. vi. 4, 37. So Cyr. v. 4, 16; THUC. v. 26; HDT. i. 187, vii. 60. Τοῖς Ἑλληνας ἀπελείψατο δουλείας, ὥστ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι μέχρι οὐ πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς κατεδουλώσαντο. PLAT. MENEX. 245 A.

Παραδόδοι ἐντειλάμενος θείναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὐ τελευτήσῃ, *to watch him until he dies.* HDT. i. 117 (see 614). Κατατίθεται ἐς Τενεδόν μέχρι οὐ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξῃ, *until the Athenians shall pass some vote about them* (see 620). THUC. iii. 28.

620. (Omission of ἂν.) Ἄν is sometimes omitted after ἕως and the other particles meaning *until* (including πρὶν), when they take the subjunctive. This is most frequent in tragic poetry, but it occurs sometimes with ἐς ὄ or ἐς οὐ in Herodotus, and with μέχρι and μέχρι (or ἄχρι) οὐ in Herodotus and Thucydides. *E.g.*

Ἔως τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μάθῃς. SOPH. AJ. 555. Ἀρήγετ' ἔστ' ἐγὼ μεληθῶ. Ib. 1183. So O. C. 77, Tr. 148, Ph. 764. Ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρενρέθῃ τι ἀδικόν, μέχρι τούτων. HDT. iii. 31. Μηδὲνα ἐκβῆναι μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται, *that nobody should leave the ship*

before she sailed. THUC. i. 137. Ἀπτοῖς ἐς φυλακὴν διεκόμισαν, μέχρι οὐ Ἀθήναζε περιφθῶσιν. Id. iv. 46 ; see iv. 16 and 41, and iii. 28 (quoted in 619). See also μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, HD. iv. 119, and ἄχρι οὐ τελειήσῃ, Id. i. 117.

The only case in Homer of this omission of *κέ* or *ἄν* is the doubtful one, ἔχει κόπον ὄφρα τελέσῃ, Il. i. 82, where ὄφρα may perhaps be final. (See 468.)

For *πρίν* without *ἄν* with the subjunctive, even in Attic prose, see 648.

B. Πρίν, BEFORE, UNTIL¹

Meaning and General Use of πρίν.

621. Πρίν was originally a comparative adverb (= πρότερον and πάρος), formed from πρό and meaning *before*. It appears in the usual adverbial relations ; as πρίν μοι ἰπέσχετο, *he once promised me* ; πρίν ὄν, *having been of old* ; ἐν τῷ πρίν χρόνῳ, *in the former time* ; and it once takes the genitive like a preposition in PIND. Py. iv. 13, πρίν ὄρας, *before its time*. With the infinitive it originally expressed a simple temporal relation, πρίν ἐλθεῖν being the equivalent of the later πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, *before going*. With the finite moods πρίν always expresses a *limit of time* and means *until*, like ἕως, having become a conjunction, not losing, however, its original meaning of *before*. From this original comparative meaning, πρίν has a negative force, implying that something does or does not happen *before* (i.e. *in the absence of*) another event ; so that οὔπω or μήπω with a temporal participle may generally be substituted for πρίν and the infinitive. Thus, in καί δὲ Πύδαιον πρίν ἐλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, Il. xiii. 172, for πρίν ἐλθεῖν, *before they came*, we could substitute οὔπω ἐλθόντων, etc. So πρίν ἄν with the subjunctive is often interchangeable with ἦν μή, and always implies it ; thus μὴ ἀπέλθῃς πρίν ἄν ἀκούσῃς, *do not depart until you hear*, implies ἦν μή ἀκούσῃς, *without hearing*. One result of this negative character of πρίν is its strong affinity for the aorist, the tense which denotes simple occurrence. (See *Am. Jour. Phil.* ii. pp. 466 ff.)

622. In Homeric Greek πρίν generally takes the primitive construction with the infinitive without regard to the nature of the leading verb. In lyric poetry, Herodotus, and Attic Greek, πρίν takes the infinitive chiefly when the leading clause is affirmative ; otherwise, it takes one of the finite moods, like ἕως, having the sense of *until*. But, while the indicative may sometimes follow πρίν, meaning *until*, when the leading clause is affirmative, the

¹ *Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit Πρίν*, von Josef Sturm : Heft 3 of Schanz's *Beiträge*.





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subjunctive and optative are never used unless the leading clause is negative or involves a negative idea.

Development of the Constructions with πρίν.

623. The Attic uses of *πρίν* with the indicative, subjunctive, and optative, are seen in a primitive stage of development in Homer. The construction of *πρίν* itself with the indicative was yet unknown; but four cases of *πρίν γ' ὅτε* with the indicative show a tendency in this direction. Six cases of *πρίν* (without *ἄν* or *κεῖ*) with the subjunctive and one with the optative (in indirect discourse) mark the beginning of the later usage with these moods. On the other hand, 81 cases of *πρίν* with the infinitive show the prevailing Homeric construction. Here, as in all periods of the language, when *πρίν* takes the infinitive, we have simply a statement of fact, that one thing precedes another; in *ναῖε δὲ Πηδαιὼν πρίν ἐλθεῖν υἱὸς Ἀχαιῶν*, and *he dwelt in Pedaeum before the coming of the sons of the Greeks*, *πρίν ἐλθεῖν* implies no more than *πρὸ ἀφίξεως* or the later *πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν*. Any further idea that may be implied comes from the context, and is not found in the words. This use of *πρίν* has little analogy in Greek syntax, its nearest parallel being the later use of *ὥστε* or *ὡς* with the infinitive. The simplest theory, which best suits the Homeric usage, seems to be that *πρίν* has a "quasi-prepositional" relation to the infinitive, which is a verbal noun, a relation the same in effect as that of *πρό* in *πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν* in the later Attic construction. (See XEN. Mem. ii. 6, 6, and DEM. xix. 73.) A similar use of *ἀντί* with the infinitive in a few cases in Herodotus (see 803) shows a tendency to go further in the same direction.

624. The Homeric language was generally contented with the simple *πρίν* and the infinitive, even when it was implied that the clause with *πρίν* set a limit to the action (or negation) of the leading clause, i.e. when *πρίν* could be expressed by *until*. So in II. xxi. 100, *πρίν Πάτροκλον ἐπισπεῖν αἰσιμον ἡμαρ, τόφρα τί μοι πεφιδεύθαι φίλτερον ἦεν Τρώων*, i.e. *until the death of Patroclus I preferred to spare the Trojans* (which he will no longer do); and xix. 312, *οἷδέ τι θυμῷ τέρπετο πρίν πολέμου στόμα δῦμεναι*, i.e. *he felt no pleasure until he entered the battle*; in both cases the Attic Greek might have used *πρίν* with the indicative. So also when the clause with *πρίν* is future and conditional; as in II. xix. 423, *οὐ λήξω πρίν Τρώας ἄδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο*, *I will not stop until I have given the Trojans enough of war*. It was in cases like the last, where the mere temporal *πρίν ἐλάσαι* expresses the future condition very imperfectly, that the need of a more exact form was

first felt. The need existed only after negative sentences, as here only could such a future condition be expressed by *πρίν* consistently with its original meaning *before*. *I shall not cease fighting until (before) I see the end of the war* contains a future condition (= ἦν μί) which *πρίν* can properly express; but the equivalent affirmative, *I shall go on fighting until I see the end of the war*, could not be expressed by *πρίν*, as we cannot substitute *before* for *until*, but it would require *ἕως*, which is *until* with no sense of *before*. The forms of parataxis suggested a simple and natural way of meeting this want, through the adverbial use of *πρίν*. In a sentence like οὐδέ μιν ἀσπίστεις πρίν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθαι, *nor will you recall him to life:—sooner than this will you suffer some new affliction*, Il. xxiv. 551, we have only to remove the colon and make *πρίν* a conjunction to obtain the regular construction of *πρίν* with the subjunctive, *nor will you recall him to life before (until) you suffer some new affliction*. This result could not have been attained with an affirmative leading clause; for while οὐ τοῦτο ποιήσω πρίν με κελεύσῃς, *I shall not do this:—you shall command me first*, gives the meaning *I shall not do this before you command me*, the paratactic affirmative, τοῦτο ποιήσω πρίν με κελεύσῃς, would give only *you will command me before I do this*. *I shall do this before you command me* would be τοῦτο ποιήσω πρίν σε κελεύσῃς, which is not the result of any form of parataxis. The six cases of *πρίν* with the subjunctive in Homer are all without *ἄν* or *κέ*, and all follow negatives. The primitive character and the rarity of this construction seem to show that we are nearer the original parataxis here than in any other form; while the change of the subjunctive to the optative after a past tense in Il. xxi. 580 (see 639) shows that the dependence of the clause with *πρίν* is thoroughly established (cf. 307). An attempt to arrive at the same result in a more awkward way appears in two cases of *πρίν γ' ὄτ' ἄν* with the subjunctive in the *Odyssey* (641), where *πρίν* introduces the subjunctive with *ὄτ' ἄν* very much as it introduces the infinitive.

625. No case of *πρίν* with the indicative occurs in Homer; but the want was supplied by *πρίν γ' ὅτε δή* with the indicative, which resembles *πρίν γ' ὄτ' ἄν* with the subjunctive just mentioned. As this construction is not the result of parataxis, and there is no such obstacle to combining the ideas of *until* and *before* in statements of past fact after affirmative clauses as was felt in future conditions (624), we find *πρίν γ' ὅτε* with the indicative after both affirmative and negative sentences (see the examples in 636). It thus appears that *πρίν* was not sufficiently established as a conjunction in Homer to take the indicative without the



intervention of *ὅτε*, although *πρίν* with the subjunctive had become a fixed construction.

The history of the uses of *πρίν* after Homer will be found below. (See 627; 632-634; 637; 642; 643; 645.)

Πρίν WITH THE INFINITIVE.

626. (*In Homer.*) In Homer the infinitive regularly follows *πρίν* after both affirmative and negative sentences, often where the Attic Greek would have the finite moods.

E.g.

Ναίε δὲ Πηδαιον πρίν ἐλθεῖν νίας Ἀχαιῶν. II. xiii. 172. *Τοῦ δ' ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος πρίν οὐτάσαι, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτεν.* II. xvi. 322. *Σφῶιν δὲ πρίν περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γνία, πρίν πόλεμόν τ' ἰδέειν πολέμου τε μέγμερα ἔργα, before they saw the war, etc.* II. viii. 452. (See 657.) *Φεύγει πρίν περ ὄμιλον ἀολισθήμεναι ἀνδρῶν.* II. xv. 588. *Ἦ κ' ἔτι πολλοὶ γαίαν ὀδᾶξ εἶλον πρίν Ἴλιον εἰσαφικέσθαι.* II. xxii. 17. *Ἀλλά οἱ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ὀλέσει βίην πρίν ἡμῖν πῆμα φυτεῖσθαι.* Od. iv. 668. *Αἴθ' ὄφελλ' ἄλλοθ' ὀλέσθαι πρίν ἐλθεῖν.* Od. xviii. 402. *Οὐδ' ἀπολόγῃ πρίν χροὺς ἀνδρομέοιο διελθεῖν.* II. xx. 100. *Οὐ λήξω πρίν Ἰρώας ἄδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο.* II. xix. 423. *Οὐ μ' ἀποτρέψεις πρίν χαλκῷ μαχέσασθαι.* II. xx. 257. *Οὐδ' ὃ γε λοιγὸν ἀπώσει πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι κούρην.* II. i. 97.

In the last three examples the subjunctive would be regular in Attic, and even Homer uses it in a few such cases (639). In II. xx. 100 *πρίν δαήλθεν* would have been the common Attic form. In the other examples, in which a mere temporal relation is expressed, the infinitive would be required in Attic Greek.

Hesiod has one example (Scut. 40) and the Homeric Hymns one (Ven. 151) of *πρίν* with the infinitive, both after negative sentences.

627. (*After Homer.*) The lyric poets, Herodotus, and the Attic writers use the infinitive after *πρίν* chiefly when the leading sentence is *affirmative*. But the infinitive is always required when *πρίν* means simply *before*, not *until*. *E.g.*

Πρίν ἐκτελέσαι κατέβη δόμον Ἄιδος. THEOG. 917. *Ἴσταμαι ἀμπνέων πρίν τι φάμεν, I stand taking breath before I speak.* PIND. Nem. viii. 19; so Py. ix. 113. *Πρίν ὄν παρεῖναι ἐκείνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἱρίας καιρὸς ἔστι προβοηθῆραι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, before he comes into Attica, etc.* HEP. viii. 144. *Πρίν νῦν τὰ πλείον' ἱστορεῖν, ἐκ τῆσδ' ἔωρας ἐξελθ', before seeking further, etc.* SOPH. O. C. 36. *Ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρίν ἀκοῦσαι.* THUC. ii. 12. So ii. 13, *πρίν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.* *Ἀφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺν πρίν ἐξικνεῖσθαι.* XEN. Cyr. iii. 3, 60. *Ἠμεῖς τοίνυν Μεσσηρην εἰλομεν πρίν Πέρσας*

λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι τίνας τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων. ISOC. vi. 26. Καὶ πρὶν ἐξ μῆνας γεγονέναι, ἀπέδωκε. PLAT. PROT. 320 A. Ἐπιπέσει ἄρ. εἰ κακὸν προσούτομεν νέον παλαιῷ, πρὶν τόδ' ἐξηγνησθῆναι, *we are ruined, then, if we shall add a new calamity to the former one, before we shall have exhausted this* (109). EUR. MED. 78.

In the following cases the infinitive is necessary, even after negatives. Πρὶν ὡς Ἐφροβὸν εἰσελθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐχρήρευσε, *she was not a widow a single day before she went to Aphobus* (where until would be absurd). DEM. xxx. 33. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι τὴν δίκην εἶχεν ὧν δικαζόμεθα, *i.e. he did not have it even before he lost the suit* (much less afterwards). ISAE. v. 21. So AR. AV. 964; THUC. i. 39, 68. See also ISOC. v. 70, ὅταν δεδῶσι μὴ πρότερόν τι πάθης πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πραιτομένοις, *when they fear lest you may meet with some disaster before you finish what you are doing* (not until you finish). Indeed, μὴ after a verb of fearing does not make a negative sentence so far as the sense is concerned, what affects the dependent clause being the positive idea in πάθης: see SOPH. TR. 632. *Εὐεργ. Α. 9. 402 N.*

628. An infinitive with πρὶν sometimes depends on a negative clause, where a finite mood might be allowed, because the temporal relation is still so prominent as to determine the construction. This may happen when the clause with πρὶν precedes, so that the dependence which *until* expresses is obscured by the position. *E.g.*

Ὅπως μὴ πρότερον νῆξ ἔσται πρὶν πυνθέσθαι ἅπαντας, *i.e. lest night should come before they had heard them all*. AND. i. 43. Πρὶν τὴν ναυμαχίαν νικῆσαι ἡμᾶς, γῆ οὐκ ἦν ἄλλ' ἢ χωρίδιον μικρόν, *before we gained the naval victory, he had only a little piece of land* (the argument tries to prove that he died poor). LYS. xix. 28. Καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδὲς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι, *and let no one interrupt me before he hears* (where πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ, *until he hears*, would suggest the wrong idea). DEM. v. 15. Πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πρῶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτεστα ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται (where the irony of the question would make *until* absurd). ID. iii. 12; so 13. Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶξαι Λεοκράτην ἀδελφὸν ἦν ὅποιοι τινες ὄντες ἐτύγγαλον· νῦν δὲ πᾶσι φανερόν (where the temporal relation in πρὶν μὲν and νῦν δὲ is the only important one). LYCURG. 135. See also AESCH. SEPT. 1048, AG. 1067; SOPH. AJ. 1419; XEN. CYR. iv. 3, 10.

629. The infinitive sometimes follows πρὶν after negative sentences where we might have the optative, which for some reason was not common after πρὶν. *E.g.*

Ὅκ ἂν μελλίτο πρὶν καθ' ἡδονὴν κλύειν, *he would not give it up until he should hear (before hearing) what he desired*. SOPH. TR. 197. (We might have πρὶν κλύοι: cf. TR. 2, οὐκ ἂν αἰῶν' ἐκμάθους βροτῶν, πρὶν ἂν θάνῃ τις, where πρὶν θάνοι might have been used.) So AESCH. SUPP. 772. Οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύεσθαι ἔτι ἔφη, πρὶν τριπλὴν ἡμέρας μείναι, *until he should wait, etc.* THUC. vii. 50. Ἰκέτεον μὴδ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, *until they should invade*

.39.68 the oil belongs with the infinitives rather than with
infinit verbs (Thompson p. 244)

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the country. XEN. Hell. vi. 5, 23. Ούτε αὐτός ποτε πρίν ἰδρῶσαι δαίπνον ἤρείτο. Id. Cyr. viii. 1, 38. (Here *πρίν ἰδρῶσαι* in the generic sense would be the natural expression; but it is doubtful whether this construction was ever used with *πρίν*. For An. iv. 5, 30, see 646.)

630. There remain some cases of *πρίν* with the infinitive after negative clauses where the older usage seems to be retained in place of the more exact later use of the indicative or subjunctive. *E.g.*

Οὐδὲ πρὸς δικαστηρίῳ οὐδὲ βουλευτηρίῳ ὄφθην οὐδεπώποτε, πρίν ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι, i.e. *never, until this calamity befell me.* LYS. xix. 55. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν αἰσθῆσθαι (τοὺς πονηροὺς) πρίν κακῶς τινα παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, *but since it is not possible to recognise them until somebody is hurt by them* (for *πρίν ἂν πάθῃ τις*). ISOC. xx. 14. In such cases the temporal relation seems to exclude the other in the writer's mind.

631. (*Ἡ πρίν.*) We sometimes find ἢ *πρίν*, *than before*, with the infinitive, a past verb being understood after ἢ. *E.g.*

Οἱ πολέμοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονης εἰσιν ἔνθ' ἢ πρίν ἠττηθῆναι, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττονης ἢ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμῶς, *they are much fewer now than (they were) before they were beaten, etc.* XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 36. So vii. 5, 77. Παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χεῖρον μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἢ (sc. ἐφρόνει) πρίν κατασχέειν τὴν ἀρχήν. ISOC. viii. 126.

This ellipsis occurs first in Xenophon.

Πρίν WITH THE INDICATIVE.

632. (*Early Poets.*) *Πρίν* with the indicative does not occur in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, except in *πρίν γ' ὅτε* (see 636). The first case of simple *πρίν* with the indicative is Hymn. Ap. P. v. 178, ὅς τῃ γ' ἀντιώσει, φέρεσκέ γέ μιν αἰσιμον ἡμῶν, πρίν γέ οἱ ἴον ἐφῆκεν Ἀπόλλων, i.e. *every one was slain, until Apollo sent an arrow at the monster.* Three cases occur in Pindar: Ol. ix. 57, xiii. 65; Nem. iv. 28. The last is the first case of *πρίν* with the indicative after a negative sentence. These are the only cases before the Attic writers.

633. (*Attic Poets.*) Aeschylus has one example, after a negative: οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξηναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων χρεῖα κατεσκεύελλοιτο, πρίν γ' ἐγὼ σφουριεῖν ἐδειξα κρῆναις ἠπίον ἀκεσμάτων, *until I showed them, etc.*, Prom. 479. So likewise Aristophanes: πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρίν ἔρος ξυνέμιξεν ἅπαντα, Av. 700. Sophocles has one, after an affirmative: ἠγρόμην δ' ἀνὴρ ἀστῶν μέγιστος, πρίν μοι τέχνη τοιαύτ' ἐπέστη, *until this fortune befell me*, O. T. 775. Euripides has seven examples, all (according to Sturm) after affirmatives, as follows:—

Ἐν εὐδαίῳ δὲ πως ἔσται, πρίν δὴ τις ἐφθέγγετο. And. 1145. Ἄφρων νεὸς τ' ἦν, πρίν ἐσεῖδον οἶον ἦν, *I was a witless youth, until I saw, etc.* I. A. 489 (where there is a negative force in ἄφρων). Ἄνω-

λόλυξε, πρὶν γ' ὄρᾶ, *she shouted, until she saw*, etc. Med. 1173. (Here the contrast of εἶπ' ἦκεν μέγαν κώκυτον in 1176 gives the idea that she did *not* begin the loud wailing *until* she saw the foam.) Σπουδαὶ ἦσαν ἴσαι, πρὶν Λαερτιάδης πείθει στρατιάν. Hec. 132. The others are Alc. 128; Rhcs. 294, 568.

These are all the cases of πρὶν with the indicative which precede those in prose. It will be seen that the idea of *until* is always conspicuous, even when the leading verb is affirmative; and in the earlier stages of the construction little regard was paid to the character of the leading sentence. With prose a new and stricter usage begins (634).

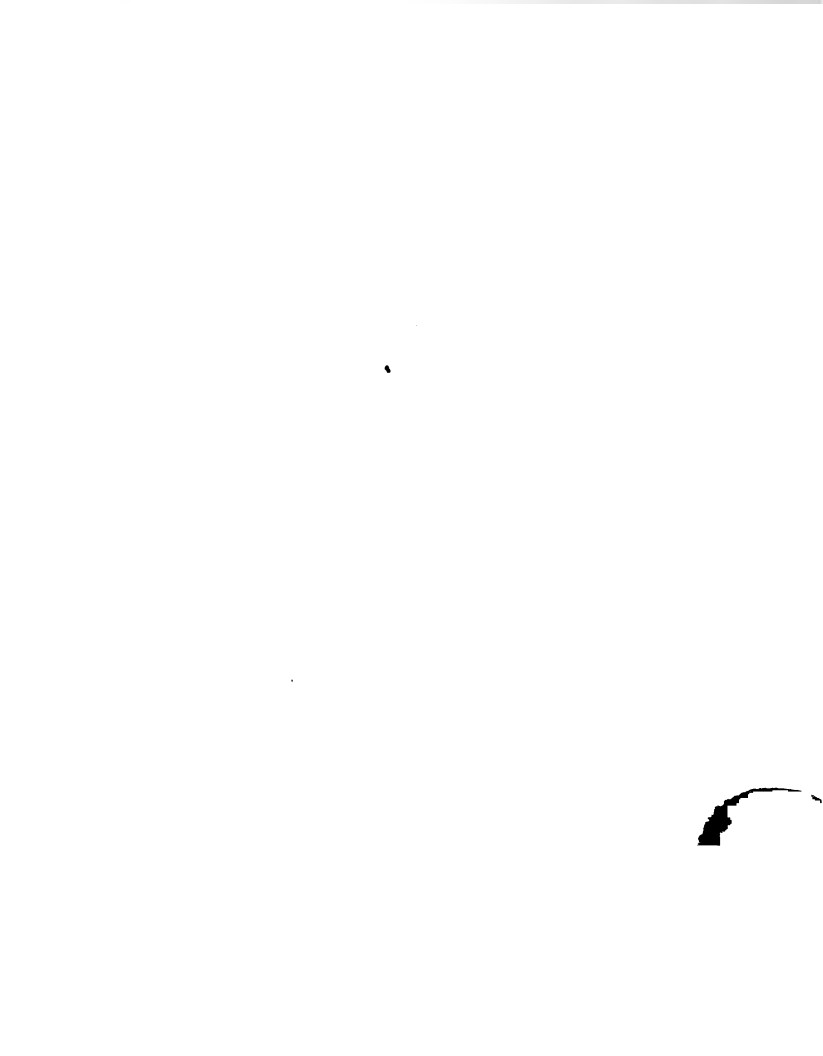
634. (Prose.) In Attic prose and in Herodotus, πρὶν, *until*, referring to a definite past action, regularly takes the indicative after negative sentences or those implying a negative, very rarely after affirmative sentences. *E.g.*

Οἷτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήν ἐγένετο, *he did not yet make an attack until his own day of command came*. HDT. vi. 110. So vi. 79, vii. 239, ix. 22; all with πρὶν γε δὴ. Τοῦτου τοῦ ἔπος λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῖντο πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη. Id. i. 13. For πρὶν ἢ in Herodotus see 651; and for πρότερον ἢ in Herodotus and Thucydides, see 653.

Οὐδ' ἐξέωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, *i.e. until he becomes*, etc. Id. i. 132. Οὐτε τότε ἔναι ἠθέλε, πρὶν ἢ γενῆ αὐτὸν ἐπείσει. XEN. AN. i. 2, 26. Οὐ πρότερον ἠθέλησεν ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐξήλασαν βία. LYS. iii. 7. Μασσηνίους πολιορκοῦντες οὐ πρότερον ἐπαΐσαντο, πρὶν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ISOC. xii. 91. (Isocrates has the formula οὐ πρότερον ἐπαΐσαντο πρὶν with the indicative nine times.) Οὐκ ἦν ἐν Οἰββίαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκίας ἀνεῖλεν. DEM. viii. 65. Πάλιν τοῦτο τέμνω οὐκ ἐπανῆκε, πρὶν ἐβενρὸν σκαυόν τι' ἔρωτα ἐλοιδόρησε μάλ' ἐν δίκῃ. PLAT. Phaedr. 266 A. (This is the only case in Plato; but he has three indicatives in unfulfilled conditions. See 637.)

635. The only examples in prose of πρὶν with the indicative after strictly affirmative sentences are these three:—

Ἐπὶ πολὺν διήγον τῆς ἡμέρας πειρώμενοι ἀλλήλων, πρὶν δὴ Ἀρίστων πείθει τοὺς ἀρχοντας. THUC. vii. 39. Πυρραπλήσια ἔπυσχον, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Σικρακόσιοι ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς τὴν γῆν. Id. vii. 71. Πρωσεπολέμει Ἀρωτοφῶντι, πρὶν αὐτῶ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἠπέειλεσεν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἥνπερ ἐγὼ Τιμαρχῶ ἐπήγγειλα, *he continued to attack Aristophon, until A. threatened him before the people with this same kind of summons (το δοκιμασία) which I served on Timarchus*. AESCHIN. i. 64. In these cases the force of *until* in πρὶν is made especially emphatic by the continuation of the state of things described by the leading imperfects. There seems to





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be a feeling implied like that in οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρίν (see Sturm, p. 333).

Sturm cites also THUC. i. 51 and 118, iii. 29 and 104, as examples. But the first two have actual negatives in the leading sentence; in iii. 29, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρίν δὲ τῇ Δῆλῳ ἔσχον, the idea is that the Athenians did not see them until, etc.; in iii. 104, τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, πρίν δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν, the meaning is, the games were broken up (i.e. were no longer held) until the Athenians renewed them at this time. (See *Am. Jour. Phil.* ii. p. 469.)

636. Πρίν γ' ὅτε, until, has the indicative in Homer, after affirmative as well as negative sentences. These cases occur:—

Ἐπὶ ἴσα μάχῃ τέτατο, πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὑπέρτερον Ἴκτορι δῶκεν, the battle hung equally balanced, until (when) Zeus gave higher glory to Hector. *Il.* xii. 436. Ἦμεθ' ἀνυζόμεναι, πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ με σὸς υἱὸς ἀπὸ μεγάροιο κάλεσσεν, until your son called me. *Od.* xxiii. 42. Οὐδ' ὡς τοῦ θυμὸν ἐπειθον, πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο, i.e. until the battering began. *Il.* ix. 587. So in the suspected verses, πρίν γ' ὅτε . . . θάρσυνας, *Od.* xiii. 322. For *Od.* iv. 178, see 637.

Four cases of πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ with the indicative are found in the Homeric Hymns: *Ap. Del.* 49; *Cer.* 96, 195, 202; after which this strange construction disappears.

637. (Indicative with πρίν in unfulfilled conditions.) When the clause introduced by πρίν, until, refers to a result not attained in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of some condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative like the corresponding clause with ἕως (613, 2). We find examples only of the aorist indicative after negative sentences:—

Ἐχρῆν τοὺς ἄλλοις μὴ πρότερον περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων συμβουλεύειν, πρίν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν, they ought not to have given advice about undisputed matters, until they had instructed us about what is in dispute. *Isoc.* iv. 19. Χρῆν τοίνυν Λεπτίνην μὴ πρότερον τιθέναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον, πρίν τούτου ἔλυνσε, before he had repealed this one. *DEM.* xx. 96. Οὐκ ἂν ἐπισκεψάμεθα πρότερον εἴτε διδασκτὸν εἴτε οὐ διδασκτὸν ἢ ἀρετῇ, πρίν ὅτι ἐστὶ πρῶτον ἐζητήσαμεν αὐτό, we should not have inquired whether virtue was teachable or not, until we had first asked what it is in itself. *PLAT. Men.* 86 D; so 84 C, and *Theaet.* 165 D.

Besides these five cases in prose, we have the same construction with πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ in *Od.* iv. 178: οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας ἄλλο διέκρινεν, πρίν γ' ὅτε δὲ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν, nor would aught else have separated us until the black cloud of death had covered us.

For the same construction with πρότερον ἢ in *HDT.* viii. 93, see 653.

Πρίν WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

638. When a clause with *πρίν*, *until*, refers to the future, and depends on a *negative* clause of future time (not containing an optative), *πρίν* takes the subjunctive, like *ἕως* in a similar case (613, 3).

639. In Homer *πρίν* does not take *κέ* or *ἄν* with the subjunctive, the form of the original parataxis being still retained (624). The examples of the subjunctive are these:—

Οὐ γάρ πο καταδίνομεθ' εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμον, πρίν μόρσιμον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθῃ, *we shall not yet descend to the house of Hades, until the fated day shall come.* Od. x. 174. (Here, if we insert a colon after *δόμον* and take *πρίν* as an adverb, *sooner than this*, we have the paratactic form.) So Il. xviii. 135; Od. xiii. 335, xvii. 7. In Il. xviii. 190, οὐ με πρίν γ' εἰα θωρήσασθαι, πρίν γ' αὐτήν ἰδῶμαι, *she did not permit me to arm myself until I should see her*, the subjunctive of direct discourse (seen in xviii. 135) is retained after a past tense. So Il. xxiv. 781. In Il. xxi. 580 a similar subjunctive has been changed to the optative (644).

640. Hesiod has two cases of *πρίν* with the subjunctive, Th. 222, Op. 738, still without *κέ* or *ἄν* as in Homer. *Πρίν ἄν* first occurs in THEOGN. 963 (see 642).

641. Two cases of *πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν* (used like *πρίν*) with the subjunctive occur in the Odyssey. The first is especially instructive, ii. 373: ἀλλ' ὅμοσον μὴ μητρὶ φίλῃ τάδε μνηύσασθαι, πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐνδεκάτῃ τε δωδεκάτῃ τε γένηται, ἢ αὐτὴν ποθέσαι καὶ ἀφορμηθέντος ἀκοῦσαι, *but swear not to tell this to my mother until the eleventh or twelfth day shall come, or (until) she shall miss me and hear of my departure.* Here *πρίν* first introduces *ὅτ' ἄν γένηται* and then the two infinitives, having the same prepositional force with both. But in iv. 746, where the same scene is described, we have ἐμεῦ δ' ἔλετο μέγαν ὄρκον, μὴ πρίν σοὶ ἐρέειν πρίν δωδεκάτῃ γε γενέσθαι ἢ σ' αὐτὴν ποθέσαι καὶ ἀφορμηθέντος ἀκοῦσαι, the simpler and more common *πρίν γενέσθαι* taking the place of the unwieldy *πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν γένηται*. The other case is iv. 475: οὐ πρίν μοῖρα φίλους ἰδέειν, πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν Αἰγύπτου ἔδωρ ἔλθῃς.

642. After Homer and Hesiod *πρίν ἄν* is established as the regular form with the subjunctive. *E.g.*

Μὴ ποτ' ἐπαυήρης πρίν ἄν εἰδῆς ἀνόμα σαφηνέως. THEOG. 963 (the earliest case of *πρίν ἄν*). Οὐδὲ λήξει πρίν ἄν ἡ κορέση κέαρ ἢ ἔλῃ τις ἀρχαίαν. AESCH. Prom. 165. Οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἔξει πρίν ἄν κείνας ἐταργεῖς δέυρό μοι στήσῃς ἄγων, *you shall not depart until you bring those girls and place them before my eyes.* SOPH. O. C. 909. Οὐ μὴ



ναῦς ἀφορμίσθη χθονός, πρίν ἂν κόρην σὴν Ἴφιγένειαν Ἄρτεμις λάβῃ σφαγεῖσθαι. EUR. I. T. 19. Μὴ προκαταγίνωσκ', ὦ πάτερ, πρίν ἂν γ' ἀκούσῃς ἀμφοτέρων. AR. Vesp. 919. Οὐ κώ σε ἐγὼ λέγω (εὐδαίμονα), πρίν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι, *until I shall hear that you have ended your life happily*. HDT. i. 32. Οὐ χρέμ' ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρίν ἂν δῶ δίκην. XEN. AN. V. 7, 5. Οὐκ οἶόν τε ὑμᾶς πρότερον εἰδέναι, πρίν ἂν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσῃτε ἀπολογουμένου. AND. i. 7. Τοὺς δ' οὐ πρότερον παύσονται πρίν ἂν οὕτως ὡς περ ἡμᾶς διαθῶσιν. ISOC. xiv. 18. Μήπω γε, πρίν ἂν τὸ καῖμα παρέλθῃ, *not yet,—until the heat of the day is past*. PLAT. Phaedr. 242 A.

OPTATIVE.

643. When a clause with *πρίν*, *until*, referring to the future, depends on a negative clause containing an optative in protasis or apodosis, in a wish, or in a final clause, it may have the optative (without ἂν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (613, 4), or it may take the infinitive. These cases of the optative occur:—

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ γυναῖκος, πρίν πειρηθείης, *for you cannot know the mind of a man or a woman until you have tested it*. THEOG. 125 (the earliest example). Οὐποτ' ἔγωγ' ἂν, πρίν ἴδοιμ' ὀρθὸν ἔπος, μεμφομένων ἂν καταφαίην, *never would I assent when men blame him, until I should see the word proved true*. SOPH. O. T. 505. Μὴ σταίη πολέκωπον ὄχημα ναὸς ἀντῶ, πρίν τάνδε πρὸς πόλιν ἀνύσειε, *may his ship of many oars not stop until it makes its way to this city*. Id. Tr. 655: so Phil. 961 (both after optative of wish). Παρὰ νῶρον φρεκτοῖς, ὅπως μὴ βοηθοῖεν πρίν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐξιόντες διαφύγοιεν, *they raised signal torches, that the enemy might not come to the rescue until their own men who had gone forth had escaped*. THEOC. iii. 22. Νομίωσαντες οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τὸν Βρασιῶν σφῶν προσαποστῆσαι οὐδὲν πρίν παρὰ σκενάσαιντο, *thinking that B. would not cause any further secessions of their allies until they had made preparations*. Id. iv. 117. So XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 48 (two examples). Οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὀρμήσειε, πρίν πῃ βεβαίωσται το τὴν σκέψιν τῆς πορείας. PLAT. Leg. 799 D. Εἰ ἔλκει τις αὐτὸν, καὶ μὴ ἀνείη πρίν ἐξελκίσειεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, *if one should drag him, and not let him go until he had dragged him out into the sunlight*. Id. Rep. 515 E.

These are all the cases of this use of the optative with *πρίν* cited by Sturm. In many cases where the optative could have been used, the infinitive appears—see 629).

644. The optative with *πρίν* is more frequent in indirect discourse after a negative verb of past time, representing a subjunctive of the direct form, which is often retained. (See the corresponding use of *ἔως*, 614.) *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν πρίν περιήσταιτ' Ἀχιλλῆος, *he would not fly*

until he should try Achilles. II. xxi. 580. (The direct form was *πρὶν* *πειρήσωμαι*, and *πειρήσῃται* might have been used here. See II. xviii. 190, in 639.) So Hymn. Cer. 334; Hes. Scut. 18. Ἐδοξέ μοι μὴ σίγα, πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι, τὸν πλοῦν ποιῆσθαι. SOPH. Ph. 551. (In Aj. 742 we have *πρὶν* *τύχη* in a similar sentence.) Ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα (v. l. *πρὶν ἂν ἀπαγάγῃ*). XEN. An. vii. 7, 57. (See εἶπον *μηδένα* τῶν ὄπισθεν *κινεῖσθαι* *πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἡγήται*, Cyr. ii. 2, 8.) Ἀπηγόρευε *μηδένα* βάλλειν, πρὶν Κῆρος ἐμπλησθεῖν θηρῶν, until *Cyrus should be satisfied*. Id. Cyr. i. 4, 14. Ἡγοῦνθ' οὐδὲν οἰοί τ' εἶναι κινεῖν, πρὶν ἐκποδῶν ἐκείνος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. ISOC. xvi. 5. So PLAT. Ap. 36 C, Rep. 402 B, Leg. 678 D.

For the infinitive, often preferred to the optative in such sentences, see 629.

Πρὶν WITH SUBJUNCTIVE IN GENERAL SUPPOSITIONS.

645. When the clause introduced by *πρὶν*, *until*, is generic, and depends on a negative clause of present time expressing customary or repeated action or a general truth, we have *πρὶν ἂν* with the subjunctive (613, 5). *E.g.*

Ὅρῳσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρὸς ἕνεκα, πρὶν ἂν ἀφώσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 8. Οὐ γὰρ πρότερον κατηγοροῦσιν παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἰσχύει, πρὶν ἂν ὁ φείγων ἀδυνατήσῃ τὰς προειρημένους αἰτίας ἀπολύσασθαι. AESCHIN. ii. 2. Οἰδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο (gnomic) πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δίκαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ. Id. iii. 235. Οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσιν οὓς ἠδίκησαν. PLAT. Phaed. 114 B. So Leg. 968 C.

646. It is doubtful whether the optative was ever used with *πρὶν* in the corresponding generic sense. In XEN. An. iv. 5, 30, for *πρὶν παραθεῖν* the weight of Mss. authority seems to favour *πρὶν παραθεῖναι*. In II. ix. 488 *πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἄσαιμι* is of this class.

647. The principle by which *πρὶν* takes the subjunctive and optative only after negative sentences, or sentences which were felt as negative, seems to have allowed of no exceptions. The two following cases have been cited:—

Αἰσχρὸν δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρότερον παύσασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ἡμεῖς ὅ τι ἂν βούλοισθε ψηφίσασθε, which is practically equivalent to *I refuse to stop until you have voted what you wish*, *αἰσχρὸν* having elsewhere a negative force (see 817). LYS. xxii. 4. Ὅστις οὖν οἶεται τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινῇ τι πράξειν ἀγαθὸν, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς προσιτώτασ ἀιτῶν διαλλάξῃ, λίαν ἀπλῶς ἔχει καὶ πῶρρω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν, which amounts to this: *nobody but a simpleton thinks that the others will do anything in common until their leaders are united*. ISOC. iv. 16. In SIMON. AM.





i. 12, *πρὶν ἴκηται* cannot be correct, as *πρὶν* here does not mean *until*, but merely *before*.

648. *Πρὶν*, like *ἕως*, etc. (620), sometimes takes the subjunctive without *ἄν*, even in Attic Greek. *E.g.*

Μὴ στέναζε πρὶν μάθης. SOPH. Ph. 917. So Ant. 619, Aj. 742, 965, Tr. 608, 946. *Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεται, πρὶν γυναῖκ' ἐμοὶ μεθῆ.* EUR. Alc. 848. So Or. 1218, 1357. *Μὴ, πρὶν γ' ἀκούσης χἀτέραν στάσιν μελῶν.* AR. Ran. 1281. So Eccl. 629. See HDT. i. 32, iv. 157, vi. 82. Even in Attic prose the Mss. omit *ἄν* in some places; as THUC. vi. 10, 29, 38, viii. 9; XEN. Oec. xii. 1, Cyn. iii. 6; AESCHIN. iii. 60; HYPER. Eux. xx. 10 (§ 4); PLAT. Theaet. 169 B, Tim. 57 B; but many editors insert *ἄν* in all these places on their own responsibility.

649. A few cases of *πρὶν ἄν* with the optative, if the text is sound, are to be explained (like those of *ἕως ἄν*, 613, 4, end) as indirect discourse in which the direct form had *πρὶν ἄν* with the subjunctive. See XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 18 (quoted in 702).

650. In sentences with *πρὶν* we sometimes have a subjunctive depending on an optative with *ἄν*, as in conditional relative sentences (556). *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἄν αἰὼν' ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν, πρὶν ἄν θάνῃ τις, you cannot fully understand the life of mortals, until one dies. SOPH. Tr. 2. *Οὐκ ἄν ἀπέλθοιμι πρὶν παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λιθῆ.* XEN. Oec. xii. 1. *Ἢ λέγοιμει ἄν τι ἀληθές, οὐ μὴν σαφές γε οὐδὲ τέλειον πρὶν αὖ (ἦ) καὶ ταῦτας αὐτῆς πύσας περιέλωμεν;* PLAT. Polit. 281 D. The leading verb here has merely the effect of a future form on the clause with *πρὶν*.

Πρὶν ἢ, πρότερον ἢ, AND πάρος, IN THE SENSE OF πρὶν.

651. *Πρὶν ἢ, sooner than*, which is a more developed form of *πρὶν*, is found twice in the Iliad with the infinitive; and very frequently in Herodotus with the infinitive (only after past tenses), the indicative, and the subjunctive (without *ἄν*). *E.g.*

Οὐ μὴν σφῶί γ' ὄνο πρὶν γ' ἀποπαύσασθαι πρὶν ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα αἵματος ἄσαι. Ἄργη. II. v. 287. The same words occur after *πρὶν ἢ* in xxii. 266. *Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφῶν βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοῖς πρώτοις γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων.* HDT. ii. 2. *Πρὶν γάρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφῆκας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος.* Id. i. 78. *Οὐ γάρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέτη, πρὶν ἢ σφῆκας ὑποχειρίως ἐποιήσατο.* Id. vi. 45. *Ἄδικέει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθη.* Id. vii. 10. *Οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ περῶσω τὰς Ἀθήνας.* Id. vii. 8.

652. A few cases of *πρὶν ἢ* occur in the Mss. in Attic prose, as in

THUC. v. 61, and XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 23, Ag. ii. 4, An. iv. 5, 1; but many editors omit ἤ.

653. Πρότερον ἤ is sometimes used like πρὶν ἤ, in the sense of πρὶν.

This occurs chiefly with the infinitive in Herodotus and Thucydides, and with the subjunctive in Herodotus. Πρότερον ἤ with the indicative is sometimes used like πρὶν, but it more frequently expresses a looser relation between two sentences which are independent in their construction (654). *E.g.*

(Infin., only after past tenses.) Ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρήσιν ἀπικέσθαι, *this was announced before D. arrived.* HDt. v. 118. Ἴσαν οἷτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἀρξαι Μήδων κατήκοι, τότε δὲ Κίρον. Id. i. 72. (Πρότερα as adj. for πρότερον): ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ Ἡρακλέυ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. Id. ii. 44. Ἐπὶ τοὺς πομπέας πρότερον ἢ αἰσθῆσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἐχώρησεν, *before they perceived them.* THUC. vi. 58. So i. 69. Besides the cases in Herodotus and Thucydides, a few occur in the orators: see DEM. xxxi. 14, and lv. 14 (πρότερον ἢ and πρὶν together).

(Subj., without ἄν.) Μὴ ἀπαντάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. HDt. ix. 86; so ix. 87. In iv. 196 we have οὔτε πρὶν ἂν ἀπαυθῆ οὔτε πρότερον ἢ λάβωσι. Besides five cases in Herodotus, we have only THUC. vii. 63, μὴ πρότερον ἀξιοῦν ἀπολύσθαι ἢ ἀπαράξῃτε, and ANT. Tetr. A. a. 2, οὐ πρότερον ἐπιχειροῖσιν ἢ ποιήσωνται.

(Indic.) Οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν εὐδταν (τὴν ἄτραπον) πρότερον ἢ περ ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων, *until they learned of it.* HDt. vii. 175. Οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλῃσαν. THUC. ii. 65. Οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἐτόλμησαν ποιήσασθαι ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν ξημμάχων ἐμελλον ξυγκινδυνεύσειν. Id. viii. 24 (see the following example). Οὐκ ἐν νόφ' ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης ἐπιθήσασθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σίνθημά σφι ἐμελλε φανήσασθαι, *i.e. nor did they mean to make an attack until the signal was ready to appear to them.* HDt. viii. 7. (With πρὶν we should probably have had πρὶν ἂν μέλλῃ.) Εἰ ἔμαθε, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἶλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω, *if he had known it, he would not have stopped until he had either captured her or had been captured himself* (indicative in unfulfilled condition). Id. viii. 93.

654. In other cases of πρότερον ἢ with the finite moods or the infinitive, there is no meaning of *until*, and ἢ merely connects two verbs as when it follows μᾶλλον. *E.g.*

Ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξει ἢ αὐτὸς βουλήσεται, *he bade the messenger announce that he should come sooner than he wanted him* (the direct form being ἤξω πρότερον ἢ βουλήσει). HDt. i. 127. Πολὺ πλείον πλῆθος περιεστήκει βουλομένων προσέειναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἢ οἱ φίλοι παρήσαν, *i.e. much sooner than his friends arrived.* XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 41. Πρότερον ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ εὐρεῖν ἢ διανεζόμενος λαβεῖν (*i.e. πρότερον εἴροι ἂν ἢ*





λάβος). *Id. Mem. ii. 7, 2*; see *i. 2, 17*. *Πρότερον ἐπεθύμησαν ἢ τὸν τρόπον ἔγνωσαν*. *PLAT. Phaedr. 232 E*. Compare *μᾶλλον ἢ ὄην*, *XEN. Mem. iv. 4, 4*.

So with *πρόσθεν ἦ*, which is not used like *πρίν*; as *πρόσθεν ἦ σὺ ἐφαίνου, τοῦτ' ἐκηρύχθη*. *SOPH. O. T. 736*. See also *XEN. An. ii. 1, 10*, *ἀπεκρίνετο ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν*, *they answered, that they would die before they would give up their arms*.

655. Thucydides once uses *ὑστερον ἦ* with the infinitive, after the analogy of *πρότερον ἦ*: *πρίν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἦ αὐτοῖς οἰκῆσαι, Πάμμυλον πέμψαντες Σελινούντα κτίζουσιν*, *before they were removed, and a hundred years after their own settlement*, *vi. 4*.

656. *Πάρος*, *before*, which is originally an adverb like *πρίν*, is used in Homer with the infinitive, but never with the other moods. *E.g.*

Τέκνα ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι. *Od. xvi. 218*. *Ἐνθα με κύμ' ἀπόρρσε, πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι*. *Il. vi. 348*. *Οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος πίπτειν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι πάρος καταλέξει ἅπαντα*. *Od. xxiii. 309*.

Πάρος with the infinitive occurs twelve times in Homer, always after affirmative sentences (except in *Od. xxiii. 309*).

Πρίν (AS ADVERB), *πάρος*, *πρότερον*, *πρόσθεν*, ETC., BEFORE *πρίν*, IN THE LEADING SENTENCE.

657. Homer very frequently has the adverb *πρίν*, and occasionally other adverbs of the same meaning, in the clause on which *πρίν* with the infinitive or subjunctive depends. *E.g.*

Μὴ πρίν ἐπ' ἡέλιον δῆναι, πρίν με κατὰ πρηγῆς βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλαθρον, *may the sun not (sooner) go down before I have thrown to the ground Priam's palace*—the first *πρίν* emphasising in advance the idea of the second. *Il. ii. 413*. So *Il. i. 97, ii. 348, 354, iv. 114*; *Od. iv. 747*; *Il. ix. 403* (*τὸ πρίν*). *Οὐ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν παύσεσθαι οἴω, πρίν γ' αὐτὸν με ἰδῆται*. *Od. xvii. 7*. So with *οὐ γάρ πω*, *Od. x. 174*.¹

658. In Attic Greek *πρότερον* or *πρόσθεν* frequently stands in the clause on which *πρίν* depends, like the adverb *πρίν* in Homer (657). *E.g.*

Ἀποθηγῆσκοντι πρότερον πρίν δῆλοι γίγνεσθαι οἴοι ἦσαν. *XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 9*. *Καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρίν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοῖς ἀναστῆ-*

¹ See Sturm, pp. 239, 261-263, who calls attention to the decrease of the double *πρίν* in the *Odyssey*. Of 43 cases of *πρίν* with the infinitive in the *Iliad*, 29 have a preceding *πρίν* or other adverb; of 30 cases in the *Odyssey*, only 19 have such an adverb. Besides *πρίν* or *τὸ πρίν* in the leading clause in Homer, *πάρος* occurs three times, and *πρόσθεν* and *πρότερος* each once. Before *πρίν* with the subjunctive in Homer such an adverb is always found, *πρίν* twice, *οὐ πω* or *μη πω* three times, and *πρόσθεν* once.

ναι, τάδε ἐπράσσετο. THUC. viii. 45. Πρότερον οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν ἔρος ξινέμξεν ἅπαντα. AR. Av. 700. Οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμωσαν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. An. iii. 1, 16. Οὐ τοίνυν ἀποκρινοῦμαι πρότερον, πρὶν ἂν πέθωμαι. PLAT. Euthyd. 295 C. Καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν, πρὶν (ἢ) πρὸς τοῖς πεφοῖς τῶν Ἀσσιυρίων ἐγένοντο. XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 23. Δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῶσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ συμβουλευέσθαι. XEN. An. i. 1, 10. The formula οὐ πρότερον παύσασθαι πρὶν with the indicative in the orators is familiar (see 634).

659. Other adverbs of time sometimes occur in the leading clause: thus *πρόσθεν* . . . *πρὶν*, SOPH. El. 1131; οὐπω . . . *πρὶν*, THUC. vi. 71, viii. 9. *Πρὶν* (used as in Homer) occurs twice in Euripides, and before *πρὶν ἢ* in HDT. i. 165. Even *πρό* in composition may refer to a following *πρὶν*, as *προῦφαιρῶν τὰς ἐκκλησίας πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τοῖς πρέσβεις*, AESCHIN. ii. 61. See DEM. iv. 41, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγματίων προοράτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἂν πίθησθε.

660. *Φθάνω* in the leading sentence may emphasise a following *πρὶν*. *E.g.*

*Ἐφθην αἰνήρας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῖναι ἦθεα. THEOG. 969 (see 887). So Il. xvi. 322, ἔφθη ὀρέξίμενος πρὶν οὐτάσαι. *Ἐφθισαν ἀπικόμειοι πρὶν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάρους ἦκειν, *they arrived before the barbarians came*. HDT. vi. 116: so ix. 70. Φθίσονται πλείονα πρὶν Χίους αἰσθέρθαι. THUC. viii. 12. Φθῆναι συμβαλόντες πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς βοηθήσοντις, *to join battle before the auxiliaries should come up*. ISOCR. iv. 87.

661. In HDT. vi. 108 we find the infinitive depending on *φθάνω* . . . ἢ, the verb implying *πρότερον* or *πρὶν*: *φθαίητε ἂν πολλαῖς ἐξαναρμιποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πινθέσθαι ἡμέων, you would often be reduced to slavery before any of us heard of it*.

SECTION VIII.

Indirect Discourse or Oratio Obliqua, including Indirect Quotations and Questions.

662. The words or thoughts of any person may be quoted either *directly* or *indirectly*. A direct quotation is one which gives the exact words of the original speaker or writer. An indirect quotation is one in which the original words conform to the construction of the sentence in which they are quoted. Thus the expression *ταῦτα βούλομαι* may be quoted either directly (in *oratio recta*), as *λέγει τις "ταῦτα βούλομαι"*; or indirectly (in *oratio obliqua*), as



λέγει τις ὅτι ταῦτα βούλεται or φησί τις ταῦτα βούλεσθαι,
some one says that he wishes for these.

663. Indirect quotations may be introduced by ὅτι or ὡς and occasionally by other particles (negatively ὅτι οὐ, ὡς οὐ, etc.) with a finite verb; sometimes by the infinitive without a particle; sometimes also by the participle.

1. Ὅτι, *that*, was originally the neuter relative ὃ τι, used as a limiting accusative, *in respect to which (or what), as to which, how far*, etc. In Homer ὃ, neuter of the relative ὅς, is used like ὅτι (709, 1). Thus οἶδα ὃ τι (or ὃ) κακὰ μύθεται at first meant *I know as to what he plans evil*, or *I know about his planning evil*, and afterwards came to mean *I know that he plans evil*.

2. Ὡς, the relative adverb of manner (312, 1), in this construction originally meant *in what manner, how*; and afterwards became established in the same sense as ὅτι, *that*. Compare the German use of *wie (how)* in narration. *How for that* is heard in vulgar English (as *I told him how I saw this*), and *how that* was once in good use in this sense for *that*. Ὅπως is sometimes used like ὡς in indirect discourse (706).

3. By a use similar to that of ὡς (2), οἷνεκα and ὀθοῦνεκα are sometimes weakened from their meaning *for which purpose, wherefore*, to the same sense as ὅτι and ὡς, *that* (710, 1). These words are also used in a causal sense, *because*, like ὅτι, ὃ, and ὡς (712).

On the other hand, διότι, *because*, sometimes has the sense of ὅτι, *that* (710, 2).

4. Ὅτε, *when*, in Homer sometimes loses its temporal force, and approaches ὅτι in meaning (709, 3).

664. 1. Indirect quotations with ὅτι, ὡς, etc., form the chief part of the class of *substantive* sentences, in which an assertion introduced by one of these particles is the subject or the object of a verb. But these sentences have no peculiar construction, except after verbs implying thought or the expression of thought (*verba sentiendi et declarandi*), as they elsewhere have the simple indicative or any other form which would be used in the corresponding independent assertions. See οὐχ ἄλις ὡς ἐκείρετε κτήματ' ἐμὰ, *is it not enough that you wasted my property?* Od. ii. 312; πολὺ κέρδιον ἔπλετο ὅτι ἐπόειξεν, Il. xv. 227; τοῦτο ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τὸν φόβον διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων (668, PLAT. MENEX. 241 B; τοῦτ' ἀδικεῖ, ὅτι ἀχρεῖον τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καθίστησιν, DEM. XX. 155).

2. The infinitive of indirect discourse belongs to the large class of subject and object infinitives (745; 746; 751), being distinguished from the others of this class by preserving the time of its tense from the finite verb which it represents (85; 667, 3).¹

¹ See Schmidt, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, in Schanz's *Beiträge*, Heft 8.

665. 1. Indirect questions may be introduced by *εἰ*, *whether* (rarely by *ἄρα*), and also by interrogative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and adverbs, and by most relatives. Alternative indirect questions may be introduced by *πότερον* (*πότερα*) . . . *ἢ*, *εἴτε* . . . *εἴτε*, *εἰ* . . . *ἢ*, *εἰ* . . . *εἴτε*, *whether* . . . *or*.

Ἐάν or *ἤν* never means *whether* (see 493).

2. In Homer single indirect questions (when they are not introduced by interrogatives) generally have *ἢ* or *εἰ*, *whether*; and alternative questions have *ἢ* (*ἢέ*) . . . *ἢ* (*ἢε*), sometimes *εἴτε* . . . *εἴτε*, *whether* . . . *or*.

Bekker never allows *εἰ* or *εἴτε* in indirect questions in Homer, always writing *ἢ* or *ἢτε*, without regard to the Mss.

3. Indirect questions follow the same principles as indirect quotations with *ὄτι* or *ὡς*, in regard to their moods and tenses. (For examples, see 669.)

666. The term *indirect discourse* or *oratio obliqua* includes all clauses which express indirectly the words or thoughts of any person (including those of the speaker himself), after verbs which imply thought or the expression of thought (*verba sentiendi et declarandi*), and after such expressions as *φαίνεται*, *it appears*, *δοκεῖ*, *it seems*, *δηλόν ἐστιν*, *it is evident*, *σαφές ἐστιν*, etc.

The term may be further applied to any single dependent clause, in any sentence, which indirectly expresses the thought of any other person than the speaker (or past thoughts of the speaker himself), even when the preceding or following clauses are not in indirect discourse. (See 694 and 684.)

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

667. The following are the general principles of indirect discourse, the particular applications of which are shown in 669-710.

1. In indirect quotations after *ὄτι* or *ὡς* and in indirect questions,

(a) after primary tenses, each verb retains both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse, no change being made except (when necessary) in the person of the verb;

(b) after secondary tenses, each primary tense of the indicative and each subjunctive of the direct discourse may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or





retained in its original mood and tense. The imperfect and pluperfect, having no tenses in the optative, are generally retained in the indicative (but see 673). An aorist indicative belonging to a *dependent* clause of the direct discourse remains unchanged, but one belonging to the leading clause may be changed to the optative like a primary tense.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative expressing an unreal condition, indicatives with *ἄν*, and all optatives (with or without *ἄν*), are retained, with no change in either mood or tense, after both primary and secondary tenses.

3. When the quotation depends on a verb which takes the infinitive or participle, the leading verb of the quotation is changed to the *corresponding tense* of the infinitive or participle, after both primary and secondary tenses, *ἄν* being retained if it is in the direct form; and the dependent verbs follow the preceding rules.

4. The adverb *ἄν* is never joined with a verb in indirect discourse unless it stood also in the direct form. On the other hand, *ἄν* is never omitted in indirect discourse if it was used in the direct form; except that, when it is joined to a relative word or a particle before a subjunctive in direct discourse, it is regularly dropped when the subjunctive is changed to the optative after a past tense in indirect discourse.

5. The indirect discourse regularly retains the same negative particle which would be used in the direct form. But the infinitive and participle sometimes take *μή* in indirect discourse where *οὐ* would be used in the direct form. (See examples under 685 and 688.) In indirect questions introduced by *εἰ*, *whether*, and in the second part of alternative indirect questions (665), *μή* can be used as well as *οὐ*.

668. As an indirect quotation or question is generally the object or subject of its leading verb, it may stand in apposition with a pronoun like *τοῦτο* which represents such an object or subject; as *τοῦτο λέγομεν, ὅτι σοφός ἐστιν, we say this, that he is wise; τοῦτο δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι σοφός ἄστιν, this is plain, that he is wise; τοῦτο σκεψόμεθα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγεις, we shall inquire into this, whether you tell the truth.*

SIMPLE SENTENCES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE

Indicative and Optative after ὅτι and ὡς, and in Indirect Questions.

669. When the direct form is an indicative (without *ἄν*) in a simple sentence, we have (667, 1) the following rules for indirect quotations after ὅτι or ὡς and for indirect questions:—

1. After *primary* tenses the verb stands in the indicative, in the tense of the direct discourse. *E.g.*

Λέγει ὅτι γράφει, *he says that he is writing*; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραφεν, *he says that he was writing*; λέγει ὅτι γέγραφεν, *he says that he has written*; λέγει ὅτι ἔγεγράφη, *he says that he had written*; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραψεν, *he says that he wrote*; λέγει ὅτι γράψει, *he says that he shall write.*

Εἶψ' ὅτι οἱ σῶς εἶμι καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλονθα, *say that I am safe and have come from Pylos.* Od. xvi. 131. Ὅτρνον δ' Ἀχιλῆι εἰπεῖν ὅτι ρῖ οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὦλεθ' ἑταῖρος, *urge him to tell Achilles that his diarist friend perished.* Il. xvii. 654. (See 663, 1.) Γνωτὸν δὲ ὡς ἦδη Τρώεσσαν ὀλέθρον πείρατ' ἐφήπται. Il. vii. 401.

Λέγει γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀδικώτερον φήμης. AESCHIN. i. 125. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτό γ' εἶποις, ὡς ἔλαθεν. Id. ii. 151. Εἰ δ' ὡστε, ὅτι πλείωτον διαφέρει φήμη καὶ σκκοφαντία. Ib. 145. Ἄλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν, γυναῖχ' ὅτι ἔφυμεν. SOPH. ANT. 61. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἐδόθη ἢ ψῆφος ἐν ἴπασι πλείους τ' ἐγένοντο τῶν ψηφισαμένων, μάρτυρας ἡμῖν παρέξομαι, *I shall bring witnesses to show that I speak the truth, etc.* DEM. lvii. 14.

(*Indirect Questions.*) Ἐρωτῆ τί βούλονται, *he asks what they want*; ἐρωτῆ τί ποιήσουσιν, *he asks what they will do.*

Σὺν δὲ φράσαι εἰ με σαώσεις (Bekker ἢ με), *and do you consider whether you will save me.* Il. i. 83. Σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν. Il. v. 183. Ὅφρη καὶ Ἔκτωρ εἴνεται ἢ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται ἐν παλάμῳν (v. l. εἰ καὶ). Il. viii. 111. Ὅφρα δαῶμεν ἢ ἔπειδὸν Κάλχας μαντεύεται ἢ καὶ οὐκί. Il. ii. 299; so Od. iv. 487, 712. Ὅς εἶπῃ ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, εἴ τ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εἰχλωῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴ θ' ἑκατόμβης (Bekker ἢ τ' . . . ἢ θ'). Il. i. 64; see ii. 349. Πόστεις ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταὶ εἰσιν, *asking whether they are pirates.* THUC. i. 5. Εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσει σκοπεῖ. SOPH. ANT. 41. See EUR. ALC. 784. Εὐβοίς' ὄν δ' ἔβλασταν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. SOPH. TR. 401. Ἐρωτῆς εἰ οὐ καλὴ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, *you ask whether it does not seem to me to be fine.* PLAT. GORG. 462 D. Βουλόμενος ἐρέσθαι εἰ μαθὼν τίς τι μεμνημένος μὴ οἶδεν. Id. THEAET. 163 D. Σκοπῶμεν εἰ ἡμῖν πρόκειται ἢ οὐ. Id. REP. 451 D. Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ, εἰ χαίρεις ἢ μὴ χαίρεις, ἀνάγκη δὴ πού σε



ἀγνοεῖν. Id. Phil. 21 B. (For οὐ and μή in the last four examples, representing οὐ of the direct question, see 667, 5.) Θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν αἴτεϊ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. XEN. AN. II. 1, 10. Σήμαιν' εἴτ' ἔχει χώρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδε γ' εἴτ' ἄλλη κυρεῖ. SOPH. Ph. 22. Εἴτε κατὰ τρόπον κείται εἴτε μη, οὕτω θεῖσθαι. PLAT. CRAT. 425 B (667, 5). See also XEN. Cyr. II. 1, 7 (εἰ . . . εἴτε μή); EUR. Alc. 139 (εἰ . . . εἴτε). Περὶ πάντων ἴδωμεν, ἄρ' οὕτωςί γίγνεται πάντα. PLAT. Phaed. 70 D. (*Αρα regularly introduces only direct questions.)

It is to be noticed that indirect *questions* after primary tenses retain an indicative of the direct question in Greek, where the subjunctive is used in Latin. Thus, *nescio quis sit*, *I know not who he is*, in Greek is simply ἀγνοῶ τίς ἐστίν. This does not apply to indirect questions which would require the subjunctive in the direct form (677).

2. After *secondary* tenses the verb may be either changed to the optative or retained in the indicative, the *tense* of the direct discourse being retained in either case. The optative is the more common form. *E.g.*

Ἐλεξεν ὅτι γράφοι (or ὅτι γράφει), *he said that he was writing*; i.e. *he said* γράφω. Ἐλεξεν ὅτι γεγραφὼς εἶη (or ὅτι γέγραφεν), *he said that he had written*; i.e. *he said* γέγραφα. Ἐλεξεν ὅτι γράψοι (or ὅτι γράψει), *he said that he should write*; i.e. *he said* γράψω. Ἐλεξεν ὅτι γράψειεν (or ὅτι ἔγραψεν), *he said that he had written*; i.e. *he said* ἔγραφα. (For the imperfect and pluperfect, see 672.)

(Optative.) Ἐνέπληστε φρονήματος τοῖς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνους μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρίσιν Πελοπόννησος εἶη, πλείστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλον τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἶη, καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατίστατα ἔχοι. XEN. Hell. VII. 1, 23. (He said μόνους μὲν ἡμῖν ἐστί, πλείστον δὲ ἐστί, καὶ σώματα ἔχει: these indicatives might have been used in the place of εἶη, εἶη, and ἔχοι.) Ἐλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες μάχη ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, i.e. *he said that they had been defeated* (he said ἡττηται). Ib. VII. 1, 35. So HDT. I. 83 (perf. and pres.) Ὑπειπὼν τάλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξει, ἤχετο, *having hinted that he would himself attend to affairs there*. THUC. I. 90. (He said τάκει πράξω, and πράξει might have been retained. See 128.) Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἔσοιντο (he said ἔσονται). XEN. Cyr. VII. 2, 19. Ἐλεξαν ὅτι πέμψειε σφῆς ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, κελίων ἐρωτᾶν ἐξ ὅτων ὁ πόλεμος εἶη, *they said that the king of the Indians had sent them, commanding them to ask on what account there was war*. Ib. II. 4, 7. (They said ἐπεμψέν ἡμᾶς, and the question to be asked was ἐκ τίνος ἐστίν ὁ πόλεμος.) Ἐλεγον ὅτι οὐ πώποθ' οἴτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο περὶ εἰ μὴ τότε, *they said that this river had never been fordable except then*. Id. AN. I. 4, 18. Περικλῆς προηγύρενε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οἱ ξένος εἶη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῇ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, *he announced that A. was his friend, but that he had not been made his friend to the injury of the state*. THUC. II.

13. (He said *ξένος μοι ἔστιν, οὐ μέντοι ἐγένετο*. See 116, 1; 124, 1.) Ἐγνώσαν ὅτι κεινὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη. XEN. AN. II. 2, 21. Προϊδόντες ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος, ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν προκαταλαβεῖν. THUC. II. 2. Ἐπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύναι, ὅτι οἴοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφός, εἶη δ' οὐ. PLAT. AP. 21 C.

(Indicative.) Ἐλεγον ὡς ἐλπίζουσιν σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξειν μοι χάριν, *they said that they hoped*, etc. ISOC. V. 23. (They said *ἐλπίζομεν*, which might have been changed to *ἐλπίζοιεν*.) Ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς προτάνας ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατεῖληπται, *some one had come with the report that Elatea had been taken*. DEM. ΧΥΙΙΙ. 169. (Here the perf. opt. might have been used.) Δεινὸς λόγος ἐτόλμα περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰμι τοῦτο δεδρακώς. Id. XXI. 104. Αἰτιασάμενος γάρ με ἄ καὶ λέγειν ἂν ὀκνήσειέ τις, τὸν πατέρα ὡς ἀπέκτονα ἐγὼ τὸν ἐμαντοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Id. XXII. 2. Φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετελείχεται ἤδη, *he said that their city had already been fortified*. THUC. I. 91. Ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν πρέσβεις, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλλαξαν. Id. I. 90. (Cf. ὅτι πράξοι, quoted above from the same chapter.) Ἦδεσαν ὅτι τοὺς ἀπενεγκόντας οἰκέτας ἐξαιτήσομεν. DEM. XXX. 23. (Ἐξαιτήσομεν might have been used.) Ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡρῶν ἐχθρὸς ἐβ' αὐτὸν εἰλκυσε καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὄχλατος ἐστὶ κινδύνος. Id. XXII. 59.

(Indirect Questions.) Ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τί ποιοῖ (or τί ποιεῖ), *he asked him what he was doing*; i.e. *he asked τί ποιεῖς*; Ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τί πεποιήκως εἶη (or τί πεποιήκειν), *he asked him what he had done*; i.e. *he asked τί πεποιήκας*; Ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τί ποιήσοι (or τί ποιήσεις), *he asked him what he should do*; i.e. *he asked τί ποιήσεις*; Ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τί ποιήσειεν (or τί ἐποιήσειεν), *he asked him what he had done*; i.e. *he asked τί ἐποιήσας*;

Ἦαχετο πεπιστόμενος μετὰ τὸν κλέος, ἢ που ἐτ' εἶης, i.e. *he went to inquire whether you were still living*. Od. XIII. 415. Ἀλλήλοισι τ' εἶροντο τίς εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι i.e. *τίς ἐστὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθεν*), Od. XVII. 368. Ἠρετο, εἴ τις ἐμοῦ εἶη σοφώτερος, *he asked whether any one was wiser than I*. PLAT. AP. 21 A. (The direct question was *τί ποιήσω*;) Ἐπειρώτα, τίνα δεῖτερον μετ' ἐκείνον ἴδοι, *he asked whom he had seen (who came) next to him*. HDT. I. 31. (The direct question was *τίνα εἶδες*;) Ἐρετο κόθην λάβου τὸν παῖδα, *he asked whence he had received the boy*. Id. I. 116. Ἠρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἀναπλεύσειεν ἔχον ἀργύριον, *I asked him whether he had set sail with the money*. DEM. I. 55. (The direct question was *ἀνέπλευσας*; See 125 and 670, b.)

Ἐρετο ὅσταν Ἀρηίῳν ἰκόμεν, *he asked what I wanted that I came*. Od. XVII. 120. Ἠρώτων τί ποτε λέγει, *I was uncertain what he would*. PLAT. AP. 21 B. (Here *λέγοι* might have been used.) Ἐβουλεύοντο οἵτοι τιν' αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν, *they were considering whom they should leave him*. DEM. XIX. 122. Ἐρωτώτων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν, *paragálllein* ἐκέλευεν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. HELL. II. 1, 4.



670. (a) After past tenses the indicative and optative are in equally good use; the optative being used when the writer incorporates the quotation entirely into his own sentence, and the indicative when he quotes it in the original words as far as his own construction allows. The indicative here, like the subjunctive in final clauses after past tenses (318), is merely a more vivid form of expression than the optative, with no difference in meaning. We even find both moods in the same sentence. *E.g.*

Ὅττοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῆρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀρμῖος δὲ πεφευγώς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη καὶ λέγοι, κ.τ.λ. XEN. AN. II. 1, 3. (Here *τέθνηκεν* contains the most important part of the message.) Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου ἐπυνθάνετο ἤδη αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπίσθην ὁδὸν διήλασαν, καὶ εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα. ID. CYT. IV. 4, 4. Ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὡς χρεῖα τε πάμπολλα ἐκτέτικεν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ ὡς πολλὰ τῶν ἐμῶν λάβοιεν. DEM. XXVII. 49. Ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρίψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν τῷ ἔχαιεν. XEN. AN. III. 5, 13.

(b) The perfect and future were less familiar than the other tenses of the optative, so that these tenses were sometimes retained in the indicative even when the present or the aorist was changed to the optative. See the last two examples under (a). In indirect *questions* the aorist indicative was generally retained (see 125). Some writers (as Thucydides) preferred the more direct forms in all indirect discourse (320).

671. In Homer this construction (669) is fully developed in indirect questions: see examples of both indicative and optative in 669, 1 and 2. But in indirect quotations, while the indicative is freely used after both present and past tenses, the change of the indicative to the optative after past tenses had not yet been introduced. In the single case of *εἰπὲν ὡς* with the optative, *μερμηρίζει . . . ἕκαστα εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἔλθοι καὶ ἴκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*, *he hesitated about telling him each event, how he had returned, etc.*, *Od.* xxiv. 237, *ὡς* appears only on its way from its meaning *how* (663, 2) to its later use with the optative as *that*. We first find the optative in genuine *oratio obliqua* (with *ὡς*) *Hymn. Ven.* 214. *εἶπεν ὡς ἔοι*. Further, the later principle by which the indicative after past tenses (when it is not changed to the optative) retains the *base* of the direct form is almost unknown in the Homeric language. Here a present or perfect indicative of the direct discourse after a past tense is changed to an imperfect or pluperfect; so that *I know that he was planning evil*, which in Attic would be *ἐγγνώσκον ὅτι κακὰ μῆδοιτο* (or *μῆδεταί*), in Homer is *γινώσκον ὅτι κακὰ μῆδετο*, *Od.* iii. 166. (For examples, see 674.) The aorist indicative, which has no corresponding tense to express its own time referred to the past, was always retained after past tenses; as in *γνώθ' ὅ αἰ οὔτι ἤλθειν*, *Il.* xi. 439; so i. 537, xxii. 445. Likewise the future indicative is once retained, in *Od.* xiii. 340, *ἦδε' ὁ νοστήσεις*, *I know that you would return*; but elsewhere the past future with

ἐμελλον is used, as in Il. xx. 466, οἷδέ τὸ ἤδη ὁ οὐ πείσασθαι ἐμελλον, and Od. xix. 94, Il. xi. 22. These examples show the need of the later future optative (129). In Il. xxii. 10, οὐδέ νύ πώ με ἔγνωσ ὡς θεός εἰμι, and xx. 265 the present expresses a present truth rather than a past fact.

It thus appears that the peculiar constructions with ὅτι and ὡς in oratio obliqua (667, 1, b), which gave such grace and variety to the later language, were not yet developed in Homer; but clauses with ὅτι, ὡς, etc., were still connected with the leading verb by the same looser construction which we use in English (as *I knew that he was planning evil*), the dependent verb expressing its own absolute time (see 22), as it did in the relative clauses in which these clauses originated, or in the more primitive parataxis. Thus γίγνωσκον ὁ κακά μῆδετο (above) meant originally *I knew as to what he was planning evil*; and without ὁ, in a still earlier stage, *I knew: he was planning evil* (which we can say in English). Even after the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause was established, by which either μῆδεταί or μῆδοιτο became the regular form, the more primitive imperfect is occasionally found, even in Attic prose (see 674, 2).

The most common Homeric construction in indirect discourse is that of φημί with the infinitive, of which 130 examples occur.¹

672. An imperfect or pluperfect of the direct discourse is regularly retained in the indicative, after past tenses, for want of an imperfect or pluperfect optative. *E.g.*

Ἀκοίσας δὲ Ξειροφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἠτιῶντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη, he said that they had accused him rightly, and that the fact itself bore witness to them; i.e. he said ὀρθῶς ἠτιῶσθε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἡμῖν μαρτυρεῖ. XEN. An. iii. 3, 12. Ἐἶχε γὰρ λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι μόνου τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ἕσπερον οὐδέποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλεία (he said μόνου συνεμαχόμεθα, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐστρατεύσάμεθα). Id. Hell. vii. 1, 34. Τοῦτων ἕκαστον ἠρώμην εἰ τινες εἶεν μάρτυρες ὧν ἐναντίον τὴν προῖκ' ἀπέδοσαν, αὐτὸν δ' Ἀφροβον, εἰ τινες παρήσαν ὄτ' ἀπελάμβανεν, I asked each of these men whether there were any witnesses before whom they had paid the dowry; and Aphobus, whether there had been any present when he received it. DEM. xxx. 19. (The two questions were εἰσὶ μάρτυρές τινες; and παρήσαν τινες;)

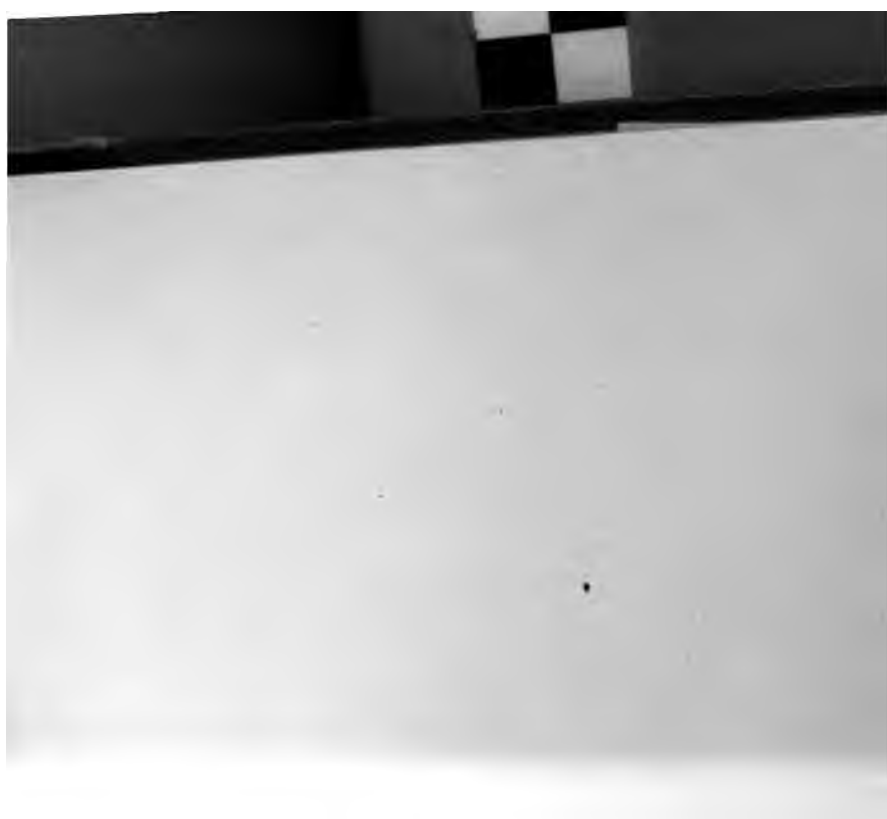
¹ See Schmitt, *Ursprung des Substantivsatzes*, p. 70. The following statistics are based on Schmitt's collection of Homeric examples. Homer has 40 cases of ὅτι, ὅττι, or ὅ with the indicative after verbs of *knowing, hearing, receiving, or remembering* (23 of ὅ, 17 of ὅτι or ὅττι); and 4 after verbs of *saying* (3 of ὅτι, 1 of ὅ).

18 of ὡς after verbs of *knowing, etc.*; 8 after verbs of *saying*.

5 of ὅ τ' (for ὅ τε = ὅ) after γινώσκω, εἶδομαι, and δῆλον.

2 of οἵνεκα after verbs of *knowing, etc.*; 4 after verbs of *saying* (omitting Od. vii. 299 as causal).

Only 3 of the 16 cases of these particles after verbs of *saying* are in the *Iliad*; while of the 65 cases after verbs of *knowing, etc.*, 42 are in the *Iliad* (29 with ὅτι, etc., 2 with ὡς, 3 with ὅ τ', 1 with οἵνεκα).



only after acts of persecuting, knowing, showing +
acts of hate is.
after is less.

673. (*Imperfect Optative.*) In a few cases, the present optative is used after past tenses to represent the imperfect indicative. The present optative thus supplies the want of an imperfect, like the present infinitive and participle (119 and 140). This can be done only when the context makes it perfectly clear that the optative represents an imperfect, and not a present. *E.g.*

Τὸν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λείοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἐθέλοι ἐαυτῷ μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλευέοιτο. XEN. Hell. vii. 1, 38. (The words of Leon were οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἤθελέ μοι, μετὰ τε Πελ. πάντα ἐβουλευέτο.) Τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγούντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προσητάξαιεν ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς. Ib. i. 7, 5. (The direct discourse was αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπλέομεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν προσητάξαμεν.) Καὶ μοι πάντες ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐδεὶς μάρτυς παρείη, κομίζετο δὲ λαμβάνων καθ' ὅποσονοῦν δέοιτο Ἄφοβος παρ' αὐτῶν, they all replied, that no witness had been present, and that Arhobus had received the money from them, taking it in such sums as he happened to want. DEM. xxx. 20. (The direct discourse was οὐδεὶς μάρτυς παρήν, ἐκομίζετο δὲ λαμβάνων καθ' ὅποσονοῦν δέοιτο. Παρείη contains the answer to the question εἰ τινες παρήσαν in the preceding sentence, quoted in 672. The imperfect in that sentence prevents the optatives in the reply from being ambiguous.) Ἀκούσας πιστεύω τοῖτ' ὡς ἄρα Λεόντιος, αἰσθημένος νεκροῦ παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ κειμένου, ἅμα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦ, ἅμα δ' αὖθις χεραῖνοι καὶ ἀποτρέποι ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τέως μάχοιτό τε καὶ παρακαλύπτοιτο. PLAT. Rep. 439 E. (All the optatives represent imperfects.) See also HDR. ix. 16 (end).

674. 1. In Homer, where clauses with ὅτι, ὡς, etc. are not yet constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (see 671), a present or perfect of the direct form appears as an imperfect or pluperfect in these clauses after past tenses. *E.g.*

Οὐδέ τι ἤδη ὅππτε δημόωντο λαοί. II. xiii. 674 (here the present optative or indicative would be regular in Attic Greek). Ἐπόρουσε, γυγνώσκων ὅ οἱ αὐτὸς ἐπέειρε χεῖρας Ἀπόλλων (later ἰπέρεχοι or ἰπέρεχει). II. v. 433. Οὐ γάρ οἱ τις ἤγγειλ' ὅτι ρά οἱ πόσις ἐκτοθι μίμνε πηλῶν. II. xxii. 438. See Oxl. xxiv. 182; and iii. 166, discussed in 671.

2. We sometimes find the imperfect and pluperfect with ὅτι or ὡς representing the present or perfect of the direct form after past tenses, even in Attic Greek. In such cases the context always makes it clear that the tense represented is not an imperfect or pluperfect (672). *E.g.*

Ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλείῃς θύραις ἦσαν, κίκλω δὲ αὐτοῖς πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιπαρέξαιεν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μῶν ἢ μύρια στάδια, προῦδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, μῶν δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἰπέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον

ἔχοντες, the Greeks thought: *We are at the king's gates; hostile cities surround us; no one will supply us a market; we are not less than ten thousand stades from Greece; the barbarians have betrayed us, and we have been left alone.* XEN. An. iii. 1, 2. (The direct forms would be the present and perfect indicative.) Διὰ τὸν χθιζινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἡμῖς διεδίετ', ἔξαπατῶν καὶ λέγων ὡς φιλαθήναιός ἦν καὶ τὰν Σάμω πρώτος κατείποι, i.e. *saying philathēnaios eimi kai tann Samō prōtos kateipōn.* AR. Vesp. 283. (Here εἰμί is changed to ἦν, not to εἶη or ἐστί: κατείπων could be changed only to κατείποι.)

3. In such cases the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause which is required to make the oratio obliqua complete is wanting, and the clause stands in the loose relation in which, for example, causal sentences usually stand to their leading verb (see 715). For the same incomplete oratio obliqua in dependent clauses of a quotation, see 691 and 701.

675. 1. An indirect quotation with ὅτι or ὥς and the optative is sometimes followed by an independent optative, generally introduced by γάρ, which continues the quotation as if it were itself dependent on the ὅτι or ὥς. *E.g.*

Ἦκοιεν δ' ἔγωγέ τιτων ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τοῖτων δέοι διοικεῖν, *for (as they said) they must administer, etc.* DEM. i. 22. Ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιεν εἶη ποιεῖν ἂ προκαλεῖται ἀνευ Ἀθηναίων· παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶησαν. THUC. ii. 72. Ἐλεγον ὅτι παντὸς ἀξία λέγοι Σεύθης· χειμῶν γὰρ εἶη, κ.τ.λ. XEN. An. vii. 3, 13.

2. Such independent optatives are sometimes found even when no optative precedes; but the context always contains some allusion to another's thought or expression. *E.g.*

Ἐπέσχετο τὸν ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιοῖς τόνδε δηλώσειεν ἄγων· οἷοιτο μὲν μάλιστα ἐκούσιον λαβῶν, εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ' ἄκοντα, i.e. *he thought (as he said), etc.* SOPH. Ph. 617. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἦν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰς ἄνθρωπον σώμει ἐλθεῖν ἀρχὴ ἦν αὐτῇ ὀλέθρον, ὡς περ νότος· καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένη τε δὴ τοῦτον τὸν βίον ζῆν, καὶ τελευτῶσα γε ἐν τῷ καλονμένῳ θανάτῳ ἀπολλύοιτο, *and (according to the theory) it lives in misery, etc., and finally perishes in what is called death.* PLAT. Phaed. 95 D. (Plato is here stating the views of others.)

676. We may even have ὅτι or ὥς with the optative when the leading verb is not past, if there is an implied reference to some former expression of the thought quoted. *E.g.*

Ἄρ' οὖν δὴ οὐ μετρίως ἀπολογησόμεθα, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ ὄν πεφυκῶς εἶη ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμένει, . . . ἀλλ' ἴοι καὶ οὐκ ἀμβλύνοιτο οὐδ' ἀπολήγοι τοῦ ἔρωτος, κ.τ.λ., i.e. *shall we not defend him very properly by stating (what we once said) that it is (was) his nature to press on towards pure living, etc.* (the optatives representing indicatives). PLAT. Rep. 490 A.



100

101





Subjunctive or Optative representing the Interrogative Subjunctive.

677. In indirect questions, after a primary tense, an *interrogative subjunctive* (287) retains its mood and tense; after a secondary tense, it may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or retained in the subjunctive.
E.g.

Φραζόμεθ' . . . ἢ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμον ὀρσομεν (subj.) ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέρωσι βάλωμεν, *let us consider whether we shall again raise war or cast friendship upon both armies.* II. iv. 14. Σὺν δέ μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες, ἢ μιν ἀποκτείνω ἢ σοὶ ἐνθάδ' ἄγω, *and do you tell me truly whether I shall slay him or bring him hither to you.* Od. xxii. 166. See Od. xvi. 73, xix. 524. Πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα ἀπορῶ, ταύτην θ' ὅπως ἐκδῶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁπόθεν διοικῶ, *I am at a loss on both questions, how I shall give her a dowry (πῶς ταύτην ἐκδῶ); and how (whence) I shall say my other expenses (πόθεν τᾶλλα διοικῶ).* DEM. xxvii. 66. Βουλεύομαι ὅπως σε ἀποδρῶ, *I am trying to think how I shall escape you (πῶς σε ἀποδρῶ).* XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 13. Οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, *I know not what I shall say.* DEM. ix. 54. So in Latin, *non habeo quid (or quod) dicam.* Οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ' ὅτῳ ἀπαλλαγῶ, *I have no device (i.e. I know not) how I shall escape.* AESCH. Prom. 470. Οὐ γὰρ δι' δι' ἀπειρίαν γε οὐ φήσεις εἶχειν ὅ τι εἶπης, *for it is not surely through inexperience that you will declare that you know not what to say (i.e. τί εἶπω).* DEM. xix. 120. So ὅ τι δῶ and οὐδ δῶ, XEN. An. i. 7, 7. (See 572.) Τὰ δὲ ἐκπόματα οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρισάντα τούτῳ δῶ, *I do not know whether I shall give them, etc.* Id. Cyr. viii. 4, 16. Ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφώντος εἰ καλέσει Δημοσθένην, *when Ctesiphon asks whether he shall call Demosthenes.* AESCHIN. iii. 202. (For εἰ see 680.)

Ἐν δὲ οἱ ἤτορ μερμήριζει, ἢ ὅ γε τοῖς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὁ δ' Ἀτρεΐδην ἐναρίζοι, ἢ εὐχόλον παύσειεν ἐρητύσειέ τε θημόν. II. i. 188. (The direct questions were τοῖς μὲν ἀναστήσω; Ἀτρεΐδην δ' ἐναρίζω; παύσω ἐρητύσω τε;) Κλήροις πάλλον, ὀπότερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλκεον ἔγχος, *i.e. they shook the lots (to decide) which should first throw his spear, the question being πότερος πρόσθεν ἀφῆ;* II. iii. 316. Ἐχρηστήριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοισιν τὸν Ἀδρηστον. HD. v. 67. Ἐπήροντο εἰ παραδοίεν Κορινθίους τὴν πόλιν, *they asked whether they should give up their city, the question being παραδῶμεν τὴν πόλιν;* THUC. i. 25. Ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ τὰ σκειοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. XEN. An. i. 10, 17; so i. 10, 5. Ἠπόρει ὅ τι χρῆσαιτο τῷ πρίγματι, *he was at a loss how to act in the matter, i.e. τί χρῆσθαι;* Id. Hell. vii. 4, 39. Οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν ὅπως δρώντες καλῶς πράξαιμεν, *for we could not see how we should fare well if we did it.* SOPH. Ant. 270.

Ἀπορόντος δὲ βασιλέως ὅ τι χρῆσεται τῷ παρόντι πρίγματι, Ἐπιάτης ἠλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους. HD. vii. 213. Ἠπόρησε μὲν ὀπότε

ρωσε διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας. THUC. i. 63. Οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακάυσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἶκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται, *whether they should set the house on fire and burn them as they were, or should dispose of them in some other way.* Id. ii. 4. Ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται, ἐς Πρώτην τὴν νῆσον ἐπλευσαν. Id. iv. 13.

678. The context must decide whether the optative in an indirect question represents a subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (669). The distinction is especially important with the aorist optative (see 125).

679. When the leading verb is an optative referring to the future, the optative can be used, by assimilation, to represent the subjunctive in these indirect questions. *E.g.*

Χαρίεντα γοῦν πάθοιμ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἄχοιμ' ὅποι ταῦτα καταθείην, *if I should not have anywhere to put these down (know where to put them).* AR. Eccl. 794. (See other examples under 186.)

680. Εἰ, *whether*, can introduce the subjunctive here, as well as the indicative or optative: see XEN. Cyr. viii. 4, 16, and AESCHIN. iii. 202, quoted in 677. Ἐάν cannot mean *whether*, and wherever this introduces a subjunctive the expression is conditional. (See 493.)

Indicative or Optative with ἄν.

681. An indicative or optative with ἄν retains its mood and tense (with ἄν) unchanged in indirect discourse with ὅτι or ὡς and in indirect questions, after both primary and secondary tenses. *E.g.*

Λέγει ὅτι τοῦτο ἂν ἐγένετο, *he says that this would have happened: ἔλεγεν ὅτι τοῦτο ἂν ἐγένετο, he said that this would have happened.* Λέγει (or ἔλεγεν) ὅτι οὗτος δίκαιός ἂν θάνοι, *he says (or said) that this man would justly be put to death.*

(Θεμιστοκλῆς; ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὦν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὐτ' ἐκείνος Ἀθηναῖος, *he replied that he should not have become famous himself if he had been a Seriphian, nor would the other if he had been an Athenian.* PLAT. REP. 330 A. Ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἦττον ἂν στάσις εἶη ἑνὸς ἀρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν. XEN. AN. vi. i. 29. Ἄπεκρίνατο, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν. Ib. ii. 1, 10. (The direct discourse was πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιμεν.) Οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίζαντας ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι τις αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, *when they would never have expected that any one would come out to fight with them.* THUC. v. 9. Παρελθὼν τις δεξιᾶτω, ὡς οἱ Θετταλοὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰλείθεροι γένοιοντο ἄσμενοι. DEM. ii. 8. Οἶδ' εἰδέναι φησι τί ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίσαιτο, *he says he does not even know what he could do to gratify you.* Id. xix. 48. Οὐκ ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμαν. AESCH. PROM. 905; so 907. Ἡρώτων εἰ δοῦεν ἂν τοῦτων τὰ πυτᾶ. XEN. AN. iv. 8, 7.

682. The same principle applies when a secondary tense of the indicative without ἄν in the construction of 415 is quoted. *E.g.*





(Ἐλεγεν) ὅτι κρείττον ἦν αὐτῷ τότε ἀποθανεῖν, *he said that he had better have died at once.* LYS. x. 25. (The direct discourse was κρείττον ἦν μοι ἀποθανεῖν.)

Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

683. When the infinitive stands in indirect discourse, its tense represents the corresponding tense of the finite verb in the direct form, the present and perfect including the imperfect and pluperfect. If ἄν was used in the direct form, it must be retained in the quotation, each tense with ἄν representing the corresponding tenses of either indicative or optative with ἄν. *E.g.*

Φησὶ γράφειν, *he says that he is writing*; ἔφη γράφειν, *he said that he was writing*; φήσεται γράφειν, *he will say that he is (then) writing.* (He says γράφω.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ ἔδυνάτο, *he says (or said) that he should now be writing, if he were able.* (He says ἔγραφον ἄν.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ δύναιτο, *he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able.* (He says γράφοιμι ἄν.)

Φησὶ γράψαι, *he says that he wrote*; ἔφη γράψαι, *he said that he had written*; φήσεται γράψαι, *he will say that he wrote.* (He says ἔγραψα.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράψαι ἄν, εἰ ἔδυνήθη, *he says (or said) that he should have written, if he had been able.* (He says ἔγραψα ἄν.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράψαι ἄν, εἰ δυνήθει, *he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able.* (He says γράψαιμι ἄν.)

Φησὶ (φήσεται) γεγραμέναι, *he says (or will say) that he has written*; ἔφη γεγραμέναι, *he said that he had written.* (He says γέγραφα.) For the perfect with ἄν, see below and 206.

Φησὶ (φήσεται) γράψειν, *he says (or will say) that he will write*; ἔφη γράψειν, *he said that he would write.* (He says γράψω.)

(Present.) Καί τε μέ φησι μάχη Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγειν. II. i. 521. Πῶς δὲ φησὶ πολέμοιο μεθέμεν; II. iv. 351. So II. xvii. 338. Σκύρζεσθαί οἱ εἰπέ θεός, ἐμέ δ' ἔξοχα πάντων ἀθανάτων κεχολῶσθαι, *tell him that the Gods are angry with him and that I am enraged with him beyond all the immortals.* II. xxiv. 113. Ἄρρωστέιν προφασίζεται, *he pretends that he is sick*: ἐξώμοσεν ἄρρωστέιν τοιτοῖ, *he took his oath that this man was sick.* DEM. xix. 124. Οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν, *i.e. Chon said that not he himself, but Nicias, was general*; *i.e. he said, οὐκ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνος στρατηγεῖ.* THUC. iv. 28. Τίνας οὖν εὐχὸς ἰπολαμβάνειν εὐχεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ὅτ' ἴσπευδεν; *what prayers do you suppose Philip made, etc.?* DEM. xix. 130. (Εὐχεσθαι represents ἠύχαστο: see 119.) Οἶμαι γὰρ ἄν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι εἶχειν, *for I think it would not be a thankless labour*; *i.e. οὐκ ἄν ἔχοι.* XEN. AN. ii. 3, 18. Οἴεσθε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἄν φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν τῶν πωλονόμων ξύλων; *do you think that my father would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber*

sold? i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐφύλαττεν καὶ ἐλάμβανεν; DEM. xlix. 35. (See 205.)

(Aorist.) Οὐδέ κε φαίης ἀνδρὶ μαχησάμενον τὸν γ' ἐλθέμεν, *nor would you say that he came after a battle with a man.* IL. iii. 393. Κατασχέιν φησι τούτους, *he says that he detained them.* Τοῖς δ' αἰχμαλώτοις οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναί φησι λίσασθαι, *but he says that he did not even think of ransoming the prisoners.* DEM. xix. 39. (He says κατέσχον and οὐδ' ἐνεθυμήθην.) 'Ο Κῦρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσῳ, *Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses.* XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 1. Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἠλπίζεν ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξέλθειν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τρηθῆναι, *he hoped that the Athenians would perhaps march out and not allow their land to be laid waste; i.e. ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξέλθοιεν καὶ οὐκ ἂν περιίδοιεν.* THUC. ii. 20. Ἀπῆσαν νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἐτι ἰκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλύσαι τὸν τειχισμὸν. Id. vi. 102. (Here οὐκ ἂν γενοίμεθα would be the direct form: see 685.) So i. 139. Οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖσθ' αὐτὸν κἄν ἐπιδραμεῖν, *do you not believe that (in that case) he would have run thither? i.e. ἐπέδραμεν ἂν.* DEM. xxvii. 56. (See 223.) A single infinitive with ἂν occurs in Homer: καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθῆσασθαι, IL. ix. 684. (The direct discourse is given in the words of Achilles in vs. 417, καὶ δ' ἂν παραμυθησαίμην.) (See 207.)

(Perfect.) Φρονέω τετιμῆσθαι Διὸς αἴσῳ, *I feel that I have been honoured.* IL. ix. 608. Φησὶν αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι, *he says αἴτιος γεγέννηται.* DEM. xix. 37. Εἴκαλον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληψόμενον τι προεληλακέναί. XEN. An. i. 10, 16. (Their thought was ἢ διώκον οἴχεται, ἢ προεληλακεν.) Ἐφη χρῆμαθ' εἰαυτῷ τοῖς Θεβαίωνι ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, *he said that the Thebans had offered a reward for him.* DEM. xix. 21. Ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφόν καταδεδικάσθαι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλλαι πω ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τὰς σπονδὰς ὅτ' ἐπέπεψαν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, *they rejoined that they (the Eleians) had not justly condemned them, saying that the truce had not yet been announced at Sparta when they sent in the soldiers (they said οὐ καταδεδίκασθε, and οὐκ ἐπηγγελλέμεναι ἡσάν πω αἱ σπονδαὶ ὅτ' ἐσπεύφαμεν.* THUC. v. 49. So ἐκπεπλήχθαι, representing ἐξεπέπληκτο. XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 27. (See 123, above.)

For examples of the perfect infinitive with ἂν, representing the pluperfect indicative and the perfect optative, see 206.)

(Future.) Ἐφης σὸς ἔσσεσθαι. IL. xxii. 331. So Od. iv. 664. Καὶ μοι εἶπεν Μνημόνων τὸν ἄρστρον λείψειν φάος ἡελίοιο, *he told me ὁ ἄρστρος . . . λείπει.* IL. xviii. 9. Καὶ δὴ μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς. IL. i. 161. Ἐπαγγέλλεται τὰ δίκαια ποιήσειν, *he promises to do what is right.* DEM. xix. 48. Ἐφη ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ ἄξιεν Λακεδαιμονίους ζῶντας ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενεῖν, *he said that within twenty days he would either bring them alive or kill them where they were.* THUC. iv. 28. (Cleon said ἢ ἄξω ἢ ἀποκτενῶ.) Ταῦτα (φησὶν) πεπράξεσθαι δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *he says that this will have been accomplished within two or three days* (137). DEM. xix. 74. (For the rare future infinitive with ἄν, see 208.)





1817 often after a series of hope; regular of his promises.
with proper will may refer to passed or past

684. The infinitive is said to stand in indirect discourse and its tenses correspond to those of the indicative or optative, when it depends on a verb implying thought or the expression of thought (one of the class of *verba sentiendi et declarandi*), and when also the thought, as originally conceived, would have been expressed by some tense of the indicative (with or without *άν*) or optative (with *άν*), so that it can be transferred without change of tense to the infinitive. Thus in *βούλεται ἔλθεῖν*, he wishes to go, *ἔλθεῖν* represents no form of either aorist indicative or aorist optative, and is therefore said to be not in indirect discourse. But in *φησὶν ἔλθεῖν*, he says that he went, *ἔλθεῖν* represents ἦλθον of the direct discourse. The distinction in the time of the infinitive (especially of the aorist infinitive) in these two uses is obvious.

It may be asked why the infinitive after certain other verbs should not be said to stand in indirect discourse; for example, why in *κελεύει σε ἔλθεῖν* or *μὴ ἔλθεῖν* we should not say that *ἔλθεῖν* represents *ἔλθέ* or *μὴ ἔλθης* of direct discourse. This might perhaps be done; and we might possibly make *ἔλθεῖν* in *βούλομαι ἔλθεῖν* represent *ἔλθομαι*, may I go. But with other verbs of the same class, as those of *advising, teaching, striving, choosing*, no form of direct discourse can even be imagined. It is much harder to draw a line between these last verbs and verbs like *κελεύει* and *βούλομαι*, or even between these two, than where it is drawn above. It is impossible to say where a Greek would have drawn the line, or to be sure that he would have drawn any line at all; for our own use, the usual definition of the infinitive in *oratio obliqua* (as given above) is certainly the most convenient.

685. (*Μὴ with Infinitive.*) The negative particle of the infinitive in indirect discourse is regularly *οὐ*, which is retained from the direct form (667, 5). But, after certain verbs which belong to the intermediate class between those which take the infinitive in indirect discourse and those which do not (see 136), the infinitive regularly takes *μὴ* for its negative. Such are verbs of *hoping, promising, and swearing*; with those signifying to *agree or consent* (*ὁμολογῶ*), to *trust* (*πιστεύω*), to *be persuaded* (*πέπεισμαι*), to *testify* (*μαρτυρῶ*).¹ The infinitive occasionally has *μὴ* even after the verbs which most regularly take the infinitive with *οὐ* in indirect discourse, as *φημί, λέγω, νομίζω, ἡγοῶμαι*, etc. *E.g.*

Χρῆν ὀρῶσαι μὴ ἐκόντα ἔλθεῖν, he had to swear that he did not come intentionally. Hdt. ii. 179; so i. 165. *Ὅμνισιν μὴ πώποτ' ἀμείνον' ἔπη μῆδ' ἀκούσαι*, he swears that nobody ever heard better verses. AR. Ves-p. 1047. *Ὁμννε μῆδ' εἰρηκέαι*. DEM. xxi. 119. *Ὅταν ἐλπίσσῃσιν οἱ ποὶ μὴ ἄλλος τὸν νέον καθέξειν*. PLAT. Rep. 572 E. *Οἷδε μίαν ἱμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δόσειν ἱμέας δίκην*. Hdt. vi. 11. (For *μὴ οὐ* see 815, 2.) *Μαυίδος υἱὸς ὑποσχόμενος κατένευσε μὴ ποτ' ἀποκλέψειν οὐρ' Ἐκρηβόλος ἐκτεάτισται*. Hymn. Merc. 521; so *μὴ τινα ἔσεισθαι*. Ibid. 525.

¹ See Liddell and Scott, ed. 7, under *μὴ*, B. 5, C; also Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* i. p. 51.

Ὁμολογίγαμεν μήποτ' ἂν αὐτὴν ἐναντία ἄδειν. PLAT. Phaed. 94 C. Μεμαρτυρήκασι οἱ πρότερον ἐργαζόμενοι μὴ εἶναι σηκὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. LYS. vii. 11. So DEM. xlv. 15. Σωκράτη γε ἐγὼ ἐγγινώμαι μὴ ἐπιλήσασθαι. PLAT. Prot. 336 D. Πιστεύω μὴ ψεύσειν με ταύτας τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας. XEN. Cyr. i. 5, 13. Πέπεισμαι ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπων. PLAT. Ap. 37 A : so 37 B.

Φαίην δ' ἂν ἐγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παιδεύειν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀρέσκοντος. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 39. So PLAT. Theaet. 155 A. Πάντες ἐροῦσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς. XEN. Cyr. vii. 1, 18. Ἐνόμισε δὲ μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἀνθρώπων. Ib. vii. 5, 59. Καὶ ἄρτι ἔλεγον μηδένα ἐθέλειν ἐκόντα ἄρχειν. PLAT. Rep. 346 E. Τίς ἂν θεῶν μὲν παῖδας ἤγοίτο εἶναι, θεοῖς δὲ μὴ; Id. Ap. 27 D. Προὔλεγον μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι πόλεμον (i.e. οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιτο πόλεμος). THUC. i. 139. See also THUC. v. 49, vi. 102, quoted in 683.

The examples in the last paragraph are opposed to the regular usage of the language, which would demand οὐ in all of them. We must suppose that the use of μὴ with the infinitive was so fixed, before the infinitive began to be used in indirect discourse, that μὴ always seemed natural, even after οὐ had become the regular form after verbs of *saying*, *thinking*, etc. We sometimes find strange uses of μὴ. In THUC. i. 118, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἵεσαι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, *having even before this been not slow to go into wars*, it may be difficult to find a better explanation of the anomalous μὴ than the perhaps heretical one, that τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἵεσαι had a more natural sound than τοῦ οὐ ταχεῖς ἵεσαι, although neither τοῦ nor the negative has anything to do with the infinitive. So some people say *between you and I*, merely because *you and me* sounds vulgar.

686. With μὴ and the infinitive in indirect discourse we may compare the rare ὅτι μὴ with the indicative, which occurs in THEOG. 659, οἷδ' ὀμόσαι χρῆ τοῦθ', ὅτι μήποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται, and ANT. v. 21, ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε, ὅτι μὴ προνοῖα μᾶλλον ἐγίγνετο ἢ τέχνη; see also SOPH. ANT. 685, ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς ταῦτα. Ὅτι μὴ with the indicative became a regular construction in later Greek (as in Lucian). Ὀμόσαι ὅτι μὴ ἔσται in Theognis suggests the still more puzzling cases of μὴ alone with the indicative after oaths in Homer and Aristophanes: ἴστω Ζεὺς, μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποιχέσεται ἄλλος, Il. x. 329; ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα . . . μὴ δι' ἱμῶν ἰσθήτα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων πημαίνει Τρώας, Il. xv. 36; μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μὴ σ' ἐγὼ κατακλινώ χαμαί, AN. LYS. 917; so Eccl. 1000; μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγίδας, . . . μὴ γὼ νόημα κομψότερον ἢ κοῖσά πω, AV. 194. I have no explanation, even to suggest, of the strange use of μὴ in these last examples.

Participle in Indirect Discourse.

687. When the participle stands in indirect discourse,

Balabit p. 276 suggests that the pty points to the use of the wife
as an object.

Sorensonstein p. 217: when the dependent clause expresses not p
but result or strong assurance.

is a direct object of the M.T.

is a direct object of the M.T.



ώρων . τον φ.δ. του όφθαλμού ή η κεκοιμημένον, γήο κλειν καταγο
το σκέλοι κεκοιμημένον ηδη δει βο. ληθείη μέρος ή τύχη του σώρι
ταφελόθαι, ενού η . ταφ. ο. D. 18.67

it follows the rules already given for the infinitive (683), in regard to its tense and the use of *άν*. *E.g.*

'Αγγέλλει τούτους ἐρχομένους, *he announces that they are coming; ἤγγειλε τούτους ἐρχομένους, he announced that they were coming.* (The announcement is οὗτοι ἐρχονται.) 'Αγγέλλει τούτους ἐλθόντας, *he announces that they came; ἤγγειλε τούτους ἐλθόντας, he announced that they had come.* (He says ἦλθον.) 'Αγγέλλει τούτους ἐληλυθότας, *he announces that they have come; ἤγγειλε τούτους ἐληλυθότας, he announced that they had come.* (He says ἐληλύθασιν.) 'Αγγέλλει (ἤγγειλε) τοῦτο γενησόμενον, *he announces (or announced) that this is (or was) about to happen.* (He says τοῦτο γενήσεται.)

Οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι ἤδη Πάτροκλον τεθνηότα διος Ἀχιλλεύς, *nor yet did Achilles have any knowledge that Patroclus was dead.* II. xvii. 402. Γέγνωκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἔόντα. II. vi. 191. Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρα μιν πάλαι ἤδεεν ἔνδον ἔόντα. Od. xxiii. 29 : so xvii. 549, 556. Τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἑώραν οὐ κατορθούντες καὶ τοῖς στρατιώτας ἀχθομένους τῇ μονῇ, *for they saw that they were not succeeding in their attempts, and that the soldiers were distressed by the delay; i.e. they saw οὐ κατορθοῦμεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀχθονται.* THUC. vii. 47. 'Εμμένονεν οἷς ὁμολογήσαμεν δίκαιούς οὖσιν; *do we abide by what we acknowledged to be just (i.e. δίκαιά ἐστιν)?* PLAT. CRIT. 50 A. Πάνθ' ἐνεκα ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελέγησθαι, *it has been proved that he is doing everything for his own interest.* DEM. ii. 8. Αὐτῷ Κῆρον ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα, *I first announced to him that Cyrus was on his march against him.* XEN. AN. ii. 3, 19. See SOPH. O. T. 395.

'Η σάφα οἶδε νοστήσαντά σε δέτρο, *whether she is perfectly certain that you have returned hither.* Od. xxiv. 404. 'Ἐπιπτάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ἑμῶν τιμωρία περιγεγεννημένους (i.e. ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσφάλῃ, καὶ ἡμεῖς περιγεγενήμεθα). THUC. i. 69. So in the same chapter, τὸν Μήδων αὐτοῖ ἤμεν ἐκ πειράτων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα, i.e. ὁ Μῆδος ἦλθεν. 'Ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξημαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλῃν καθεστῶτας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις (i.e. οὐκ ἐπράχθη and καθεστῶσιν. Id. v. 44. Οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, *for they did not know that he was dead (i.e. τέθνηκεν).* XEN. AN. i. 10, 16. See AND. i. 23 : SOPH. TR. 739. 'Ἐπέδειξα οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγέλκῃτα ἀλλὰ φενακίσανθ' ἑμᾶς, *I have shown that he has reported nothing that is true, and that he deceived you (ἀπήγγελκεν and ἐφενάκισεν).* DEM. xix. 177.

Εἰ εὖ ἦδεν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γενησομένην, *if I were sure that I should obtain an alliance also (i.e. συμμαχία μοι γενήσεται).* Ibid. 40. So XEN. HELL. iv. 7, 3. 'Ο δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν ἀλλ' ἐς οφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων, *knowing that*

he shall not return the benefit, etc. (i.e. οὐκ ἀποδώσω). THUC. ii. 40. Γνώτες οὐτ' ἀποκωλύσειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἴ τ' ἀπομονωθήσονται τῆς ξημβιάσεως, κινδυνεύσοντες, ποιοῦνται ὁμολογίαν (i.e. οὔτε δυνατοὶ ἔσμεν, εἴ τ' ἀπομονωθήσόμεθα, κινδυνεύσομεν). Id. iii. 28.

Εὐ δ' ὤθι μηδὲν ἂν με τοῦτων ἐπιχειρήσαντα σε πείθειν, εἰ δυναστείαν μόνον ἢ πλοῦτον ἑώρων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενησόμενον. ISOC. v. 133 (μηδὲν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαντα represents οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπεχείρησα, and γενησόμενον represents γενήσεται). Εὐ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἴσσοι ἡμῶς λιπηροῦς γενομένουσ (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐγένεσθε). THUC. i. 76. Σκοποῦμενος οὖν εἴρισκον οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος, I found that I could accomplish this (διαπραξάμην ἂν) in no other way. ISOC. xv. 7.

"Ὅπως δέ γε τοῖς πολεμίους δύναισθε κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐκ οἶσθα μανθάνοντας ἡμῶς πολλὰς κακουργίας; do you not know that you learned, etc.? XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 28. (Here δύναισθε and the whole context show that μανθάνοντας represents ἐμανθάνετε.) Μέννημαι δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ παῖς ὢν Κριτίῳ τῷδε ξενόντα σε, I remember that you were with (ξενήσθα) this Critias. PLAT. Charm. 156 A. (See 140 and the examples.)

See other examples in 904.

688. (Negative μή.) The participle of indirect discourse, like the infinitive, regularly retains the negative οὐ from the direct form. But, as in the case of the infinitive (685), we find many exceptions. Compare ISOC. v. 133 and THUC. i. 76, which have μή after οἶδα, with THUC. ii. 40 and ISOC. xv. 7, which have οἶδα οὐ (all quoted in 687). See also SOPH. O. C. 656, 797 (οἶδα μή), Ph. 79 (ἔξοιδα μή), O. C. 1121 (ἐπίστανται μή); EUR. Tro. 970 (δείξω μή); THUC. ii. 17 (προῆδει μή). Here also the irregularity may be explained by the fixed earlier use of μή in other constructions affecting the later construction of indirect discourse (685).

INDIRECT QUOTATION OF COMPLEX SENTENCES.

689. When a complex sentence is indirectly quoted, its leading verb follows the principles already stated for simple sentences (669-688).

1. If the quotation depends on a primary tense, all the dependent verbs of the original sentence retain the mood and tense of the direct discourse.

2. After a secondary tense, all dependent verbs of the original sentence which there stood in the present, perfect, or future indicative, or in any tense of the subjunctive, may either be changed to the same tense of the optative or retain



both the mood and tense of the direct discourse, the optative being the more common form. When the subjunctive is changed to the optative, *ἄν* is dropped, *εἰάν*, *ὅταν*, etc., becoming *εἰ*, *ὄτε*, etc.

3. But dependent secondary tenses of the indicative and all dependent optatives remain unchanged after all tenses (see, however, 693). *E.g.*

1. (After primary tenses.) **Ἄν δ' ὑμῖς λέγητε, ποιήσῃσιν (φησὶ) ὁ μῆτ' ἀσχύνην μῆτ' ἀδοξίαν αὐτῆ φέρει.* DEM. XIX. 41 (i.e. ποιήσω, ὁ μῆτ' . . . ἐμοὶ φέρει). *Νομίζω γὰρ, ἄν τοῦτ' ἀκριβῶς μάθητε, μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς τοῦτοις μὲν ἀπιστήσῃσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ βοηθήσῃσιν.* Id. XXX. 25. **Ἐὰν ἐκείνο εἰδόμεν, ὅτι ἅπανθ' ὅσα πάποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν τινα πράξῃν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὐριχται, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεί πολεμῆν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ.* Id. IV. 50. *Προλέγω ὅτι, ὅπότερ' ἄν ἀποκρίνηται, ἐξελεγχθήσεται.* PLAT. Euthyd. 275 E. See DEM. XXI. 66, where two such conditional sentences depend on *εἰ πρόδηλον γένοιτο*, and II. XIII. 741 (see 178 and 184, above).

**Ὅρῳ σοὶ τοῦτων δεήσον, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃς φιλίαν πρὸς τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι.* XEN. Mem. II. 6, 29. *Παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε, ὅς ἂν ἀπιστῆται, θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον.* THUC. III. 40. See 687.

2. (Optative after secondary tenses.) *Εἶπε ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι ὃν εἶρξαι δεῖσι, ἢε said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine, i.e. ἢε said ἄνδρα ἄγω ὃν εἶρξαι δεῖσι.* XEN. Hell. V. 4, 8. **Ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μανθάνοιεν οἱ μανθάνοντες ἃ οὐκ ἐπίστανται, i.e. ἢε replied, μανθάνουσι ἃ οὐκ ἐπίστανται.* PLAT. Euthyd. 276 E. (Here οὐκ shows that ἃ has a definite antecedent, and takes the optative only because it is in indirect discourse. So with ὃν in the preceding example.) **Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγε ὅτι, εἰ βλαβερὰ πεπραχὼς εἶη, δίκαιος εἶη ζημιοῦσθαι, i.e. ἢε said εἰ βλαβερὰ πέπραχε, δίκαιός ἐστι ζημιοῦσθαι.* XEN. Hell. V. 2, 32. So AN. III. 5, 15 and VI. 6, 25.

Εἰ δὲ τινα φείγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολεμῶ χρήσοιτο. Id. Cyr. III. 1, 3. (This is a quotation of *εἰ τινα λήψομαι, χρήσομαι*.) *Γρόιτες δὲ ὅτι, εἰ δώσοιεν εἰθίνας, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολόσθαι, πέμπουσιν καὶ διδάσκουσιν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὡς, εἰ μὴ στρατεύσοιεν, κινδυνεύσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι.* Id. Hell. VII. 4, 34. **Ἦδοι γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι, ἐκ τοῦτων αὐτῷ παρατῆτας ληπτέον εἶη.* Id. Cyr. VIII. 1, 10. (The direct discourse was *εἰ τι δεήσει, ληπτέον ἐστίν*.)

Ἐλογίζοντο ὡς, εἰ μὴ μάχοιντο, ἀποστήσοιντο αἱ περιοικίδες πόλεις.* Id. Hell. VI. 4, 6. (Ἐὰν μὴ μαχώμεθα, ἀποστήσονται*.) *Χρήμαθ' ἵπαρχεῖτο δώσειν, εἰ τοῦ πράγματος αἰτιῶντο ἐμέ.* DEM. XXI. 104. (*Δώσω, εἰν αἰτιάσθε*.) **Ἦγείτο γὰρ ἅπαν ποιήσειν αὐτὸν, εἰ τις ἀργύριον δίδοι.* LYS. XII. 14. *Εὔξαντο σωτήρια θύσειν, ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοιντο.* XEN. AN. V. 1, 1.

(The dependent clause is found in the direct form in iii. 2, 9: δοκεῖ μοι εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τοῖτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα.) Τοῦτο ἐπραγματεῖτο νομίζων, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν (ὅσ' ἂν προλάβω, βεβαίως ἔξω). DEM. xviii. 26. Ἦλπιζον ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσκειαν τὸν βίον, ταφῆσεσθαι (ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωμεν, ταφησόμεθα). LYS. xiii. 45. Κόνων ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὔτῳ μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φιλίαι ἐσοῖντο, εἰ δὲ δοιλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς ἐσοῖτο, ἔλεγεν ὡς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἰκανῆ εἰη παρέχειν, καὶ κίνδυνος εἶη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληγες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθῶντο, συσταίεν. XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 2. Εἶπε τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη εἶη τοῦτον ἐλλόγιμον γενέσθαι, εἴπερ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοι (ἀνάγκη ἐστίν, ἔαν ἔλθῃ). PLAT. Theaet. 142 D. Ἐνόμωε μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅστις ἄλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένου, ἢ βελτίειναι that no man could ever be made faithful who was to love (see 527) any one more than the one needing his guardianship (οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο εἰ φιλήσει). XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 59. Ὡμοσεν Ἀγεσιλάφ, εἰ σπείσαιτο ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλεῦ ἀγγέλοις, διαπράξεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Id. Ag. i. 10. (The oath was ἔαν σπείσῃ ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσιν ἀγγελοὶ οὓς ἂν πέμψω, διαπράξομαι.) Even in Homer, Il. ii. 597, we find στείτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, for he promised with a boast that he would be victor, even if the Muses themselves should sing. (For εἰ ἂν with the optative, see 460; or ἀείδοιεν may represent a subjunctive, 692.)

Ἐτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθοροῦντας μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ' εἰ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτει, they said they knew that they (the Mantineans) were anxious if any good came to them, but pleased if any calamity befell them. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 2. (Φθορεῖτε μὲν ἔαν τι ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν γίγνηται, ἐφῆδεσθε δ' ἔαν τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτῃ.) Τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ πρόδηλος ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἤξουσα εἰ τι πάθῃ Χαρίδημος (ἤξει, ἔαν τι πάθῃ Χαρίδημος). DEM. xxiii. 12.

(Subjunctive and Indicative retained after secondary tenses.)

Ἐλέγον ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἔνδον καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πολλοὶ, οἱ παῖοῦσιν τοῖς ἔνδον ἀνθρώποις, they said that there was a height, etc. XEN. An. v. 2, 17. (Here εἶεν and παῖοιεν might have been used.)

Ἐδοκεῖ μοι ταύτῃ πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι, ἐνθουσιμένῳ ὅτι, ἔαν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, κ.τ.λ. LYS. xii. 15. (Here εἰ λάθοιμι, σωθήσομαι might have been used.) Φάσκων τε, ἦν σωθῆ ὀικαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν. XEN. Hell. i. 6, 7. (He said ἦν σωθῶ, which might have been changed to εἰ σωθείη.) Ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ἔπευε πράξαι, εἰ εἰδὸς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστειρηθῆσεσθε, ταχέαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομειέσθε. LYS. xii. 70. Ὑπέρχοντο αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐπὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἰωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν (ἦν ἰωσιν, ἐσβαλοῦμεν). THUC. i. 58. Καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἔαν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶν ὁ δ' ὑπέρχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλωνίαν ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ, μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ





τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἴωνίαν πάλιν. XEN. AN. i. 4, 12 and 13. Ἐφη χρῆναι, οἳ ἂν ἐλεγχοῦσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. Ib. ii. 5, 27. See AESCHIN. iii. 145.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς ἔχουσι ζῶντας, otherwise, they said, they should themselves kill their men whom they had in their hands alive (ἔχουσι might have been used). THUC. ii. 5. Κατασχίσσειν τὰς πόλεις ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. XEN. AN. vii. 1, 16. (Εἰ μὴ ἀνοίξουσι might have been used.) So THUC. i. 137. Αὐτοῖς τοιαύτη δόξα παρεστῆκει, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλην πόλιν Ἰασιν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμήσουσιν· εἰ δ' ἐνθάδε πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τολμήσειν, κ.τ.λ. LYS. ii. 22. Οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθές εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθῆσανται πρῶβεις. AESCHIN. iii. 71. Ὁ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς κωλύετε, it was manifest that this would be so unless you should prevent it (i.e. ἔσται, εἰ μὴ κωλύετε). Id. iii. 90. (Κωλύοιτε might be used; and εἰ μὴ κωλύοιτε representing εἰ μὴ κωλύοιτε is in one Ms.)

3. (Past tenses of Indicative retained after secondary tenses.) Ἐπιστείλει δὲ σφίσις αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους (ἔφασαν) εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὦν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποιοῦν μέμφοντο αὐτοῖς, that the Ephors charged them to say that they blamed them for what they had done before (i.e. ὦν πρόσθεν ἐποιοῖτε μεμφόμεθα ἡμῖν). XEN. PELL. iii. 2, 6.

Ἦλπιζον τοὺς Σικελούς ταύτη, οὓς μετέπεμψαν, ἀπαντήσεσθαι, they hoped that the Sicels whom they had sent for would meet them here. THUC. vii. 80. Λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκοίντων φαρμάκῳ ἀποθνεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀδύνατον νομίματα εἶναι ἐπιτελεῖσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο, and some say even that he (Themistocles) died a voluntary death by poison, believing that it was impossible to perform for the King what he had promised ἀδύνατον ἅστιν ἐπιτελεῖσαι ἃ ὑπέσχετο. Id. i. 138. Ἀντέλεγον, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλλθαι πῶ τὰς σπονδὰς ὅτ' ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας. Id. v. 49. Ἐλεγον ὡς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὡς Σείθην οἰκίστρον καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ἀποληψόμενος. XEN. AN. vii. 7, 55. Ἐκαίστον ἡρόμην, εἴ τινες εἶεν μάρτυρες ὦν ἐναντίον τὴν προικὴ ἀπέδοσαν· εἰσὶ μάρτυρες, ὦν ἐναντίον ἀπέδοτε;). DEM. xxx. 19.

The aorist indicative is not changed to the aorist optative here, to avoid confusion, as the latter tense in such dependent clauses generally represents the aorist subjunctive of the direct form. Thus ἔφη ἃ εὔροι δοῦσεν means he said that he would give whatever he might find (ἃ ἂν εὔρω δοῦσεν; but if ἃ εὔροι could also represent ἃ εἶδρον, it might also mean he said that he would give what he had found. In the leading clause the ambiguity is confined to indirect questions, in which the aorist indicative is generally retained for the same reason (see 125).

Past tenses of the Indicative in unreal conditions retained.) Ἐδόκει, εἰ μὴ ἔφθασαν ξυλλαβόντες τοὺς ἀνδρας, προδοθῆναι ἂν τὴν πόλιν. THUC. vi. 61. (If ἔφθασαν were optative, it would represent an optative of direct discourse.) Οἴσθε τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ Τιμοθέου ἦν τὰ ξύλα καὶ ἐδείχθη οὗτος αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν τὸ ναῦλον, εἶσαι ἂν ποτε,

κ.τ.λ., ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν, ὥς ἐκομί-
σματο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ; DEM. xlix. 35. Τοῦτων εἴ τι ἦν ἀληθές, οἷοσθ'
οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν; Id. xxvii. 56. Ἡδέως ἂν ἰμῶν πυθοίμην, τίν'
ἂν ποτε γνώμην περὶ ἐμοῦ εἴχετε εἰ μὴ ἐπετριηράρχησα ἀλλὰ
πλέων ᾤχόμην. Id. l. 67.

(Dependent Optatives retained.) Εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς λόγους εἰ
ὁμήρουσ λάβοι (he said ἔλθοιμι ἂν εἰ ὁμήρουσ λάβοιμι). XEN. Hell.
iii. 1, 20. Ἦττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν (δοκεῖ μοι), εἴ τι δέοισθε
παρ' αὐτῶν. Id. An. vi. 1, 26. Ἐλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ
ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ ἐτι μὲν μείους γένοιτο ἐτι δὲ
κἀκίων πράξειαν. Ib. i. 9, 10. Δεινὸν ἂν τι παθεῖν σαυτὸν ἡλιπυς,
εἰ πίθοιθ' ὅττοι τὰ πεπραγμένα σοι. DEM. xix. 240.

Sentences such as these are often translated like those which had a
future and a dependent subjunctive in the direct discourse. Thus
ἔλεγεν ὅτι χαίροι ἂν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο or ἔλεγε χαίρειν ἂν εἰ τοῦτο
γένοιτο, as well as ἔλεγεν ὅτι χαίρησσι εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο or ἔλεγε
χαίρησιν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, may all be translated *he said that he should
rejoice if this should happen*; although in the first two sentences the
direct discourse was χαίροιμι ἂν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, *I should rejoice if
this should happen*, and in the last two, χαίρησω ἔαν τοῦτο γένηται, *I
shall rejoice if this shall happen*. (See 456.)

690. The dependent verbs of a quotation may be changed
to the optative in indirect discourse, even when the leading verb
retains the indicative; and sometimes (though rarely) a dependent
verb retains the subjunctive or indicative, when the leading verb
is changed to the optative. This may give rise to a great variety
of constructions in the same sentence. *E.g.*

Δηλώσας ὅτι ἑτοιμοὶ εἰσι μίχεσθαι εἴ τις ἐξέρχοιτο. XEN.
Cyr. iv. 1, 1. (Ἐτοιμοὶ εἰν εἰν τις ἐξέρχεται.) Λυσάνδρου εἶπε
ὅτι παρισπώνδους ἡμᾶς ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἔσται
ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσθαι ἅ θ. κελεύει. LYS. xii.
74. (Ἐχω, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἔαν μὴ ποιήσθαι ἅ θ. κελεύει. There is
no need of the emendations ποιήσετ' and κελεύει.) Ἐδόκει δῆλον
εἶναι ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτὸν εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίσει. XEN. An. vi. 1, 25.
Οὐκ ἠγνόει Εὐβουλίδης ὅτι, εἰ λόγος ἀποδοθήσοιτο καὶ παρα-
γένοιτο μοι πάντες οἱ δημόται καὶ ἡ ψήφος δικαίως δοθείη, οὐδαμοῦ
γενήσονται οἱ μετὰ τοῦτον συννεστηκότες. DEM. lvii. 16. (Εἰ ἀπο-
δοθήσεται καὶ ἔαν παραγένωνται καὶ ψήφος δοθῆ, οὐδαμοῦ γενήσονται.)
Ἀγησίλαος γνοὺς ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μηδὲτέρω συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος
λύσει τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερος τ' ἂν
κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἐχθρὸς ἔσται· εἰ δὲ τῶ ἑτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτός
γε φίλος ἔσσοιτο. κ.τ.λ. XEN. Ag. ii. 31.

Ἐλεγον ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἠκοιεν ἠγημόνας
ἔχοντας, οἱ αὐτοῖς, ἔαν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσι
τὰ ἐπιτόδεια. Id. An. ii. 3, 6. Ἐπρωτά, ποῖα εἴη τῶν ὁρίων ὁπόθεν
οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταθέοντες ληίζονται. Id. Cyr. iii. 2, 1. Ἐλεξας ὅτι
μέγιστον εἴη μαθεῖν ὅπως δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲ





τη κατακλιση του ομοιο επι το εκδοχο he said he would
pass over to them ^{it} which he was sitting X. H. 1. 5. 3.

τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐψησθα ὄφελος οὐδὲν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο ἂ δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ ποιῆν. *Id. Oec. xv. 2.*

In *DEM. xviii. 148*, we have both constructions of 689, 2 in the same sentence: εἰ μὲν τοῦτο τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε πάντας· ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, ἐπὶ ῥως λήσσειν. Here εἰ εἰσηγοῖτο represents ἂν (= ἴαν) εἰσηγήται, corresponding to ἂν ἦ. By keeping the subjunctive in the latter case, the expression is made more vivid by contrast.

In *PLAT. Rep. 337 A* we have τοῖτοῖς προύλεγον, ὅτι εἰρωνεύσοιο καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ποιήσοις ἢ ἀποκρινούοιο, εἰ τίς τί σε ἐρωτᾷ, which must mean *I warned them that you would dissemble and would do anything rather than answer if any one should ask you anything*. The direct discourse must be εἰρωνεύσεται καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ποιήσει ἢ ἀποκρινέται ἴαν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾷ (subj.). Ἐὰν ἐρωτᾷ must have been retained or changed to εἰ with the optative; and ἐρωτᾷ in the text is probably a copyist's mistake for ἐρωτῶ, a form of the optative frequently found in the *Cod. A Parisin.* of Plato. See in the *Republic* 516 A (καθορῶ), 518 A (γελῶ), 559 A (μελετῶ), 598 C (ἐξάπατῶ). There is, however, a various reading ἐρωίτο in a few Mss. in 337 A.

691. The imperfect or pluperfect sometimes stands irregularly in a dependent (as well as in the leading) clause of the indirect discourse after a secondary tense, to represent a present or perfect indicative, which would regularly be retained or changed to the present or perfect optative. Such clauses are really not included in the indirect discourse. See 674; 701. *E.g.*

Ἐλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτὸν, εἰ ἄνδρας διεφθέρειν οὔτε χεῖρας ἀνταγομένους οὔτε πολέμιους (οὐ καλῶς ἐλευθεροῖς, εἰ διαφθέρεις). *THUC. iii. 32.* Οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλας θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον (εἰ χαιρόντων). *XEN. Mem. i. 3, 3.* Καὶ ἔφη εἶναι παρ' ἐαυτῷ ὅσον μὴ ἦν ἀνηλωμένον ὅσον μὴ ἔστιν ἀνηλωμένον). *DEM. xlviii. 16.* Ἄ μὲν εἰλήφει τῆς πόλεως ἀποδώσειν (ἡγούμην), *I thought that he would give back what he had taken from the city; i.e. ἂ εἰλήφεν ἀποδώσει.* *Id. xix. 151.*

692. In a few cases, a relative or particle which had ἂν with the subjunctive in the direct form irregularly retains ἂν in indirect discourse after a past tense, although the verb has been changed to the optative. This must not be confounded with ἂν belonging to a potential optative (506; 557). *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐχ ἠγείτο τῶν εἰδῶτων δίκην με λήψεσθαι παρ' αἰτῶν, ἐπειδὴν τίχιστα ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθεῖν (so the Mss.). *DEM. xxx. 6.* The direct discourse was ἐπειδὴν δοκιμασθῆ, and the regular indirect form would be ἐπειδὴ δοκιμασθεῖν or ἐπειδὴν δοκιμασθῶ. See also 702.

693. When no ambiguity can arise from the change of an aorist indicative to the optative in a dependent clause of the indirect discourse, this tense may follow the general principle. This occurs chiefly in

causal sentences after ὅτι, ἐπεὶ, etc., *because* (713), in which the subjunctive can never be used. *E.g.*

Εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἷδὲ θῦσαι εἰσείσαν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀύλιδι. XEN. Hell. vii. 1, 34. (The direct discourse was ἐπολέμησαν ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν οἷδὲ θῦσαι εἰσείσαμεν αὐτόν.) Ἀπηγγήρασθαί (φασι) ὡς ἀνοσώτατον μὲν εἶη εἰργασμένος ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοῖς φιλικούσι καταμεθίσσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμᾶμενον τὸν νέκυν. HDT. ii. 121. Here ὅτι καταλύσειε represents ὅτι κατέλυσα, *because I took down*; ὅτε ἀποτάμοι (so the Mss.) might also be understood in a causal sense, *since he had cut off*, although in the sense of *when he cut off* it could not be ambiguous here. Madvig, however, reads ὅτι in both clauses. See XEN. Mem. i. 4, 19 (quoted in 714). (See also 700, and the examples.)

SINGLE DEPENDENT CLAUSES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

694. 1. The principles which govern dependent clauses of indirect discourse (689) apply also to all dependent clauses in sentences of every kind (even when what precedes is not in indirect discourse), if such clauses express *indirectly* the past thought of any person, even that of the speaker himself. This affects the construction only when the leading verb is past; then the dependent clause may either take the optative, in the *tense* in which the thought was originally conceived, or retain both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse. When a subjunctive is changed to an optative, ἄν is dropped.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative here (as in 689, 3) regularly remain unchanged. But an aorist indicative sometimes becomes optative when no ambiguity can result from the change (see 693): this may occur in causal sentences (699 and 714) and in the relative sentences of 700.

The principle of 694 applies to the following constructions:—

695. I. Clauses depending on the infinitive which follows verbs of *wishing, commanding, advising*, and others which imply *thought* but do not take the infinitive in indirect discourse (684). *E.g.*

Ἐβούλοντο ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοῦτο γένοιτο, *they wished to go if this should happen*. (Here the original expression of the thought would be βουλόμεθα ἐλθεῖν εἰάν τοῦτο γένηται, and therefore εἰάν γένηται might be

εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν Χ. Ο. Σ. 3. 26

retained.) Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρύαν ἐκέλευεν ὁ τι δύναιντο λαβόν-
τας μεταδώκειν καὶ ὅστις εἶχε τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, εἶπε τοῦτω καὶ
ἅμα πρόβατα πολλὰ εἰλαίνειν ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα, ὡς
ἐπισφαγείη. XEN. Cyr. vii. 3, 7. (Here ὁ τι δύναιντο represents ὁ τι
ἂν δύνῃσθε, while ὅπῃ ἂν πυνθάνηται represents ὅπῃ ἂν πυνθάνῃ.)
Ἐβούλοντο γὰρ σφίσι, εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδοι,
ἦν ἄρα τύχῳσιν τινες ἐζωγρημένοι, for they wished that, if they should
capture any one, he might be a hostage for their friends within the city, in
case any should chance to have been taken prisoners (ἦν λάβοιεν, and ἦν
τύχῳσι). THUC. ii. 5. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι, οὓς εἶδε παραγενίσθαι εἴ
τι μὴ προχωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσιν, ἐπεβοήθουν, who were to come
up if anything should go wrong with those who had entered the city (ἦν τι
μὴ προχωροίη). Ibid.

Προεῖπον αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίους, ἦν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν
πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν. Id. i. 45. Καὶ παρήγγειλαν
ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν συνσκενωμένους πάντας ἀναπαύσθαι, καὶ
ἐπεσθαι ἦνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ. XEN. An. iii. 5, 18. (Ἐπειδὴ
δειπνήσητε, and ἦνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.) Περὶ αὐτῶν κρύφα πέμπει,
κελεύων μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν, he sent bidding
the Athenians not to let them go until they should themselves have returned.
THUC. i. 91. (Πρὶν κομισθῆναι might be used.) Καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας
ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναικὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Id. i. 93. (Εἴ βια-
σθῆναι might be used.) Ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενίσθαι, καὶ
Παισανία μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἦν που βιάζηται. Id. i. 95. (Εἴ που
βιάζοιτο might be used.) Ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην, βουλόμενοι
πέισαι αὐτὸν, εἰ δύναιντο, στρατεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτιδαίαν. Id. ii. 67.
Ἔτοιμος ἦν ἀποτείνειν, εἰ καταγνοίεν αὐτοῦ. ISOC. xvii. 16. Εἶπον
μῦθον τῶν ὀπισθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἡγήται, I commanded
that no one at the rear should move until the one before him should lead.
XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 8.

Παρηγγελλετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε
χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ ἔφοροι κελείοιεν, they were bidden to
choose ten whom Theramenes had nominated, and ten whom the Ephors com-
manded (i.e. οὓς ἀπέδειξε and οὓς κελείοιεν). LYS. xii. 76. Ἐκέλευσέ
με τὴν ἐπιτολὴν ἦν ἔγραψα οἴκαδε δοῦναι, the letter which I had
written. XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 9. (Ἦν γράψαιμι would mean whatever letter
I might write, representing ἦν ἂν γράψῃς.) Διανοοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν
ἦλθον ἐς Θράκην ἀποπέμπειν, they planned to send them back to Thrace,
whence they had come. THUC. vii. 27. (See 689, 3.)

696. II. Clauses containing a protasis, the apodosis of which
is implied in the past leading verb or its adjuncts. *E.g.*

Διδόντος δ' αὐτῷ πᾶμπολλα δῶρα Τιθραίστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι,
ἀπεκρίνατο, when T. offered to give him many gifts, if he would go
away. XEN. An. iv. 6. (Ἐάν ἀπέλθῃ might be used.) Φύλακας
σεμπέμπει, ὅπως φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανείη
Θηρίων, and to be ready in case any wild beast should appear; his

thought being *ἐάν τι φανῆ*. *Id. Cyr. i. 4, 7. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῦεν, ἐχώρουν, they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out (i.e. so as to meet them, if they should rush out), the thought being ἦν ἐπιβοηθῶσιν (490, 1). THUC. vi. 100. Οἷδ' ἦν τοῦ πολέμου πέρας οἷδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει, i.e. Philip saw that he could neither end nor escape the war unless he should make the Thebans and Thessalians hostile to the city (the original apodosis, I cannot end or escape the war, to which ἐάν μὴ ποιήσω was the protasis, is implied in οἷδ' ἦν . . . Φιλίππῳ). DEM. xviii. 145.*

*Ἦν δέ τις εἶπη ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα εἰς ἄλλο τι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθειτο, they set death as the penalty (i.e. voted that death should be the penalty) if any one should move, or put to vote a motion, to divert this money to any other purpose. THUC. ii. 24. (Εἰ εἶποι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσειεν might be used.) Τἄλλα, ἦν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, i.e. they made their other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should still dare to risk a sea fight (their thought being *we will be ready in case they shall dare, ἦν τολμήσωσι*). *Id. vii. 59. So ἦν ἔωσιν, Id. iv. 42. Οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμελλον ἔξειν εἰ μὴ νακρατήσουσιν, they were not likely to have them (provisions) for the future (as they thought) unless they should hold the sea. Id. vii. 60. Ἦν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μέγ' αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν οἷδ' οὕτω πράξει, εἰ μὴ τοῖς Φωκείας ἀπολεῖ, he was none the more able even then to do you any great harm (he thought) unless he should destroy the Phocians (εἰ μὴ ἀπολωῶ). DEM. xix. 317. See II. v. 301. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εἰρήνῳ ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει ταύτην τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελῶς διδάσκει, I congratulated him (told him he was happy), if he really had this art. PLAT. AP. 20 B. (Here ἔχοι and διδάσκοι might be used.)**

697. III. Clauses containing a protasis depending on a past verb of emotion, like *θαυμάζω, αἰσχύνομαι*, etc. (494). *E.g.*

*Ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πράττειτο, he wondered that any demanded money, etc. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 7. (But in i. 1, 13, we find *ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, he wondered that it was not plain.*) *Ἐχαιρον ἀγαπῶν εἰ τις εἴσοι, I rejoiced, being content if any one would let it pass. PLAT. Rep. 450 A. Οὐκ ἠσχύνθη εἰ τοιοῦτο κακὸν ἐπάγει τῷ, he was not ashamed if (or that) he was bringing such a calamity on any one. DEM. xxi. 105. Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐαυτῷ συνειδῶτι δευρὸν εἰσῆει, εἰ πονηρῶν ἔργων δόξει κοινοῦν τῷ σωπῆσαι, it seemed hard, if he was to appear to be implicated, etc.; he thought, *δεινὸν ἔστιν εἰ δόξω (407). Id. xix. 33. (Here δόξοι might be used like εἴσοι above.) Οἱ δ' ὄφκειρον, εἰ ἀλώσονται, and others pitied them if they were to be captured, the direct thought being *we pity them if they are to be captured, εἰ ἀλώσονται, which might be retained (see the next example). XEN. An. i. 4, 7. Οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐκ ἔλεοῦντες τὰ τεῖχη εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται, i.e. they felt no pity for the****

-a 7. 17 rálha, ⁿ ~~é~~ ére. raupaxéiv of 'Aθ. rópéíowoi,
ερεστωίγασσο. ~~κείν~~ ~~ε~~ - rópéíω^εταί possible. ~~the~~ ~~and~~ ~~def-~~
~~n~~ ~~'~~ ~~identifying~~ ~~word~~ ~~'~~ ~~impl~~ ~~:~~ ~~π.~~ ~~"~~ ~~good~~

walls if they were to fall, nor care for the ships if they were to be surrendered. *Lys.* xiii. 15.

698. IV. Temporal sentences expressing a past intention, purpose, or expectation, especially those introduced by *ἕως* or *πρὶν*, until, after past tenses. *E.g.*

᾽Ωρε δ' ἐπὶ κραιπνὸν Βορέην, πρὸ δὲ κίματ' ἔαξεν, ἕως ᾗ γε Φαιάκασσι φιληρέτροισι μιγείη, i.e. *to the end that (until) Ulysses should get to the Phaeacians*; originally *ἕως ἂν μιγῆ* (614, 2). *Od.* v. 385. So *ἕως θερμαίνουτο*, *Od.* ix. 376. *Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, they made a truce (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta*; i.e. *ἕως ἂν ἀπαγγελθῆ*, which might have been retained. *XEN.* *Hell.* iii. 2, 20. *᾽Απηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθείη θηρῶν, until Cyrus should be satisfied.* *Id.* *Cyr.* i. 4, 14. (His words were πρὶν ἂν ἐμπλησθῆ.) *Οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἕστασαν ὅπποτε πύργος ᾽Αχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν Τρώων ὀρμήσειε καὶ ἄρξειαν πολέμοιο, i.e. they stood waiting for the time when, etc.* *Il.* iv. 334. So *Il.* ii. 794. *Προῦκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παυσομένους τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἴδοιεν προορμήσαντας, when they should see them, etc.* *XEN.* *Cyr.* i. 4, 21.

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφους ἀπείε ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. *HDT.* iv. 157. (*᾽Απίκουτο* might be used.) *Οἱ δὲ Κορινθιοὶ οὐ προεθυμήθησαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἴσθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διεορτάσσωσιν, until they had (should have) finished celebrating the Isthmian games, which were then going on.* *THUC.* viii. 9.

699. V. Past causal sentences in which the cause is stated as one assigned by another, so far as these allow the optative (714). *E.g.*

Ἐκείκον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι, they abused him because (as they said) he did not lead them out. *THUC.* ii. 21. See other examples under 714.

Though the optative is allowed here, on the principle of indirect discourse, the indicative of the direct form (*e.g.* *ἐπεξάγει* in the above example) seems not to have been allowed (see 715). Causal sentences are usually constructed without reference to the principle of indirect discourse (see 713).

700. VI. Even some ordinary relative sentences expressing the previous thought of another, which allow the optative in place of the ordinary indicative. *E.g.*

Καὶ ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδῆσθαι, ὅτι γὰρ οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προῖτοιο φέροιστο, he asked to see the token, which (he said) he was bringing from Proetus, i.e. he said φέρομαι. *Il.* vi. 176. So *Od.* v. 240. *Εἶμετο παῖδα τὸν Ἐυάδου τέκνοι, he asked for the child which Evadne had borne.* *PIND.* *Ol.* vi. 49. *Κατηγοροῦν τῶν Λίγυητέων τὰ πεποιήκοντα προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, i.e. they accused them for what (as they said) they had done.* *HDT.* vi. 49. So *τὰ πεπονθῶς εἶη*, i. 44. *Καλεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον παλαιῶν σπερμάτων ἔχοντα, ἵψ' ὧν θάνατοι μὲν αὐτῶν*

τίκτουσαν λίποι, *by which* (as she said) *he had perished himself, and had left her the mother, etc.* SOPH. O. T. 1245. If the relative clause contained merely the idea of the speaker, ἔθανε and ἔλιπε would be used. Here no ambiguity can arise from the use of the aorist optative (see 693). Τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ξυμφέρον ἔλεγεν ὁ ἡγούτο ὁ κρείττων αὐτῷ ξυμφέρειν, *he meant the superior's advantage which the superior believed to be his own advantage.* PLAT. REP. 340 B. This construction is rare in Attic Greek, but is not uncommon in Herodotus.

701. The imperfect and pluperfect occasionally represent the present and perfect indicative in this construction. Such clauses are simply *not included* in the indirect discourse. (See 674 ; 691.) *E.g.* Ἐτοίμος ἦν, εἰ μὲν τοῦτων τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἀρχειν, *he was ready, if he had done any of these things, to be punished; but if he should be acquitted, to hold his command.* THUC. vi. 29. (Εἰ εἴργαστο represents εἰ εἴργασμαι, while εἰ ἀπολυθείη represents εἰ ἀπολυθῶ.)

702. Ἄν is occasionally retained with relatives and temporal particles in sentences of this kind, even when the subjunctive to which they belonged has been changed to the optative. (See 692.) *E.g.*

Τοῖς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὀμλίας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἐαντῶν ἀπεκάλει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν ἂν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν, *because they were obliged* (as he said) *to converse with those from whom they received the pay.* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 6. (Here ὧν ἂν λάβοιεν represents ὧν ἂν λάβωσιν.) Καί μοι τάδ' ἦν πρόρρητα, τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο σφάζει ἐμέ ἕως ἂν ἀπίχριστον ἀρμόσαιμι ποι. SOPH. Tr. 687 (see Schneidewin's note). Ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἐκδοθέντα ἕως ἂν τάλιθῇ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. ISOC. xvii. 15. Χαίρειν ἐώς ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνω ἕως ἂν τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀρηθέντα σκέψαι, *you would not answer* (you would say) *until you should have examined, etc.* ἕως ἂν σκέψωμαι. PLAT. Phaed. 101 D. Here we must place ὅταν ἐσφραζοίατο, AESCH. Pers. 450, if the text is sound. Παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι πρὶν ἂν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ προθείη. XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 18; so πρὶν ἂν μετέχοιεν, ii. 3, 48. See ἕως ἂν οἱ νόμοι τεθείεν. AND. i. 81. Many scholars repudiate this use of ἂν and emend the passages: see Dindorf on SOPH. Tr. 687.

It is doubtful whether εἰν was ever thus used with the optative.

703. Upon this principle (694) final and object clauses with ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως, ὅφρα, and μή, after past tenses, admit the double construction of indirect discourse, and allow the subjunctive or the future indicative instead of the optative, to retain the form in which the purpose would be originally conceived. (See 318 and 339.)

704. The principles of indirect discourse (689, 2) apply to future conditional and conditional relative clauses which depend upon final and object clauses after past tenses. *E.g.*



with some of the material



Ἐλθόντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα (ἐπρασσον) ὅπως ἐτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέγῃ. THUC. i. 58. (Here εἰ δέοι might have been used.) Ἐφοβέετο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. Id. i. 91. (Here ὅποτε ἀκούσωσιν is changed to ὅποτε ἀκούσειαν, although ἀφῶσιν is retained.)

Οἶδ' ὅτι without a Verb.

705. Οἶδ' ὅτι sometimes means *I am sure*, when the context readily suggests a verb for ὅτι. *E.g.*

Πάρεμι δ' ἄκων οὐχ ἰκοῦσιν, οἶδ' ὅτι, and here I am, against my will, and against your will, I am sure. SOPH. ANT. 276. Μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐκὼν τῷ γε σφῶ, σάφ' ἴσθ' ὅτι, i.e. be assured. AR. PL. 889. Πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἅν, when all, I am sure, would say. DEM. ix. 1. Βούλομαι μνημονεύοντάς ὑμῶν οἶδ' ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομνήσαι, i.e. I wish to remind you, though I am sure most of you remember it. Id. xix. 9.

In such cases it would be useless or impossible to add the implied verb.

Ὅπως, ὄ, οὐνεκα, and ὀθούνεκα in Indirect Quotations.

706. Ὅπως is sometimes (especially in poetry) used in indirect quotations in the sense of ὡς. *E.g.*

Τούτ' αὐτὸ μὴ μοι φράξ', ὅπως οὐκ εἰ κακός, this very thing tell me not, that you are not base. SOPH. O. T. 548. Ἐναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως τάχους ἔπο δίσπνοις ἰκάνω, I will not say exactly that I come breathless with haste. Id. ANT. 223. Μὴ γὰρ ἐλπύσῃς ὅπως ἐμ' ἐκβαλεῖς, for do not hope that you will expel me. EUR. HER. 1051. So SOPH. EL. 963. Ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῖτα οὕτω ποιούμενα. HDL. i. 37. Οὐ μὲν οἶδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τοῦτο. Id. ii. 49. So iii. 115, 116. See also ὅπως οὐ πάντα ἐπίπταμαι, PLAT. EUTHYD. 296 E. In most of these, the original modal force of ὅπως, how, can be seen.

In SOPH. ANT. 685, we have ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε, where μὴ is a standing puzzle. It probably must be classed with the very rare ὅτι μὴ with the indicative, and with the irregular μὴ with the infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking (for all these see 685 and 686, above).

707. (Οὐχ ὅπως, οὐχ ὅτι, etc.) Οὐχ ὅπως or (rarely) μὴ ὅπως, and οὐχ ὅτι or μὴ ὅτι, by the ellipsis of a verb of saying, often mean *I do not speak of* or *not to speak of*. Ἄλλά, ἀλλὰ καί, ἀλλ' οὐδέ, or ἀλλὰ μὴδέ usually follows in a clause which expresses a strong antithesis. After οὐχ the implied verb of saying would be an indicative, after μὴ it would be an imperative or subjunctive; but, like most elliptical idioms, this is often used where the ellipsis cannot be precisely supplied. What is men-

causal sentences after *ὅτι, ἐπεὶ, etc., because* (713), in which the subjunctive can never be used. *E.g.*

Εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἷδὲ θῆναι εἰάσειαν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀρλιδι. XEN. Hell. vii. 1, 34. (The direct discourse was ἐπολέμησαν ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν οἷδὲ θῆναι εἰάσαμεν αὐτόν.) Ἀπηγγρασθαί (φασί) ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἶη εἰργασμένος ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκοις καταμεθίσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμύμενον τὸν νέκυν. HEN. ii. 121. Here *ὅτι καταλύσειε* represents *ὅτι κατέλυσα, because I took down*; *ὅτε ἀποτάμοι* (so the Mss.) might also be understood in a causal sense, *since he had cut off*, although in the sense of *when he cut off* it could not be ambiguous here. Madvig, however, reads *ὅτι* in both clauses. See XEN. Mem. i. 4, 19 (quoted in 714). (See also 700, and the examples.)

SINGLE DEPENDENT CLAUSES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

694. 1. The principles which govern dependent clauses of indirect discourse (689) apply also to all dependent clauses in sentences of every kind (even when what precedes is not in indirect discourse), if such clauses express *indirectly* the past thought of any person, even that of the speaker himself. This affects the construction only when the leading verb is past; then the dependent clause may either take the optative, in the *tense* in which the thought was originally conceived, or retain both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse. When a subjunctive is changed to an optative, *ἄν* is dropped.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative here (as in 689, 3) regularly remain unchanged. But an aorist indicative sometimes becomes optative when no ambiguity can result from the change (see 693): this may occur in causal sentences (699 and 714) and in the relative sentences of 700.

The principle of 694 applies to the following constructions:—

695. I. Clauses depending on the infinitive which follows verbs of *wishing, commanding, advising, and others which imply thought* but do not take the infinitive in indirect discourse (684). *E.g.*

Ἐβούλοντο ἐλθεῖν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, *they wished to go if this should happen.* (Here the original expression of the thought would be βουλόμεθα ἐλθεῖν ἐὰν τοῦτο γένηται, and therefore ἐὰν γένηται might be

Eski telefon X.O.S. 3.26

retained.) Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρόαν ἐκέλευεν ὁ τι δύναιντο λαβόντας μεταδώκειν· καὶ ὅστις εἶχε τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἅμα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα, ὡς ἐπισφαγεῖν. XEN. Cyr. vii. 3, 7. (Here ὁ τι δύναιντο represents ὁ τι ἂν δόνησθε, while ὅπῃ ἂν πυνθάνηται represents ὅπῃ ἂν πυνθάνῃ.) Ἐβούλοντο γὰρ σφίσι, εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ἣν ἄρα τύχῳσιν τινες ἐξωγρημένοι, for they wished that, if they should capture any one, he might be a hostage for their friends within the city, in case any should chance to have been taken prisoners (ἣν λάβωμεν, and ἣν τύχῳσι). THUC. ii. 5. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι, οὓς ἔδει παραγενέσθαι εἴ τι μὴ προχωροῖη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσιν, ἐπεβοήθουν, who were to come up if anything should go wrong with those who had entered the city (ἣν τι μὴ προχωροῖ). Ibid.

Προεῖπον αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίους, ἣν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν. Id. i. 45. Καὶ παρήγγειλαν ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν συνσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ. XEN. An. iii. 5, 18. (Ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσητε, and ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.) Περὶ αὐτῶν κρύφα πέμπει, κελύων μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν, he sent bidding the Athenians not to let them go until they should themselves have returned. THUC. i. 91. (Πρὶν κομισθῆεν might be used.) Καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἣν ἅμα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυτὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Id. i. 93. (Εἴ βιασθῆεν might be used.) Ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ Παισανίαν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἣν πον βιάζηται. Id. i. 95. (Εἴ πον βιάζοιτο might be used.) Ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην, βολύομεν πείσαι αὐτὸν, εἰ δύναιντο, στρατεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτιδαίαν. Id. ii. 67. Ἔτομος ἦν ἀποτίνειν, εἰ καταγνοῖεν αἰτοῦ. ISOC. xvii. 16. Εἶπον μῦθον τῶν ὀπισθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἡγήται, I commanded that no one at the rear should move until the one before him should lead. XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 8.

Παρηγγελλετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οἷς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ ἔφοροι κελείοιεν, they were bidden to choose ten whom Theramenes had nominated, and ten whom the Ephors commanded (i.e. οὓς ἀπέδειξε and οὓς κελείοισιν). LYS. xii. 76. Ἐκέλευσέ με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔγραψα οἴκαδε δοῦναι, the letter which I had written. XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 9. (Ἦν γράψαιμι would mean whatever letter I might writ, representing ἣν ἂν γράψῃς.) Διανοοῦντο αὐτοῖς πάλιν ὄθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θράκην ἀποπέμπειν, they planned to send them back to Thrace, whence they had come. THUC. vii. 27. (See 689, 3.)

696. II. Clauses containing a protasis, the apodosis of which is implied in the past leading verb or its adjuncts. *E.g.*

Διδόντος δ' αὐτῷ ἅμπροσθα δῶρα Τιθραίστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι, ἀπεκρίνατο, when T. offered to give him many gifts, if he would go away. XEN. An. iv. 6. (Ἐάν ἀπέλθῃ might be used.) Φύλακας συμπέμπει, ὅπως φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανείη θηρίων, and (to be ready) in case any wild beast should appear; his

thought being *ἐάν τι φανῆ*. Id. Cyr. i. 4, 7. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρον, *they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out (i.e. so as to meet them, if they should rush out)*, the thought being ἦν ἐπιβοηθῶσιν (490, 1). THUC. vi. 100. Οὐδ' ἦν τοῦ πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσκει τῇ πόλει, i.e. *Philip saw that he could neither end nor escape the war unless he should make the Thebans and Thessalians hostile to the city (the original apodosis, I cannot end or escape the war, to which ἐάν μὴ ποιήσω was the protasis, is implied in οὐδ' ἦν . . . Φιλίππῳ)*. DEM. xviii. 145.

Ἦν δέ τις εἴπη ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο, *they set death as the penalty (i.e. voted that death should be the penalty) if any one should move, or put to vote a motion, to divert this money to any other purpose*. THUC. ii. 24. (Εἰ εἴποι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσκειεν might be used.) Τάλλα, ἦν ἐπι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, i.e. *they made their other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should still dare to risk a sea fight (their thought being we will be ready in case they shall dare, ἦν τολμήσωσι)*. Id. vii. 59. So ἦν ἴωσιν, Id. iv. 42. Οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμελλον εἶναι εἰ μὴ ναυκρατήσουσιν, *they were not likely to have them (provisions) for the future (as they thought) unless they should hold the sea*. Id. vii. 60. Ἦν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μέγ' αἰτῶ καθ' ἡμῶν οὐδ' οὕτω πρᾶξαι, εἰ μὴ τοῖς Φωκείας ἀπολεί, *he was none the more able even then to do you any great harm (he thought) unless he should destroy the Phocians (εἰ μὴ ἀπολώ)*. DEM. xix. 317. See II. v. 301. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εὐνήρον ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει ταύτην τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελῶς διδάσκει, *I congratulated him (told him he was happy), if he really had this art*. PLAT. Ap. 20 B. (Here ἔχοι and διδάσκειο might be used.)

697. III. Clauses containing a protasis depending on a past verb of emotion, like θαυμάζω, αἰσχύνομαι, etc. (494). *E.g.*

Ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πρᾶττοιο, *he wondered that any demanded money, etc.* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 7. (But in i. 1, 13, we find ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, *he wondered that it was not plain*.) Ἐχαιρον ἀγαπῶν εἰ τις ἐάσοι, *I rejoiced, being content if any one would let it pass*. PLAT. Rep. 450 A. Οὐκ ἠσχύνθη εἰ τοιοῦτο κακὸν ἐπάγει τῷ, *he was not ashamed if (or that) he was bringing such a calamity on any one*. DEM. xxi. 105. Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐαντὶ στυγερόν ἐστιν εἰ πονηρῶν ἔργων δόξει κοινωνεῖν τῷ σιωπῆσαι, *it seemed hard, if he was to appear to be implicated, etc.*; he thought, δεινὸν ἐστίν εἰ δόξω (407). Id. xix. 33. (Here δόξωι might be used like ἐάσοι above.) Οἱ δ' ὤκτειρον, εἰ ἀλώσοιντο, *and others pitied them if they were to be captured, the direct thought being we pity them if they are to be captured, εἰ ἀλώσοντα, which might be retained (see the next example)*. XEN. An. i. 4, 7. Οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐκ ἐλευόντες τὰ τεῖχη εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν εἰ Λακεδαιμονίους παραδοθήσονται, i.e. *they felt no pity for the*

Thera 7. 19 rätta. ¹¹ 7/11. raxpaxen si 'A.O. raxpaxen
rapokavägarro. Kuvot - raxpaxen paxella. 16. 11. 19
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walls if they were to fall, nor care for the ships if they were to be surrendered. *LYS.* xiii. 15.

698. IV. Temporal sentences expressing a past intention, purpose, or expectation, especially those introduced by *ἕως* or *πρὶν*, until, after past tenses. *E.g.*

*Ὡρε δ' ἐπὶ κραπνὸν Βορέην, πρὸ δὲ κύματ' ἕαζεν, ἕως ὃ γε Φαιάκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι μιγείη, i.e. to the end that (until) Ulysses should get to the Phaeacians; originally *ἕως ἂν μιγῇ* (614, 2). *OD.* v. 385. So *εἰως θερμαίνονται*, *OD.* ix. 376. Σπονδὰς ἐποίησαντο ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, they made a truce (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta; i.e. *ἕως ἂν ἀπαγγελθῇ*, which might have been retained. *XEN.* *Hell.* iii. 2, 20. *Ἀπυγόρουε μηδένα βάλλειν πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθεῖη θηρῶν, until Cyrus should be satisfied. *Id.* *Cyr.* i. 4, 14. (His words were πρὶν ἂν ἐμπλησθῇ.) Οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἕστασαν ὅπποτε πύργος Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν Τρώων ὀρμήσειε καὶ ἀρξείαν πολέμοιο, i.e. they stood waiting for the time when, etc. *Il.* iv. 334. So *Il.* ii. 794. Προῖκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παντομένους τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἴδοιεν προορμήσαντας, when they should see them, etc. *XEN.* *Cyr.* i. 4, 21.

Ὁν γὰρ δὴ σφεας ὀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. *HD.* iv. 157. (*Ἀπίκοντο might be used.) Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι οὐ προσηνέθησαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἴσθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διορτάσσωσιν, until they had (should have) finished celebrating the Isthmian games, which were then going on. *THUC.* viii. 9.

699. V. Past causal sentences in which the cause is stated as one assigned by another, so far as these allow the optative (714). *E.g.*

*Ἐκάκιστον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὦν οὐκ ἐπέξάγοι, they abused him because (as they said) he did not lead them out. *THUC.* ii. 21. See other examples under 714.

Though the optative is allowed here, on the principle of indirect discourse, the indicative of the direct form (e.g. *ἐπέξάγει* in the above example) seems not to have been allowed (see 715). Causal sentences are usually constructed without reference to the principle of indirect discourse (see 713).

700. VI. Even some ordinary relative sentences expressing the previous thought of another, which allow the optative in place of the ordinary indicative. *E.g.*

Καὶ ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι, ὅπτι ρά οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προΐτιο φέροτο, he asked to see the token, which (he said) he was bringing from Proetus, i.e. he said *φέρομαι*. *Il.* vi. 176. So *Od.* v. 240. Εἶπετο παῖδα τὸν Εὐάδνα τέκον, he asked for the child which Eudadne had borne. *PIND.* *Ol.* vi. 49. Κατηγοροῦν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδότες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, i.e. they accused them for what (as they said) they had done. *HD.* vi. 49. So τὰ πεπονθὼς εἶη, i. 44. Καλεῖ τὸν Λαίον, μῆμην παλαιῶν σπερμάτων ἔχουσ', ἢφ' ὦν θάνοι μὲν αὐτός, τὴν δὲ

τίκτουσαν λίποι, *by which* (as she said) *he had perished himself, and had left her the mother, etc.* SOPH. O. T. 1245. If the relative clause contained merely the idea of the speaker, ἔθανε and ἔλιπε would be used. Here no ambiguity can arise from the use of the aorist optative (see 693). Τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ξυμφέρον ἔλεγεν ὁ ἡγούτο ὁ κρείττων αὐτῷ ξυμφέρειν, *he meant the superior's advantage which the superior believed to be his own advantage.* PLAT. Rep. 340 B. This construction is rare in Attic Greek, but is not uncommon in Herodotus.

701. The imperfect and pluperfect occasionally represent the present and perfect indicative in this construction. Such clauses are simply *not included* in the indirect discourse. (See 674 ; 691.) *E.g.* Ἐτοίμος ἦν, εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχειν, *he was ready, if he had done any of these things, to be punished; but if he should be acquitted, to hold his command.* THUC. vi. 29. (Εἰ εἴργαστο represents εἰ εἴργασμαι, while εἰ ἀπολυθείη represents εἰ ἀπολυθῶ.)

702. Ἄν is occasionally retained with relatives and temporal particles in sentences of this kind, even when the subjunctive to which they belonged has been changed to the optative. (See 692.) *E.g.*

Τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὀμιλίας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστάς ἐαντῶν ἀπεκάλει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν ἂν λάβωιεν τὸν μισθόν, *because they were obliged* (as he said) *to converse with those from whom they received the pay.* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 6. (Here ὧν ἂν λάβωιεν represents ὧν ἂν λάβωικιν.) Καὶ μοι τάδ' ἦν πρόρρητα, τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο σφύζειν ἐμὲ ἕως ἂν ἀρτίχρωτον ἀρμόσαιμι ποι. SOPH. Tr. 687 (see Schneidewin's note). Ἠξίων αὐτοὺς μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἐκδοθέντα ἕως ἂν τάληθῆ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. ISOC. xvii. 15. Χαίρειν ἐώης ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίναιω ἕως ἂν τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀρμηθέντα σκέψαιω, *you would not answer* (you would say) *until you should have examined, etc.* ἕως ἂν σκέψωμαι. PLAT. Phaed. 101 D. Here we must place ὅταν ἐκσφροῖάτο, AESCH. Pers. 450, if the text is sound. Παρήγγαλλον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι πρὶν ἂν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη. XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 18; so πρὶν ἂν μετέχοιεν, ii. 3, 48. See ἕως ἂν οἱ νόμοι τεθείεν. AND. i. 81. Many scholars repudiate this use of ἂν and emend the passages: see Dindorf on SOPH. Tr. 687.

It is doubtful whether εἰν was ever thus used with the optative.

703. Upon this principle (694) final and object clauses with ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ὅφρα, and μή, after past tenses, admit the double construction of indirect discourse, and allow the subjunctive or the future indicative instead of the optative, to retain the form in which the purpose would be originally conceived. (See 318 and 339.)

704. The principles of indirect discourse (689, 2) apply to future additional and conditional relative clauses which depend upon final object clauses after past tenses. *E.g.*

Text - source of the narrator



From its use in wishes the *optative* mood (*ἰγκλισις εὐκτική*) received its name.

WISHES REFERRING TO THE FUTURE.

721. A wish referring to the future may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—

I. by the optative alone; as in *γένοιτο τοῦτο*, *may this happen*, *μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτο*, *may this not happen*;

II. by the optative with *εἴθε* or *εἰ γάρ* (Homeric also *αἴθε* or *αἰ γάρ*), sometimes by the simple *εἰ*, negatively *εἴθε μὴ*, *εἰ γάρ μὴ*, etc.; as in *εἴθε γένοιτο τοῦτο*, *O that this may happen*, *εἰ γάρ μὴ γένοιτο*, *O that it may not happen*.

722. I. The pure optative in a wish (with no introductory particle) is an independent verb. *E.g.*

Ἵμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν εὐδ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι, *may the Gods grant you to destroy Priam's city*, etc. II. i. 18. Μὴ μὲν ἀσποιδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, *may I not perish*, etc. II. xxii. 304. Μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδισσῆι κάρη ὤμοισιν ἐπέει, μηδ' ἔτι Τηλεμάχοιο πατὴρ κεκλημένος εἶην, *then may the head of Ulysses no longer stand on his shoulders, and no longer may I be called the father of Telemachus*. II. ii. 259. Τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, *may I die when these are no longer my care*. ΜΙΜΝ. i. 2. Τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρῆσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις, *may you for the present continue to do what you now have in hand*. ΗΔΤ. vii. 5. ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πατὴρ εὐτυχέστερος. ΣΟΦ. Αἴ. 550. Οὔτω νικῆσαι μί τ' ἐγὼ καὶ νομιζοίμην σοφός, *on this condition may I gain the prize (in this contest) and be always considered wise*. Αἴ. Νυβ. 520. Θήσω πριτανεὶ, ἢ μηκέτι ζῶην ἐγώ, *or may I no longer live*. Ιβ. 1255. Συννεέγκοι μὲν ταῦτα ὡς βουλόμεθα, *may this prosper as we desire*. ΤΗΥC. vi. 20. Ἄλλὰ βουληθείης, *but may you only be willing!* ΠΛΑΤ. Εὐθυδ. 296 D. Πλοῖσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν. Ιδ. Φαῖδρ. 279 C. Νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ἡμῖν μέλλει σινοῖσιν, *and may that opinion prevail which is to benefit you all*. ΔΕΜ. iv. 51. Ὅ τι δ' ἡμῖν δόξαιε, τοῦτ' ὧ πάντες θεοὶ, σιννεέγκοι (see 561). Ιδ. ix. 76. *So εἶεν, will, be it so*.

For the relation of the optative in wishes to the optative in its most primitive meaning, see Appendix I.

723. II. The optative in a wish with *εἴθε* (*αἴθε*), *εἰ γάρ* (*αἰ γάρ*), or *εἰ* is probably in its origin a protasis with the apodosis suppressed. *E.g.*

Αἴθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πᾶσι χάλον τελέσειε Ἀγαμέμνων, *O if Agamemnon would thus fulfil his wrath upon all*. ΙΙ. iv. 178. Αἴθ' οὕτως,

Εἴμαι, φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο ὡς ἐμοί, *mayest thou become in like manner a friend to father Zeus.* Od. xiv. 440. Αἱ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη, φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε, *O that this may be so.* Il. iv. 189. Αἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσήνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθείεν, *O if the Gods would clothe me with so much strength!* Od. iii. 205. Ἄλλ' εἴ μιν ἀεικισσαίμεθ' ἔλόντες, τεύχεα τ' ὤμοιιν ἀφελοίμεθα, καὶ τιν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἀμνομένων δαμασσαίμεθα νηλεὶ χαλκῷ, *but if we could only take him and insult him, and strip him of his armour, and subdue, etc.* Il. xvi. 559.¹ Εἴθε μήποτε γνοίης ὅς εἰ, *may you never learn who you are.* SOPH. O. T. 1068. Εἴθ' ἔμιν ἀμφοῖν νοῦς γένοιτο σωφρονεῖν. Id. Aj. 1264. Εἴθε παῖς ἐμὸς εὐθιρὸς εἶη. EUR. Bacch. 1252. Εἴ γὰρ γενοίμην, τέκνον, ἀντὶ σοῦ νεκρός. Id. Hipp. 1410. Εἴθ', ὦ λῶστε, σὺ τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. Εἴ γὰρ γένοιτο. Id. Cyr. vi. 1, 38. Εἴ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ εἶη, *if it may only depend on this!* PLAT. Prot. 310 D. Εἴθε γράψειεν ὡς χρή, κ.τ.λ. Id. Phaedr. 227 C.

The simple εἴ (without -θε or γάρ) with the optative in wishes is poetic. Ἄλλ' εἴ τις καὶ τοῖντοδε μετοιχώμενος καλέσειεν. Il. x. 111. See three other Homeric examples cited in the footnote.² Εἴ μοι ξυνεῖη μοῖρα. SOPH. O. T. 863. Εἴ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίσειν. EUR. Hec. 836.

The future optative was not used in wishes. The perfect was probably not used, except in the signification of the present (see 48); as in Il. ii. 259, quoted in 722.

724. In Homer, as the examples show, both present and aorist optative are freely used in future wishes, as in the corresponding future conditions (455). But the present optative

¹ On this passage we have the note Aristarchus in the Scholia: ἡ δὲ γλῶσση, ὅτι ἔξωθεν προσηπακουστόν τὸ καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι· ἂν τὸν ἀνελάττες δεικνύσασθαι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι. Schol. A. It does not follow necessarily from this that Aristarchus explained all optatives with forms of εἰ in wishes by supplying καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι as an apodosis (see Lange, p. 6, note 15); but if he explained this passage as an elliptical protasis, he can hardly have objected to the same explanation of other similar passages. It is surely no more necessary or logical to insist on explaining both forms of wishes alike, than it would be in English to insist that *may I see him again* and *O if I might see him again* are originally of the same construction.

² The Homeric examples of the optative with various forms of εἰ or εἴ are of the highest importance for the understanding of the construction generally. The following is a list of the passages (according to Lange, *Partikel EI*, pp. 19-40):—

Simple εἰ with optative: Il. x. 111, xv. 571, xvi. 559, xxiv. 74. (4.)

Αἱ γάρ or εἰ γάρ with optative: Il. iv. 189, x. 536, xvi. 97, xviii. 272, 464, xxii. 346, 454; Od. iii. 205, iv. 697, vi. 244, viii. 339, ix. 523, xv. 156, xvii. 251, 513, xviii. 235, 366, xix. 22, xx. 169, xxi. 402. (20.)

Αἴθε or εἴθε with optative: Il. iv. 178; Od. ii. 33, xiv. 440, xv. 341, xvii. 494, xviii. 202, xx. 61. (7.)

Eight examples (five with εἴθε, two with εἰ γάρ, one with αἱ γάρ), in which the present optative expresses an unattained present wish, are omitted here and will be found under 739. The cases discussed in 730 are not included here.

For the use of αἴθε, αἱ γάρ, and αἰ (for εἴθε, etc.) in Homer, see footnote to 379.



in Homer also expresses a *present* wish implying that it is not attained, as it may express a present unreal condition (438). For this use, see 739.

725. In the poets, especially Homer, the simple optative may express a command or exhortation, in a sense approaching that of the imperative. *E.g.*

Ταῦτ' εἴποις Ἀχιλλῆι, (you may) say this to Achilles. *Il.* xi. 791. Τεθναίης, ὃ Προϊτ', ἢ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην, (you may) either die, or kill Bellerophon. *Il.* vi. 164. Ἀλλά τις Δολίον καλέσειε, let some one call Dolios. *Od.* iv. 735. So in prohibitions with μή: μηδ' ἐτι σοῖσι πόδεσσιν ἕποστρέψειας Ὀλυμπον, *Il.* iii. 407 (between two pairs of imperatives). See also AESCH. *Prom.* 1049 and 1051.

For Homeric optatives (without ἄν), which form a connecting link between the potential and the wishing optative (like *Il.* iv. 18, 19), see 13 and 233.

726. The poets, especially Homer, sometimes use ὡς before the optative in wishes. This ὡς cannot be expressed in English, and it is probably exclamatory. It must not be confounded with οὕτως used as in 727. *E.g.*

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε μέγροι, *O that any other may likewise perish*, etc. *Od.* i. 47. See *Od.* xxi. 201. Ὡς ὁ τὰδε πορῶν ἄλοιτ', εἴ μοι θέμις τὰδ' ἀδᾶν. *SOPH.* *El.* 126. Compare *ut precat telum*, *Hor.* *Sat.* ii. 1, 43.

727. Οὕτως, *thus, on this condition*, may be prefixed to the optative in *probatations*, where a wish is expressed upon some condition; the condition being usually added in another clause. *E.g.*

Οὕτως ἀνασθε τοῦτων, μὴ περιύδητέ με, *may you enjoy these on this condition, do not neglect me.* *DEM.* xxviii. 20.

728. When the potential optative is used to express a wish, as in πῶς ἂν ὀλοίμην, *how gladly should I perish*, *EUR.* *Supp.* 796, it does not belong here, as ὀλοίμην ἂν and ὀλοίμην are, in use, wholly different constructions. If εἴ γάρ κεν μίμναις, *Od.* xv. 545, is a wish, εἴ κεν may be used as it often is in protasis in Homer (460) in the same sense as εἴ, or the optative may be potential in the sense *O if you could remain*. In *Il.* vi. 281, ὡς κέ οἱ ἀῖθι γαῖα χάνοι, if κέ is correct, must mean *O that the earth could gape for him at once* (potential). But the exceptional character of these expressions makes both suspicious. Hermann and Bekker read εἴ γάρ καί in *Od.* xv. 545; and Bekker reads ὡς δέ in *Il.* vi. 281.

729. The infinitive occurs twice in Homer in wishes with αἶ γάρ: see 786, and 739, end. For the infinitive used like the simple optative in wishes, especially in poetry, see 785.

730. There are many passages in Homer in which it is open to doubt whether the poet intended to express a wish with some

form of *εἰ*, followed by a potential optative in a new sentence, or to form a complete conditional sentence. Such are—

Εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρήσιν τέλος ἡμετέροισι γένοιτο·
οὐκ ἂν τις ποίτων γε ἐνόθρονον Ἡῶ ἴκοιτο. Od. xvii. 496.
Αἰ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἶη·
τῷ κε τάχα γνώιης φιλότητά τε πολλά τε δῶρα
ἐξ ἑμεῖν. Od. xv. 536.

If we keep the colon after *γένοιτο* in the former passage, we may translate, *O that fulfilment may be granted our prayers: not one of these would (then) see the fair-throned Dawn.* With a comma after *γένοιτο*, we may translate, *if fulfilment should be granted our prayers, not one of these would see the fair-throned Dawn.* So in the second passage we may translate, according to the punctuation, *O that this word may be accomplished: then would you quickly be made aware of kindness and many gifts from me;—or if this word should be accomplished, you would then quickly be made aware, etc.* These are probably rightly punctuated above, especially the second; and the wish is on the verge of independent existence, being almost ready to dispense with the apodosis. The half-independent half-dependent nature of such clauses is best seen in a case like the following, where *εἰ ἐθέλοι* is first stated as an independent wish, and is afterwards repeated as the protasis of a regular apodosis:—

Εἰ γὰρ σ' ὡς ἐθέλοι φιλέειν γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ὡς τότ' Ὀδυσσεύς περικηδέτο κνιδαλίμου
δῆμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ὅθι πάσχομεν ἄλγέ' Ἀχαιοί· . . .
εἰ σ' οὕτως ἐθέλοι φιλέειν κήδοιτό τε θνῆψ,
τῷ κέν τις κείνων γε καὶ ἐκκλεάθοιτο γάμου. Od. iii. 217.

The meaning is, *if only Athena would love you as she then loved Ulysses; . . . if (I say) she should thus love you, then would many a one (of the suitors) cease to think of marriage.* Here, instead of leaving a simple apodosis like the *καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι* of Aristarchus to be mentally supplied, or to be felt without being actually supplied, the protasis is repeated (as if by afterthought, and a more precise form of conclusion is then actually expressed.

Such examples as the first two are sometimes adduced as evidence that *εἰ* with the optative in protasis was originally a form of wish, to which an apodosis was afterwards appended. For a discussion of this view, see Appendix I.

WISHES (NOT ATTAINED) IN PRESENT OR PAST TIME

731. A wish referring to a present or past object, which (it is implied) is not or was not attained, may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—

I. by the past tenses of the indicative, used as in unreal conditions, with *εἶθε* or *εἰ γάρ*; or



II. by ὄφελον, aorist of ὀφείλω, *ouce*, with the infinitive.

732. I. The past tenses of the indicative with εἶθε or εἰ γάρ, in present and past wishes, correspond to the optative with these particles in future wishes. The construction was originally a protasis with its apodosis suppressed, εἰ γάρ με εἶδες meaning, *O if you had seen me!* This form of wish is common in the Attic writers, but is unknown to Homer (735).

The imperfect and aorist indicative are distinguished here as in the unreal condition (410). *E.g.*

Ἴω γὰρ γὰ, εἶθ' ἐμ' εἰδέξω, *O Earth, Earth, would that thou hadst received me.* AESCH. Ag. 1537. Εἰ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν ἤκεν, *O if he had sent me beneath the earth.* Id. Prom. 152. Εἶθε σε εἶθε με μίποσ' εἰδόμαν. SOPH. O. T. 1217. Εἶθ' ἐύρομέν σ', Ἄδμητε, μὴ λυπούμενον. EUR. Alc. 536. Εἶθε σοι, ὦ Περικλεῖς, τότε συνεγενόμην, *would that I had met you then.* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 46. Εἶθ' εἶχες, ὦ τεκοῖνα, βελτίους φρένας, *O mother, would that you had a better understanding.* EUR. El. 1061. Εἰ γὰρ τοσαύτην δύναμιν εἶχον, *would that I had so great power.* Id. Alc. 1072. Εἶθ' ἦσθα δυνατὸς δρᾶν ὄρον πρόθερος εἶ. Id. Her. 731.

733. The indicative cannot be used in wishes without εἶθε or εἰ γάρ, as it would occasion ambiguity; this cannot arise in the case of the optative, which is not regularly used in independent sentences without ὄν, except in wishes. SOPH. O. C. 1713, ἰὼ, μὴ γὰς ἐπὶ ξένας θανάιν ἔχρηγξες (so the Mss.) is often quoted to show that at least the indicative with μὴ alone can be used in negative wishes, with the translation, *O that thou hadst not chosen to die in a foreign land.* But the passage is probably corrupt, as the following words ἀλλ' ἔρημος ἔθαιες show. See, however, Hermann's note on this passage, and on EUR. Iph. Aut. 575.

734. II. The aorist ὄφελον, *ought*, and sometimes (in Homer) the imperfect ὄφελλον, of ὀφείλω (Epic ὀφέλλω), *ouce, debeo*, may be used with the infinitive to express a present or past unattained wish. The present infinitive is used when the wish refers to the present or to continued or repeated past action, and the aorist (rarely the perfect) when it refers to the past.

Ὄφελον or ὄφελλον may be preceded by the particles of wishing, εἶθε and εἰ γάρ, and in negative wishes by μὴ (not οὐ). *E.g.*

Ὄφελε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, *would that he were (now) doing this* (lit. *he ought to be doing it*), or *would that he had habitually done this* (lit. *he*

ought to have done this). "ὦφελε τούτο ποιῆσαι, would that he had done this.

*Ὦν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δόμασι μοῖραν ναίειν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σοῦι ἔμμεναι οἱ τότε ὄλοντο, *O that I were living with even a third part, etc., and that those men were safe who then perished.* Od. iv. 97. So Il. i. 415. Ἄνδρὸς ἔπειτ' ὄφελλον ἀμείνονος εἶναι ἄκοιτις, ὃς ἦδη νέμεσίν τε καὶ αὐτῆα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων, *O that I were the wife of a better man, who knew, etc.* Il. vi. 350. Τὴν ὄφελ' ἐν νῆεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἄρτεμις ἴψ, *O that Artemis had slain her, etc.* Il. xix. 59. Αἰθ' ὄφελλες στρατοῦ ἄλλον σημαίνειν. Il. xiv. 84. Αἰθ' ἅμα πάντες Ἔκτορος ὄφέλετ' ἀντὶ θοῆς ἐπὶ νηϊὶ πεφάσθαι, *would that ye all had been slain instead of Hector.* Il. xxiv. 253. Μηδ' ὄφελε λίσσεσθαι ἀμίμονα Πηλεΐωνα, *would that you had not besought the son of Peleus.* Il. ix. 698. (See 736, below.) So xviii. 86; Od. viii. 312. Μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὄφειλον (?; ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόπθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι, *would that I were no longer living with this fifth race of men, but had either died before it or been born after it.* Hes. Op. 174. Ὀλέσθαι ὄφελον τῆδ' ἡμέρᾳ, *O that I had perished on that day.* SOPH. O. T. 1157. Μὴ ποτ' ὄφελον λιπεῖν τὴν Σκύρον, *O that I never had left Scyros.* Id. Ph. 969. See El. 1021. Εἴθ' ὄφελ' Ἄργους μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κιανέας Σαρπηγγιάδου. EUR. Med. 1. Εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον οἰοί τε εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐξεργάζεσθαι, *O that the multitude were able, etc.* PLAT. Crit. 44 D. Εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον (sc. κατιδεῖν). Id. Rep. 432 C. Παθόντων ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφελον (sc. παθεῖν), *when they suffered what would they had never suffered.* DEM. xviii. 288; so 320. So ὡς μίποτε ὄφελειν, XEN. Cyr. iv. 6, 3 (see 737).

735. This form with ὄφελον or ὄφελλον is the only expression known to Homer for *past* wishes, the secondary tenses of the indicative being not yet used in this construction, although they were already in good use in past (though not in present) conditions (135). In present wishes, Homer has the present optative (739) as well as the construction with ὄφελον. (See 438.)

736. For an explanation of the origin of the use of ὄφελον in wishes, see 424. It is there seen to be analogous to εἶδει and χρῆν with the infinitive, implying that what *ought to be* or *to have been* does not or did not happen. Only after its original meaning was obscured by familiar use could εἴθε or εἰ γάρ have been prefixed to it. Μὴ ὄφελον may be explained in the same way; or we may suppose that μὴ originally belonged to the infinitive, and afterwards came to negative the whole expression. See the examples in 734.

737. Ὦς, used as in 726, often precedes ὄφελον etc. in Homer, and rarely in the Attic poets. *E.g.*

*Ἦλιθεσ ἐκ πολέμου: ὡς ὄφελεσ ἀντόθ' ὄλέσθαι, *would you had perished there.* Il. iii. 428. Ὦς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλω, *O that I had not been victorious in such a contest.* Od. xi. 548.



ὦς ὄφελ' Ἐλένης ἀπὸ φῶλον δλίεσθαι. Od. xiv. 68. So Il. iii. 173, xxii. 481. ὦς πρὶν διδάξαι γ' ὄφελ' εὐς μέσος διαρραγῆναι, *would that you had split in two before you ever taught it.* An. Ran. 955.

738. Neither the secondary tenses of the indicative nor the form with ὄφελον in wishes can (like the optative) be preceded by the simple εἰ (without -θε or γάρ).

739. (*Present Wishes in Homer.*) In Homer a present unattained wish may be expressed by the present optative, like a present unfulfilled condition (438). Here εἴθε or εἰ γάρ generally introduces the wish. *E.g.*

Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω γε Διὸς παῖς αἰγύχοιο
εἶην ἤματα πάντα, τέκοι δέ με πότνια Ἥρη,
τιοίμην δ' ὡς τίετ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἦδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργεῖοισιν,

O that I were the son of Zeus, and that Hera were my mother, and that I were honoured as Athena and Apollo are honoured, etc. Il. xiii. 825. (Here τέκοι is nearly equivalent to μήτηρ εἶη: cf. ὦ τεκοῦσα, *O mother*, quoted under 732.) Almost the same wish occurs in Il. viii. 538.

ἽΩ γέρον, εἴθ' ὡς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
ὡς τοι γούναθ' ἐποιτο, βίη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος εἶη·
ἀλλὰ σε γῆρις τεῖρει ὁμοῖον ὡς ὄφελ' ἐν
ἀνδρῶν ἄλλος ἔχειν, σὶ δὲ κουροτέρουσι μετεῖναι,

would that, even as thy spirit is in thy breast, so thy knees obeyed and thy strength were firm. Il. iv. 313. At the end we have the more common form of a present wish, ὄφελ' ἐν ἄλλος ἔχειν, *would that some other man had it (γῆρις).*

Εἴθ' ὡς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη·
τῷ κε τάχ' ἀτήρειε μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ,

O that I were again so young, and my strength were firm, etc. Il. vii. 157. The same wish, in precisely the same words, occurs also in Il. xi. 670, xxiii. 629, and Od. xiv. 468; also in Il. vii. 132 in the form αἰ γάρ. Ζεῦ τε πάτερ, . . . ἡβῶμι ὡς ὅτ' . . . μάχοιτο. See Od. xiv. 503, ὡς νῦν ἡβώοιμι, repeating the idea of vs. 468. In Od. xviii. 79 we have νῦν μὲν μήτ' εἶης, βουγῆε, μήτε γένοιο, *better that thou wert not now, thou heifer, and hadst never been born*, where γένοιο looks like a past wish; but *not having been born* may be included in the present wish of εἶης: compare τέκοι in Il. xiii. 826 (above). For αἰ γάρ ἐλασαίαιτο, Il. x. 536, see 93 (end).

For the infinitive with αἰ γάρ in a past unattained wish in Homer, see 786.

740. It has been seen that the use of the moods and tenses in both classes of wishes with εἰ γάρ and εἴθε is precisely the same as in the corresponding forms of protasis (455; 410). The analogy with the Latin is also the same as in protasis:—

εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο π. ωίη (or ποιήσειεν), *O si hoc faciat, O that he may do this*; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐποίει, *O si hoc faceret, O that he were doing this*; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, *O si hoc fecisset, O that he had done this*; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐγένετο, *utinam ne factum esset, O that it had not happened*.

It must be remembered that it is the *futurity* of the object of a wish, and not its probability or possibility, that requires the optative. No amount of absurdity or extravagance in a future wish can make anything but the optative proper in expressing it. As Aristotle says (*Eth.* iii. 2, 7), βούλησις δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων, οἷον ἀθανασίας, *wish may refer to impossibilities, as that we may live for ever*; but this very wish would require the optative. So no amount of reasonableness in a present or past wish can make the imperfect or aorist indicative improper; for we may wish that the most reasonable thing were or had been ours, only such wishing implies that we do not or did not have it.

αἴθε γενοίμαν ἃ βομβεῦσα μέδισσα θηυεν δ. 12

CHAPTER V.

THE INFINITIVE.

741. The infinitive is originally a verbal noun, expressing the simple idea of the verb. As a verb, it has voices and tenses; it has a subject (expressed or understood), which may define its number and person; it may have an object and other adjuncts; and, further, it is qualified by adverbs, and not by adjectives. It may have *ἄν* in a potential sense. It thus expresses the verbal idea with much greater definiteness than the corresponding substantives; compare, for example, *πράττειν* and *πρᾶξαι* with *πρᾶξις*, as expressions of the idea of *doing*.

742. The origin of the infinitive in a verbal noun is beyond question. In the oldest Sanskrit certain verbal nouns in the dative express purpose, that is, the object *to* or *for* which something is done, and are almost identical in form with the equivalent infinitives in the older Greek. Thus *vidmāne*, dative of *vidman*, *knowledge* (from root *vid*), may mean *for knowing* or *in order to know* (old English *for to know*); and in Homer we have *Ἰδμεναι* (= Attic *ἰδέειν*) from the same root *Fiδ*. So Sanskrit *dātrāne*, dative of *dātran*, *giving* (from root *da*), is represented in Greek by the Cyprian *δοῖναι* (= Attic *δοῖναι*) from root *do*.¹ It is safe to assume, therefore, that the Greek infinitive was originally developed in a similar way, chiefly from the dative of a primitive verbal noun; that in the growth of the language this case-form became obscured, its origin as a dative was forgotten, and it

¹ Whitney (*Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 314) says of these primitive Sanskrit datives: "It is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses." See Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 121; and Mouro, *Hom. Gr.* p. 163.

came to be used for other cases of the verbal noun, especially the accusative; that it was allowed to take an object, like the corresponding verb, and afterwards a subject (in the accusative) to make the agent more distinct; that in course of time, as its relation to the verb became closer, it developed tenses like those of the verb, so as to appear as a regular mood of the verb. The final step, taken when the use of the definite article was established, was to allow the half-noun and half-verb to have the article and so be declined like a noun in four cases, while it still retained its character as a verb. This last step was taken after Homer; but the earlier stages were already passed, more or less decidedly, before the Homeric period, so that they cannot be traced historically. Thus, although the infinitive in Homer retained some of its uses as a dative more distinctly than the later infinitive, it is hardly possible that those who used the Homeric language retained any consciousness of the original dative; for the infinitive was already established as an accusative and a nominative, it had formed its various tenses to express present, past, and future time, and it could even be used with *ἄν* (683). Indeed, the condition in which the infinitive appears in indirect discourse in Homer seems utterly inconsistent with any conscious survival of its force as a dative (see examples in 683).

743. The later addition of the article enlarged the uses of the infinitive and extended it to new constructions, especially to the use with prepositions. It thus gained a new power of taking adjuncts, not merely single words, but whole dependent clauses. (See examples in 806.) In all the constructions which were developed before the article came into use with the infinitive, as when it is the subject or the object of a verb, or follows adjectives or nouns, the infinitive continued to be used regularly without the article, although even in these constructions the article might be added to emphasise the infinitive more especially as a noun, or to enable it to carry adjuncts which would otherwise be cumbersome; in other words, all constructions in which the original force of the noun had become obscured or forgotten before the article began to be used generally remained in their original form. On the other hand, newer expressions, in which the infinitive was distinctly felt as a noun in the structure of the sentence, generally added the article to designate the case.

744. The subject of the infinitive, if expressed, is in the accusative. The most indefinite infinitive, so far as it is a verb, must at least have a subject implied; but as the infinitive has no person or number in itself, its subject can remain more obscure than that of a finite verb. Thus *καλόν ἐστιν ἀποθανεῖν*, it is



glorious to die, may imply a subject in any number or person, according to the context, while ἀποθνήσκεις or ἀπέθανε is restricted to *thou* or *he* as its subject. Still, in the former case, ἀποθανεῖν must have an implied subject in the accusative; and if this is not pointed out by the context, we can supply τινά or τινάς, as sometimes appears when a predicate word agrees with the omitted subject, as in φιλόανθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ (sc. τινά), *one must be humane*, ISOC. ii. 15, and ἑρῶντας ἡδίων θανεῖν (sc. τινάς), *it is sweeter to die acting*, EUR. Hel. 814. The infinitive of indirect discourse, which seems to have been developed originally by the Greek language, must always refer to a definite subject, as it represents a finite verb in a definite mood, tense, number, and person. Other infinitives, both with and without the article, may have a subject whenever the sense demands it, although sometimes the meaning of the leading verb makes it impossible to express an independent subject, as in πειράται μανθάνειν, *he tries to learn*. In general, when the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject or object of the leading verb, or when it has been clearly expressed elsewhere in the sentence, it is not repeated with the infinitive.¹

A. INFINITIVE WITHOUT THE ARTICLE

Infinitive as Subject, Predicate, or Appositive.

745. The infinitive may be the subject nominative of a finite verb, or the subject accusative of another infinitive. It is especially common as subject of an impersonal verb or of εἶστί. It may also be a predicate nominative or accusative, and it may stand in apposition to a noun in the nominative or accusative. *E.g.*

Συνέβη αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, *it happened to him to go*. Οὐκ ἔνεστι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *it is not possible to do this*. Ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μένειν, *he might have remained* (i.e. *to remain was possible for him*). Δεῖ μένειν. Οὐ μὴν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένον, *for it*

¹ A few exceptional cases are quoted by Birklein (p. 93) in which the infinitive with the article appears to have a subjective genitive, like an ordinary verbal noun, instead of a subject accusative. These are γυγνώσκω τας τοῦτων ἀπώλας ἀχ ἥτορ σωφροσύνας ἢ δάλων τὸ ἥδη κολάζειν, XEN. AN. VII. 7. 24; τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν μιμῆσθε, DEM. XIX. 269; and εἰ τῆς πολέως πέποιθε τὸς ἀδικούσας υἰσεῖν, Ib. 289. In the first case the parallelism between τοῦτων and δάλων caused the anomaly; in the second, αὐτῶν has a partitive force, as if it were τοῦτο αὐτῶν μιμῆσθε; and in the third, πολέως is separated from the infinitive by the verb, and the idea is *whether the hatred of exiles has died out* (i.e. *disappeared from*) the state. In none of these cases would a subject accusative be the exact equivalent of the genitive. For undoubted examples in later Greek, see *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1877*, p. 7.

is no bad thing to be a king. *Od.* i. 392. Ἄει γὰρ ἤβη τοῖς γεροῦσιν εὖ μαθεῖν. *AESCH.* *Ag.* 584. Πολὸν γὰρ ῥῶον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. *DEM.* ii. 26. (Compare i. 23, quoted in 790.) Ἡδὸν πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν; *Id.* xix. 221. Δοκεῖ οἰκονόμου ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι εὖ οἰκεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον. *XEN.* *Oec.* i. 2. Φησὶ δεῖν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, he says that it is necessary to do this. (Here ποιῆσαι as accusative is subject of δεῖν.) Τὸ γνῶναι ἐπιστήμην πον λαβεῖν ἔστιν, to learn is to acquire knowledge (pred. nom.). *PLAT.* *Theaet.* 209 E. Ξυνέβη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θορυβηθῆναι, it chanced that the Athenians fell into confusion. *THUC.* v. 10. Οὐ φάσκων ἀνεκτον εἶναι ξυγκείσθαι κρατεῖν βασιλεύ τῶν πόλεων. *Id.* viii. 52. (Here κρατεῖν βασιλεύ τῶν πόλεων is subject of ξυγκείσθαι, which is subject of εἶναι, the whole being object of φάσκων.) Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης, one omen is best, to fight for our country. *II.* xii. 243.

For the subject infinitive in indirect discourse, see 751.

Infinitive as Object.

746. The infinitive may be the object of a verb, generally appearing as the accusative of the direct object, sometimes as the accusative of kindred meaning. Here belong (1) the infinitive after verbs of *wishing, commanding,* and the like (*not* in indirect discourse), and (2) the infinitive *in* indirect discourse as the object of verbs of *saying* and *thinking*.

For the infinitive in indirect discourse, see 751.

Object Infinitive not in Indirect Discourse.

747. The verbs which take the ordinary object infinitive are in general the same in Greek as in English. Any verb whose action directly implies another action or state as its object, if this object is to be expressed by a verb and not by a noun, may take the infinitive.

Such are verbs signifying to *wish, ask, advise, entreat, exhort, command, persuade, compel, teach, learn, accustom, cause, intend, begin, attempt, effect, permit, decide, dare, prefer, choose*; those expressing *willingness, unwillingness, eagerness, caution, neglect, danger, postponement, forbidding, hindrance, escape, etc.*; and all implying *ability, fitness, desert, qualification, sufficiency, necessity, or their opposites.* *E.g.*

Διδάσκουσιν αὐτὸν βάλλειν, they teach him to shoot. Ἔμαθον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, they learned to do this. Βούλεται ἔλθειν. Παραϊνούμέν σοι



παίθεσθαι. Αἰροῦνται πολεμῆν. Ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύει διαφθαρήναι, *the city is in danger of being destroyed*. Δύναται ἀπελθεῖν. Τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἔφραζον ἵεναι ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, *they told the allies to go to the Isthmus*. THUC. iii. 15. Δέομαι ἡμῶν συγγνώμην μοι ἔχειν. Εἶπε στρατηγὸς ἐλῆσθαι, *he proposed to choose generals*. Ἀπαγορεύουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, *they forbid them to do this* (815, 1). Τί κωλύσει αὐτὸν βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται, *what will prevent him from marching whither he pleases?* Ἄξιῶ λαμβάνειν τοῦτο, *I claim the right to take this*. Ἄξιούται θανεῖν, *he is thought to deserve death*. Οὐ πέφυκε δουλεύειν, *he is not born to be a slave*. Ἀναβάλλεται τοῦτο ποιῆν, *he postpones doing this*.

Λαοὺς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεισθαι ἄνωγεν, *and the son of Atreus ordered the hosts to purify themselves*. II. i. 313. Βούλομαι ἐγὼ λαὸν σὸν ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, *I wish that the people may be safe, rather than that they perish*. II. i. 117. Ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι. XES. An. vi. 2, 13. Ἔδοξε πλεῖν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, *it was decided that Alcibiades should sail*. THUC. vi. 29. Φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, *he kept guard against any one's sailing out or in* (815, 1). Id. ii. 69. Τί ὄητα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν; *why do you hesitate to speak out the whole?* AESCH. Prom. 627.

This use of the infinitive is too familiar to need more illustration. The tenses commonly used are the present and aorist (87), for examples of which see 96; for the perfect see 109 and 110; for the exceptional future see 113; and for the infinitive with ἄν (seldom used in this construction) see 211. For μή and μὴ οὐ with the infinitive (as used above) see 815-817.

748. The poets, especially Homer, allow an infinitive after many verbs which commonly do not take this construction. The meaning of the verb, however, makes the sense clear. *E.g.*

Ὀδύρομαι αἰκόνδε νέεσθαι, *they mourn (i.e. long) to go home*. II. ii. 290. Ἐπεσφύμμεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ αἰδεῖσθαι ἱερῆα, *the Achaeans shouted with applause, commanding that they should reverence the priest*. II. i. 22. Ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγηται κακὰ ῥέξαι, *that one may shudder (dread) to do evil*. II. iii. 353. Ἐκτορὸν μείναι μοῖρα πέδησεν, *Fate bound fettered Hector to remain*. II. xvii. 5.

For the infinitive of direct object after verbs of *fearing* and *caution*, see 373. For the infinitive (not in indirect discourse) after *χράω* and other verbs meaning *to give an oath*, see 98.

749. When a noun and a verb (especially ἔστι) form an expression which is equivalent to any of the verbs above mentioned (747), they may take the infinitive. Some other expressions with a similar force may have the infinitive. *E.g.*

Ἀνάγκη ἔστί πάντας ἀπελθεῖν. Κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτῷ παθεῖν τι. Ὀκνος ἔστί μοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Φόβος ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἔλθειν. Οὐ μάντις εἰμὶ τῶ φανῆ γινῶναι, *I am not enough of a prophet to decide, etc.* EUR. Hipp. 346. (Here ability is implied in μάντις εἰμὶ.) Ἀμαφα ἐν

αὐταῖς ἦν, κώλυμα οὔσα (τὰς πύλας) προσθεῖναι, a wagon, which prevented them from shutting the gates. THUC. iv. 67. So ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ ἀνέξηθῆναι, obstacles to their increase. Id. i. 16. (See 815, 1.) Τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁρμῇ ἐνέπεσε ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον. Id. iv. 4. Τὸ ἀσφαλές καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν αἱ νῆες παρέξουσιν, safety both to remain and to depart. Id. vi. 18. Ἐχοντα τιθασεύεσθαι φύσιν, capable by nature of being tamed (= πεφνκότα τιθασεῖσθαι). PLAT. Polit. 264 A. Τίς μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι; i.e. how can it be effected that all things shall not be destroyed in death? Id. Phaed. 72 D. (See 815, 2.) Δέδοικα μὴ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν, lest we may come to the necessity of doing. DEM. i. 15. Ὡρα ἀπιέναι, it is time to go away (like χρὴ ἀπιέναι, we must go away). PLAT. Ap. 42 A. Ἐλπιδας ἔχει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (= ἐλπίζει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι), he hopes to do this. But ἐλπὶς τοῦ ἐλεῖν, THUC. ii. 56 (798). Οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν, and the living are those who caused them to die. SOPH. Ant. 1173. We might also have αἴτιοι τοῦ τοῦτοις θανεῖν or αἴτιοι τὸ τοῦτοις θανεῖν. (See 101.) So in phrases like πολλοῦ (or μικροῦ) δέω ποιεῖν τι, I want much (or little) of doing anything; παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθον ποιεῖν τι, they came within a little of doing anything; where the idea of ability, inability, or sufficiency appears: so in THUC. vii. 70, βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον διακόσμαι γενέσθαι. So ἐμποδὸν τοῦτω ἐστὶν ἐλθεῖν (= κωλεῖ τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν), it prevents him from going; where τοῦ ἐλθεῖν may be used (807).

The infinitive depending on a noun is generally an adnominal genitive with the article τοῦ. See the examples above, and 798.

750. In laws, treaties, proclamations, and formal commands, the infinitive is often used in the leading sentences, depending on some word like *ἔδοξε*, it is enacted, or *κελεύεται*, it is commanded; which may be either expressed in a preceding sentence or understood. *E.g.*

Ταμίαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν τοῦτων καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο, and (it is enacted) that treasurers of the sacred funds be chosen, etc. PLAT. Leg. 759 E. So in most of the laws (genuine or spurious) standing as quotations in the text of the orators, as in DEM. xxiii. 22: δικάζειν δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείφ πάγῳ φόρου καὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, κ.τ.λ. See AR. Av. 1661. Ἐτη δὲ εἶναι τὰς σπονδὰς πενήκοντα, and that the treaty shall continue fifty years. THUC. v. 18. Ἀκούετε λεγόν τοῖς ὀπλίταις νυμφεῖ ἀνελομένους θῶπλ' ἀπιέναι πάλιν οὐκαδέ. AR. Av. 448.

Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

751. The infinitive in indirect discourse is generally the object of a verb of *saying* or *thinking* or some equivalent expression. It may also be the subject of a passive verb of this class

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(as λέγεται), or of such a verb as φαίνεται, *it appears*, or δοκεῖ, *it seems* (see 754). Here each tense of the infinitive represents the corresponding tense of the indicative (with or without ἄν) or the optative (with ἄν). (See 664, 2.)

For examples see 683 and 689. For the various tenses of the infinitive with ἄν, representing the indicative or optative with ἄν, see 204-210.

752. Verbs of *hoping, expecting, promising, swearing*, and a few others of like meaning, form an intermediate class between this construction and that of 747. For examples of the infinitive (in both constructions) after these verbs, see 136.

753. 1. Of the three common verbs signifying *to say*, φημί is regularly followed by the infinitive in indirect discourse, εἶπον by ὅτι or ὡς and the indicative or optative, while λέγω allows either construction. The active voice of λέγω, however, generally has ὅτι or ὡς.

2. Exceptional cases of ὅτι or ὡς after φημί are very rare and strange: one occurs in LYS. vii. 19, ὡς φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν παρωστήκειν οἱ δ' οἰκέται ἐξέτεμον τὰ πρέμνα. See also XEN. Hell. vi. 3, 7, and PLAT. Gorg. 487 D (where a clause with ὅτι precedes φῆς).

3. Cases of εἶπον with the infinitive of indirect discourse are less rare, but always exceptional. See H. xxiv. 113, xviii. 9, quoted in 683; HDE. ii. 30; THUC. vii. 35; PLAT. Gorg. 473 A, εἶπον τὸ ἀδικεῖν τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι κάκων εἶναι. A remarkable case of οὐ μὴ with the infinitive after εἶπε occurs in EUR. Phoen. 1590 (quoted in 296). Εἶπον and the active voice of λέγω take the infinitive chiefly as verbs of *commanding* (747).

754. After many verbs of this class in the passive both a personal and an impersonal construction are allowed: thus, we can say λέγεται ὁ Κύρος ἐλθεῖν, *Cyrus is said to have gone*, or λέγεται τὸν Κύρον ἐλθεῖν, *it is said that Cyrus went*. Δοκέω in the meaning *I seem (videor)* usually has the *personal* construction, as in English; as οὗτος δοκεῖ εἶναι, *he seems to be*. When an infinitive with ἄν follows a personal verb like δοκέω, this must be translated by an impersonal construction, to suit the English idiom: thus, δοκεῖ τις ἄν ἔχειν τοῦτο must be translated *it seems that some one would have this*, although τις is the subject of δοκεῖ, since we cannot use *would* with our infinitive to translate ἔχειν ἄν.

755. When an indirect quotation has been introduced by an infinitive, a dependent relative or temporal clause sometimes takes the infinitive by assimilation, where we should expect an indicative or optative. The temporal particles ὡς, ὅτε, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, as well as the relative pronouns, are used in this construction. Herodotus uses even εἰ, *if*, and ὁἷτι, *because*, in the same way. *E.g.*

Μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίζησθαι (λέγουσι), *and afterwards, when it did not cease, they say that they sought for remedies.* HDt. i. 94. (Here we should expect ὡς οὐκ ἐπαίετο.) Ὡς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς παρόντας, θόρυβον γενέσθαι (φασίν), *they say that, when those present heard it, there was a tumult.* DEM. xix. 195. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀγάθωνος, (ἔφη) ἀνεωγμένην καταλαμβάνειν τὴν θύραν. ΠΛΑΤ. Symp. 174 D. Ἐφη δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πορεύεσθαι. Id. Rep. 614 B. So ὡς φαίνεσθαι, *as it appeared,* 359 D. Λέγεται Ἀλκμαίῳ, ὅτε δὴ ἀλάσθαι αὐτὸν, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν. THUC. ii. 102. Καὶ ὅσα αὐ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἴκτερον γνώμῃ φανῆναι (ἔφασαν). Id. i. 91. (Here εβουλεύοντο would be the common form.) Ἡγουμένης δὴ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ποτε φαίμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι, ἀλλ' ὑγίης τε καὶ δίκαιον ἦθος, ὧ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἔπεσθαι. ΠΛΑΤ. Rep. 490 C.

Εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλω τέφ τὴν βασιληίην, (ἔφη) δικαιοτέρον εἶναι Μήδων τέφ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο, *for if he was bound (= εἰ ἔδει) to give the kingdom to any other, etc.* HDt. i. 129. Εἰ δὲ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, *if this were (= εἰ ἦν) not pleasing to God.* Id. ii. 61. So iii. 108 (εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι = εἰ μὴ ἐγίνετο, *had there not occurred;* ; vii. 229 (εἰ ἀπονοστήσαι, *if he had returned;* ; ii. 172 (εἰ εἶναι, *if he was;* ; iii. 105 (εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν = εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνομεν). Τιμῶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίῳ. Id. iii. 55.

756. In some cases, particularly when the provisions of a law are quoted, a relative is used with the infinitive, even when no infinitive precedes. *E.g.*

Ἐθῆκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτινῆναι, *he enacted on what conditions it is allowed to kill.* DEM. xx. 158. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ τινὰ, τὴν βουλὴν δικάζειν ἔγραψε, καὶ οὐχ ἄπερ, ἂν ἀλφ, εἶναι, *and he did not enact what should be done if he should be convicted.* Id. xxiii. 26. (Here εἶναι, the reading of Cod. Σ, is amply defended by the preceding example, in which all allow ἐξεῖναι.) Δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξημβούλους, ἄνευ δὲ μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. THUC. v. 63.

757. In narration, the infinitive often appears to stand for the indicative. It depends, however, on some word like λέγεται, *it is said*, expressed (or at least implied) in something that precedes. *E.g.*

Ἀπικομένους δὲ τοῖς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο, διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον, *and (they say) that the Phoenicians, when now they had come to this Argos, were setting out their cargo for sale.* HDt. i. 1. (Here διατίθεσθαι is imperfect.) “Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ,” φάσαι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, “οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα.” “Ἄλλὰ καὶ σέ,” φάσαι τὸν Κῦρον, “ὄρῳ,” κ.τ.λ. Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι, “καὶ τίνοι δὴ σὺ τεκμαιρόμενος λέγεις;” “Ὅτι σέ,” φάσαι, “ὄρῳ,” κ.τ.λ. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον εἰπεῖν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 5 and 6. (Here all these infinitives, and twelve

7.4

others which follow, depend on λέγεται in § 4.) Καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι, and he commanded him to give it. Id. i. 3, 9. So in HDt. i. 24 the story of Arion and the dolphin is told in this construction, the infinitives all depending on λέγονσι at the beginning.

Infinitive after Adjectives, Adverbs, and Nouns.

758. The infinitive may depend on adjectives denoting *ability, fitness, desert, qualification, sufficiency, readiness*, and their *opposites*; and, in general, those expressing the same relations as the verbs which govern the infinitive (747). The omitted subject of the infinitive is the same as the substantive to which the adjective belongs. *E.g.*

Δυνατὸς ποιεῖν, *able to do*. Δεινὸς λέγειν, *skilled in speaking*. "Ἀξίος ἐστὶ ταῦτα λαβεῖν, *he deserves to receive this*. "Ἀξίος τιμᾶσθαι, *worthy to be honoured*. Οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν τοῦτο ἰδεῖν, *he was not able to see this*. Πρόθυμος λέγειν, *eager to speak*. "Ἐτοιμος κίνδυνον ὑπομένειν, *ready to endure danger*.

Θεμιστοκλέα, ἰκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γινῶναι καὶ πράξει. LYS. ii. 42. Αἱ γὰρ εἰπραξίαι δεῖναι συγκρίψαι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἶδη. DEM. ii. 20. Κυρίαν ἐποίσαν ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς εὐταξίας, *they gave it (the Areopagus) power to superintend good order*. ISOC. vii. 39. Βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. HDt. iii. 138. Μαλακοὶ καρτερεῖν, *too effeminate to endure*. PLAT. Rep. 556 B. Ταπεινὴ ἡμῶν ἢ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἂ ἐγνωτε, *your minds are too dejected to persevere*, etc. THUC. ii. 61. (In the last two examples, μαλακοὶ and ταπεινὴ govern the infinitive by the idea of *inability* implied in them.) Χρήματα πορίζειν εἰσπρωτάτον γενῆ. AR. Eccl. 236. Σοφώτεροι δὲ συμφορὰς τὰς τῶν πέλας πάντες διαθρεῖν ἢ τύχας τὰς οἰκοθεν. EUR. Fr. 103. Ἐπιστήμων λέγειν τε καὶ σιγᾶν. PLAT. Phaedr. 276 A. Τάλλα εἰρήσεις ὑποურγεῖν ὄντας ἡμᾶς οὐ κακοῦς. AR. Pac. 430.

For examples of nouns followed by the infinitive in a similar sense, see 749. (See also 766.)

759. The infinitive, after τοιοῦτος οἷος and τοσοῦτος ὅσος, depends on the idea of *ability, fitness, or sufficiency* which is expressed in these combinations. The antecedent may be omitted, leaving οἷος with the infinitive in the sense of *able, fit, likely*, and ὅσος in that of *sufficient*. *E.g.*

Τοιοῦτοι οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἔργον ἐφίεσθαι, *capable of aiming at any vicious act*. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 3. Τοιαύτας οἷας χειμῶνός τε στέγειν καὶ θέρουσ ἰκανὸς εἶναι. PLAT. Rep. 415 E. Ἐφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα, *it came enough in advance (of the other ship) for Paches to have already read the decree* (the fact that he had read it is inferred, but not expressed: see 584). THUC. iii. 49.

Ἐπεὶ ὅς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, *that I am (such)*

a man (as) to be always changing. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 45. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν, for it was not the proper season to irrigate the land. Id. An. ii. 3, 13. Νεμόμενοι τὰ αἰτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, each cultivating their own land enough (to an extent sufficient) to live upon it. THUC. i. 2. Ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, there was left enough of the night for crossing the plain in the dark. XEN. An. iv. 1, 5.

This construction suggests at once the analogous use of οὕτως ὥστε or ὥστε alone, in the sense of *so as*, with the infinitive (see 593). Here, as with ὥστε, the subject of the infinitive is not restricted as it is in 758.

760. In Homer, the pronominal adjectives τοῖος, τοιόσδε, τοιοῦτος, τόσος, τηλίκος, and ποῖος, without a relative, sometimes take an infinitive in the same way (759); as ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι τοιοῖοι ἀμυνόμεν, but we are not able to keep it off, Od. ii. 60; ποῖοι κ' εἶτ' Ὀδυσσῆι ἀμυνόμεν: Od. xxi. 195. See also Il. vi. 463; Od. iii. 205, vii. 309, xvii. 20.

See Thoma ad loc.

761. Certain impersonal verbs (like ἐνεστι, πρέπει, προσήκει), which regularly take an infinitive as their subject (745), are used in the participle in a personal sense with the infinitive, the participle having the force of one of the adjectives of 758. Thus τὰ ἐνόητα εἰπεῖν is equivalent to ἃ ἐνεστι εἰπεῖν, what it is permitted to say; τὰ προσήκοντα ῥηθῆναι is equivalent to ἃ προσήκει ῥηθῆναι, what is proper to be said, as if it represented a personal construction like ταῦτα προσήκει ῥηθῆναι, these things are becoming to be said. E.g.

Κατιδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνόητων εἰπεῖν, seeing the number of things that may be said. ISOC. v. 110. Τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν, she is calling on the God who ought not to be present at lamentations. AESCH. Ag. 1079. (Προσήκοντα is used like adjectives meaning fit, proper.) Φράζ', ἐπεὶ πρέπειν ἔφυσ πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν. SOPH. O. T. 9. So τὰ ἡμῖν παραγγελθέντα διεξελεθεῖν (= ἃ παρηγγέλη ἡμῖν διεξελεθεῖν). PLAT. Tim. 90 E.

762. In the same way (761) certain adjectives, like δίκαιος, ἐπικαίριος, ἐπιτήδειος, ἐπίδοξος, may be used personally with the infinitive; as δίκαιός ἐστι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, it is right for him to do this (equivalent to δίκαιόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν). E.g.

Φημί πολλῶ μείζονων ἔτι τοῦτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν, I say that I have a right to receive even far greater rewards than these. DEM. xviii. 53. Ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ὑπεξαίρεθηναί, they seemed to be convenient persons to be disposed of. THUC. viii. 70. Θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαίριοι, important persons to be taken care of. XEN. Cyr. viii. 2, 25. Ταδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι, it is to be expected that this will result from it. HDT. i. 89. Πολλοὶ ἐπίδοξοι τοῦτο τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἶσι, it is to be expected that many will suffer this same thing. Id. vi. 12 (for the future infinitive see 113).

763. Any adjective may take an infinitive to limit its





meaning to a particular action; as *αἰσχρὸν ὄραν*, *disgraceful to look upon*. The infinitive is here regularly active or middle, even when the passive would seem more natural. The omitted subject of the infinitive (except when it is passive) is distinct from that of the adjective. *E.g.*

Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσσομένοισι πυνθέσθαι, *for this is disgraceful even for future men to hear*. II. ii. 119. So II. i. 107 and 589. *Τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγους ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαιοτάτους προειπεῖν ἤγοῦμαι, ὑμῖν δὲ χρησιμωτάτους ἀκοῦσαι*, i.e. *most necessary for me to speak, and most useful for you to hear*. DEM. xxi. 24. *Φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι*, *a terrible man to fight against*. Id. ii. 22. *(Οἰκία) ἡδίστη ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι*, *a house most pleasant to live in*. XEN. Mem. iii. 8, 8. *Χαλεπώτατα εὑρεῖν*, *hardest to find*: *ῥῆσθαι ἐντυγχάνειν*, *easiest to obtain*. Ib. i. 6, 9. *(Πολιτεία) χαλεπὴ συζῆν*, *a form of government hard to live under*: *ἀνομος δὲ (μοναρχία) χαλεπὴ καὶ βαρυστάτη ξυνοικῆσαι*. PLAT. Polit. 302 B and E. *Λόγος δυνατὸς κατανοῆσαι*, *a speech capable of being understood (which it is possible to understand)*. Id. Phaed. 90 D. *Ὁ χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διεγῆσασθαι*, *the time is too short for narrating it properly*. Id. Menex. 239 B. *Ἡ ὁδὸς ἐπιτηδία πορευομένοις καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκοῦειν*, *convenient both for speaking and for hearing*. Id. Symp. 173 B. *Πότερον δὲ λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον*: *which of the two (waters) is colder for bathing?* XEN. Mem. iii. 13, 3.

(Passive.) *(Κῆρες) αἰσχροὶ ὄρασθαι* (instead of *ὄραν*). Id. Cyn. iii. 3. *Ἔστι δ' ὁ λόγος φιλαπεχθῆμων μὲν, ῥηθῆναι δ' οὐκ ἀνίμφορος*. ISOE. xv. 115.

The infinitive with adjectives there and in 758) shows distinct traces of its origin as a dative, though this origin was already forgotten. See 742. end and 767.

764. *a* The infinitive after the comparative with *ἤ* depends on the idea of *ability* or *inability* implied in the expression. *E.g.*

Τὸ γὰρ νόσημα μείζον ἢ φέρειν, *for the disease is too heavy to bear*. SOPH. O. T. 1293. (See 763, above.) *Ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φήσις ἀσθενεστέρα ἢ λαβεῖν τέχνην ὧν ἂν ἡ ἄπειρος*, *human nature is too weak to acquire the art of those things of which it has no experience*. PLAT. Theæt. 149 C. (See 758.)

b *Ὡστε* or *ὥς* is sometimes expressed before this infinitive; as in XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 23, *ἤρθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοῖς φίλοις ὠφελεῖν*, and Cyn. vi. 4, 17, *τὰς ἀσπίδας μείζους ἔχουσιν ἢ ὥς ποιεῖν τι καὶ ὄραν*. (See 588.)

765. The infinitive may be used after adverbs which correspond to the adjectives of 763. *E.g.*

Συνέβουλεύετο αὐτῷ πῶς ἂν τοῖς μὲν εἴνοις κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν ποιοίτο τὴν ἐξέλευσιν, τοῖς δὲ διαμειέσει φοβερῶτατα, *he took counsel with him how he might proceed forth in a manner most splendid for the friendly to behold, and most terrible for the indisposed*. XEN. Cyn. viii. 3, 5.

766. Certain nouns, which correspond in meaning to adjectives which take the infinitive as in 763, may themselves have the same construction. *E.g.*

Θαῦμα ιδέσθαι, *a wonderful thing to behold* (like θαυμαστὸν ιδέσθαι). *Od.* viii. 366. See the examples under 749.

767. In Homer, verbs expressing *excellence* or *fitness* sometimes take a limiting infinitive, like adjectives of similar meaning. *E.g.*

Ἐκτορος ἦδε γυνή, ὅς ἀριστεύσκε μάχεσθαι, *this is the wife of Hector, who was the first (= ἀριστος ἦν) in fighting.* *Il.* vi. 460. Ὀμηλικὴν ἐκέκαστο ὄρνιθος γνῶναι καὶ ἀναίσιμα μυθήσασθαι, *he excelled all of his age in knowledge of birds and in declaring fate.* *Od.* ii. 158. Οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἔστ' ἐπὶ μάχεσθαι, *ye who excel the Danaei in counsel and excel them in battle.* *Il.* i. 258. (Here βουλὴν shows that μάχεσθαι was already felt as a limiting accusative, notwithstanding its primitive force as a dative. See 763, and 742, end.)

768. Even in Attic Greek a limiting infinitive, like the Homeric infinitive just mentioned (767), is sometimes found. Especially ἀκούειν, ἀκοῦσθαι, *in sound*, and ὄραν, ἰδεῖν, *in appearance*, are used in this way. *E.g.*

Δοκεῖς οὖν τι διαφέρειν αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν χαλκῆος φαλακροῦ καὶ σμικροῦ; *do you think that they differ at all in appearance from a bald little tinker?* *PLAT. Rep.* 495 E. Ἀκοῦσαι παγκάλως ἔχει, *it is very fine to hear.* *DEM.* xix. 47. Πράγματα παρέξουσιν (οἱ ἵπποι) ἐπιμέλεισθαι, *the horses will be troublesome to tend.* *XEN. Cyr.* iv. 5, 46.

769. The Homeric use of ὅμοιος, *equal*, *like*, with the infinitive belongs here. *E.g.*

Λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὅμοιοι, *(horses) whiter than snow, and like the winds in swiftness* (lit. *to run*). *Il.* x. 437. Οὐ γάρ οἱ τις ὅμοιος ἐπισπένθαι ποσὶν ἦεν, ἀνδρῶν τρεσάντων, *for none was like him for following with his feet when men fled.* *Il.* xiv. 521.

Infinitive of Purpose.

770. The infinitive may express a *purpose*. *E.g.*

Τρώων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον (εἰ) ἐλοίμεθα οἴνοχοεῦεν, *if we should choose every man of the Trojans to be our cup-bearers.* *Il.* ii. 127. Χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόφ' ἐπέχευε φέρονσα, νίψασθαι, *i.e. brought and poured water for washing.* *Od.* i. 136. So *Il.* i. 338, δὸς ἄγειν, and *Il.* 107, 108. Τὴν ἐξ' Ἀρείου πάγον βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εἰκοσμίας, *i.e. to guard good order.* *Isoc.* vii. 37. Οἱ ἄρχοντες, οὓς ἡμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν μόν, *the rulers, whom you chose to rule me.* *PLAT. Ar.* 28 E. Δέκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν προῖπεμψαν ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα πλεῦσαι τε καὶ κατασκέψασθαι, καὶ κηρῦξαι, κ.τ.λ., *i.e. they sent them to sail and examine, and to proclaim, etc.* *THUC.* vi. 50. Τοὺς ἱππῶς παρείχοντο Ἡλοποννησίους ξυστρατεύειν. *Id.* ii. 12. Κυνίβησαν τοῖς Ἰλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοῦς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, χρῆσασθαι



ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται, i.e. *to do with them whatever they pleased*. Id. ii. 4. Εἰ βουλοίμεθά τῃ ἐπιτρέψαι ἢ παιῶδας παιδεύσαι ἢ χρήματα διασῶσαι, *if we should wish to entrust to any one either children to instruct or money to keep*. XEN. Mem. i. 5, 2. Θεάσασθαι παρῆν τὰς γυναῖκας πιεῖν φερούσας, *women bringing (something) to drink*. Id. Hell. vii. 2, 9. Τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἀκρὰν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν, *they delivered the city and the citadel to them to guard*. Ib. iv. 4, 15. Ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ, τοῦτον ἀφίετε τοῖς θεοῖς κολάζειν. DEM. xix. 71.

Ἡ θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέγκτο εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἔμοῦ. XEN. Hell. v. 1, 14. Οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτιζέσθαι, *they had no money to buy provisions*. Id. An. vii. 1, 7. Ἀριστάρχῳ ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογησασθαι, i.e. *a day to defend himself in*. Id. Hell. i. 7, 28. Ἐμᾶν τὸν σοὶ ἐμμελετᾶν παρέχειν σὺ πάνν δέδοκται, i.e. *to practise on*. PLAT. Phaedr. 228 E. Οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ἰσοῖος καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη, i.e. *for enjoyment as well as for death*. THUC. ii. 44.

771. Here, as in 763, the infinitive is generally active or middle, even where the passive would seem more natural; as *κτανεῖν ἔμοι νεν ἔδοσαν, they gave her to me to be killed*. EUR. Tro. 874.

772. (a) The infinitive is thus used in prose chiefly after verbs signifying *to choose or appoint, to give or take*, to express the purpose for which anything is given or taken; and also after those signifying *to send or bring*. See examples in 770.) With the last class the future participle is still more common (840). A final clause after *ἴνα* etc. may also be used in the same sense.

(b) In poetry, the same construction occurs after verbs of *motion*, like *εἶμι, ἦκω*, and *βαίνω*; and also after *εἶμι, ἔπειμι*, and *πάρειμι* *to be, to be at hand*, expressed or understood. E.g.

Ἀλλὰ τις εἴη εἰπεῖν Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένα λαῶν, *but let some one go to tell Agamemnon*. Od. xiv. 496. Βῆ δὲ θέειν, *and he started to run*. Il. ii. 183. Οὐδέ τις ἔστιν ἀρῆν καὶ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι, *nor is there any one to keep off curse and ruin*. Il. xxiv. 489. Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ σοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐναυρέμεν ὄν κε δόνηαι, i.e. *for you to slay who were your own*. Il. vi. 229. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνὴρ οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρῆν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι. Od. ii. 59. Μανθάνειν γὰρ ἤκομεν, *for we are come to learn*. SOPH. O. C. 12.

(c) Even in prose, the infinitive occasionally occurs after *εἶμι* in this sense, as in PLAT. Phaedr. 229 A, ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἔστι, καὶ πόα καθίξεσθαι ἢ ἂν βουλόμεθα κατακλιθῆναι, *there is grass to sit upon, etc.* See also XEN. An. ii. 1, 6, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι, i.e. *they were left to be carried away*.

773. In Homer and Herodotus εἶναι is often introduced to denote a purpose, where in Attic Greek a simple noun, connected directly with the leading verb, would be sufficient. E.g.

Ὀμήρῳ, τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι, i.e. *which they gave him as a present* (lit. *to be a present*). Il. xi. 20. Λίθον εἶλετο

χειρὶ παχείῃ, τὸν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὄρον ἀρούρης, which former men had placed (to be) as a boundary of the land. *IL* xxi. 405. Δαρειῶς καταστήσας Ἄρταφέρνεα ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων. *HDT.* v. 25. So in the passive construction: Γέλων ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος. *Id.* vii. 154.

774. Even in Attic prose, this use of εἶναι (773) sometimes occurs; as in *DEM.* xxix. 25, μνημονεῖοισιν ἀφεθέντα τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τότε, they remember his having been then manumitted (so as) to be a free-man. So ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι, he gives them up to be public property, *THUC.* ii. 13.

775. The simple infinitive in Homer may express a result as well as a purpose, as ὥστε is seldom used there in the sense of *so as* (589). It thus follows many expressions which would not allow it in Attic Greek. *E.g.*

Τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; i.e. who brought them into conflict, so as to contend? *IL* i. 8. So i. 151; and ἐριζέμεναι, ii. 214. Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ κοίλη νηὺς ἤχθετο τοῦτι νέεσθαι, when now their ship was loaded, so as (to be ready) to sail. *Od.* xv. 457.

For the infinitive in consecutive sentences with ὥστε or ὡς, and ἐφ' ᾧ or ἐφ' ᾧτε, see 582-600; 608-610.

For the infinitive with πρὶν, see 626-631.

*Absolute Infinitive.*¹

776. The infinitive may stand absolutely in certain parenthetical phrases, expressing a limitation or qualification of some word or of the whole sentence.

777. 1. Most frequent are the simple ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν and ὡς εἰπεῖν, *so to speak*; and ὡς εἰπεῖν or εἰπεῖν with an adverb or other adjunct, sometimes with an object. *E.g.*

Καὶ ἔργον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ οὐδενὸς προσδέονται ἢ βραχέος πάντι, and of action, so to speak, they need either none or very little. *PLAT. GORG.* 450 D. Plato uses ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν 77 times. Ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος, so to speak. *AESCH. PERS.* 714; so *EUR. HIPPOCR.* 1162, *HER.* 167 (see *OR.* 1). Ὡς δὲ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, to speak concisely. *ISOC.* vii. 26; so *PLAT. TIM.* 25 E. Ὡς συντελούντι εἰπεῖν. *XEN. MEM.* iii. 8, 10. Ὡς εἰπεῖν. *PLAT. PHAEDR.* 258 E; so *Rep.* 619 D. Ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, to speak simply. *ISOC.* iv. 154. Ὡς ἐν κεφαλῶν εἰπεῖν. *PLAT. SYMP.* 186 C. Ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν γένος. *Id. CRAT.* 192 C. Ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν. *Id. LEG.* 667 D. So ὡς περὶ ὅλης εἰπεῖν ψυχῆς, *Rep.* 557 E. Ὡς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν. *Id. LEG.* 624 A. Ὡς πόλιν εἰπεῖν, speaking of a state. *Id. Rep.* 577 C. Without ὡς: τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, *HDT.* ii. 91; *THUC.* i. 138, vii. 49. Ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν. *Id.* vi. 82. Σὺν θεῶ

¹ See Grünwald, *Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen*, in Schanz's *Beiträge*, Heft 6.



•
as shown after we modify rules and orders ; επεξεργαστομενο
δεν εδωκεν το δευτερο ερωτηματιο



ως Σπομένηται Δ. ο. 37

εἰπεῖν. PLAT. PROT. 317 B. Τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀνέπνευσα, SOPH. O. T. 1220.

2. Other verbs of *saying* are used in the same way with ὡς. *E.g.*

Ὡς τορῶς φράσαι. AESCH. Ag. 1584. Ὡς ἐκ τοῦ παραρηῆμα λέγειν. PLAT. CRAT. 399 D. Ὡς γε ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι λέγειν. Id. LOG. 857 C. Ὡς ἐν φράζειν. Id. POLIT. 282 B. Ὡς πρὸς ἑμᾶς εἰρησθαι, i.e. *between ourselves*. Id. REP. 595 B. Ὡς γε πρὸς σὲ εἰρησθαι τάληθῆ. Id. PROT. 339 E. Ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας, εἰρησθαι. Id. REP. 414 A.

For ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν in Herodotus, see 782.

778. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν or (less frequently) ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν means *in my opinion, it seems to me*. Other similar expressions are (ὡς) εἰκάσαι, *to make a guess*; (ὡς) συμβάλλειν, *to compare, if we may compare*; (ὡς) ἀκοῦσαι, *to the ear*; ὡς ἰδεῖν or ὄσον ἰδεῖν, *to the eye, in appearance*; ὄσον ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, *so far as my knowledge goes*; ὡς τεκμήρασθαι, *so far as one can judge*. *E.g.*

Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τάχ' εὔσει, *but, methinks, you will soon know*. AESCH. PERS. 246: so SOPH. EL. 410. Αἰτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἶσι. HDT. i. 172. Ἀπεπέμπετο ἡ στρατιῇ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταυτροφῆ. Id. iv. 167. Δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοί. THUC. viii. 64: so vii. 87. Ἀληθῆ, ἐμοίγε δοκεῖν. PLAT. MEN. 81 A. See Id. REP. 432 B, ὡς γε οἴπτω δόξαι.

Χῶρος ὄ' ἴρος, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι. SOPH. O. C. 16. Ὡς θύραθεν εἰκάσαι. EUR. H. F. 713. See HDT. i. 34. Ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι. THUC. iv. 36. Once εἰκάσαι alone: SOPH. O. T. 82. Ὑδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν, i.e. *to compare the waters one with the other*. HDT. iv. 50 cf. ἐν πρὸς ἐν, THUC. ii. 97). Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως μὲν ἀκοῦσαι λόγον τιν' ἔχον, i.e. *on first hearing it*. DEM. xx. 18. Ἄτοπα, ὡς οἴπτω γ' ἀκοῦσαι. PLAT. EUTHYPH. 3 B. Ὡς γε ἐντεῦθεν ἰδεῖν, *as it looks from this point*. Id. REP. 430 E. Ὅσον ἰδην. SAPPH. FR. 101. Ὅσα γ' ὄ' ἰδεῖν. AR. PAC. 856. Οἴχ, ὄσον γέ μ' εἰδέναι, *as far as I know*. Id. NUB. 1252. See also Eccl. 350, ὄ τι κάμ' εἰδέναι, and Thesm. 34, ὥστε (i.e. ὡς τε) κάμ' εἰδέναι, in the same sense. Ὡς γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι. PLAT. PHAEDR. 230 B.

See also ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ χρῆσθαι κριτῆ, EUR. Alc. 801; ὡς γε κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄξιν ἀποφῆρασθαι, PLAT. POLIT. 272 D. See further, for Herodotus, 782.

779. (a) Here belong ὀλίγον δεῖν and μικροῦ δεῖν, *wanting little, almost*, and the rare πολλοῦ δεῖν, *far from*. *E.g.*

Πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων ὀλίγον δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, *when many speeches are made almost in every assembly*. DEM. ix. 1. Μικροῦ δεῖν ἄξιον ἔστι τῷ ἀνειδίξαι. Id. xviii. 269: so ISOC. I. 141, viii. 44, 89. Ἴν' εἰώητε πολλοῦ δεῖν ἄξιον ὄντα, *that you may know that he is far from deserving*, etc. DEM. xxiii. 7 (the only case of πολλοῦ δεῖν).

(b) Here *δεῖν* is often omitted, leaving *ὀλίγον* or *μικροῦ* in the sense of *almost*. *E.g.*

Ὅλιγον φροῦδος γεγένημαι, *I am almost gone myself*, AR. NUH. 722, and μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, *they came near shooting them all*. DEM. xviii. 151.

780. In many expressions *εἶναι* is used absolutely, and it often seems to us superfluous. The most common case is that of *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, *so far as being willing goes*, or *willingly*, used almost invariably in negative sentences. *E.g.*

Οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν. HDI. viii. 116. See THUC. ii. 89, vi. 14. Ἐκὼν γὰρ εἶναι οὐδὲν ψεύσομαι, *willingly I will tell no falsehood*. PLAT. Symp. 215 A. Οὐκ ᾤμην γε κατ' ἀρχᾶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκόντος εἶναι ἐξαπατηθῆσθαι. Id. Gorg. 499 C. (Ἀνάγκη ἔχειν) τὴν ἀλείδειαν καὶ τὸ ἐκόντας εἶναι μηδαμῇ προσδέχσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος. Id. Rep. 485 C: see 336 E. One positive sentence occurs, HDI. vii. 164.

781. Other cases of absolute *εἶναι* are τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς (ἐπὶ ἐκείνοις, ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, κατὰ τοῦτον) εἶναι, *so far as they were concerned, etc.* THUC. iv. 28, viii. 48; XEN. An. i. 6, 9, Hell. iii. 5, 9;—κατὰ (εἰς) δύναμιν εἶναι, ISAE. ii. 32; PLAT. Polit. 300 C;—κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι, *so far as concerns this*. Id. Prot. 317 A;—τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, *at first*, HDI. i. 153. So especially τὸ νῦν εἶναι, *at present* (τό belonging to νῦν): see ISOC. xv. 270; PLAT. Lach. 201 C, Rep. 506 E; XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 42; also τὸ τήμερον εἶναι, *to-day*, PLAT. Crat. 396 E. In Aristotle's τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, the *εἶναι* is probably absolute, and τί ἦν may be a "philosophic" imperfect (40), the expression meaning *the original essence* (the "what was it?").

Two expressions have ὡς: ὡς πάλαια εἶναι, *considering their antiquity*, THUC. i. 21; and ὡς γε διακόνοισι εἶναι πόλεως, *considering that they were servants of a state, i.e. for servants*, PLAT. Gorg. 517 B.

782. Herodotus has a remarkable variety of expressions of this kind. Besides those already quoted, see the following:—

Τὸ Δέλτα ἐστὶ κατάρρητόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἶπεῖν, ἀναπεφηνός, *and recently, so to speak, has appeared above water*. ii. 15. (Ὡς λόγῳ εἶπεῖν is peculiar to Herodotus.) Καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἔφη, *so far as I remember rightly what the interpreter told me, etc.* ii. 125. Ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοεῖν, *as I understand it*. ii. 28. Ὡς μὲν νῦν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλωῶσαι, πᾶν εἰρηται ὡς δὲ ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ δηλωῶσαι, ὡς ἔχει. ii. 24 and 25. Μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῶ λόγῳ εἶπεῖν, χρόνος διέφθ. i. 61. Ὡς ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, *so far as I find by conjecture*. vii. 24. Ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμβαλλόμενα. iv. 87. Ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοις συμβάλλειν, *so far as I compare these small things with great ones*. iv. 99: see ii. 10. Ὡς Σκύθαις εἶναι, *for Scythians, considering that they are Scythians*. iv. 81. Ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, *for Egypt, i.e. for a land like Egypt*. ii. 8. Μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπι, *she gained great sums of money for a Rhodopis*. ii. 135. (The force of ἂν is very doubtful



here; and ῥοδῶπις is often emended to ῥοδόπιος or ῥοδόπι, neither of which is satisfactory.)

783. The absolute infinitive was probably felt as a limiting accusative; and in *AR. PAC.* 232, ἐξιέναι γνώμην ἔμην μέλλει, we might substitute ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν for γνώμην ἔμην.¹ Ὡς as used here can hardly be expressed in English; but it resembles some uses of ὥστε and ὡς with the infinitive after adjectives in 588. It cannot be demonstrative, as might be supposed from our inadequate translation of ὡς εἰπεῖν, *so to speak*.

*Infinitive in Commands and Prohibitions for the Imperative.
Infinitive in Wishes and Exclamations.*

784. 1. The infinitive is sometimes used in the sense of the second person of the imperative, especially in Homer. *E.g.*

Τῶ νῦν μὴ ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἤπιος εἶναι· μὴ οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφασκόμεν, ὃν κ' ἐν εἰδῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι, *now therefore be thou never indulgent to thy wife,* etc. *Od.* xi. 441. So *Il.* i. 20, 582, ii. 10, xvii. 501; *Od.* x. 297, xi. 72, xvii. 278, xviii. 106, xxii. 287. Οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, *do not approach these* (= μὴ πέλαζε). *AESCH. Prom.* 712. Πρὶν δ' ἂν τελειτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν μὴδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, *wait, and do not yet call him happy.* *HOM.* i. 32. Σὺ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἰπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπειγέσθαι, *and do you open the gates, and rush out and press on.* *THUC.* v. 9. Ἐὰν οἴοι τε γεγόμεθα εἰρεῖν, φάναί ἡμῶς ἐξερηκέναι, *and that we have found it.* *PLAT. Rep.* 473 A. Τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῖν αἰτοῖς βεβαιῶς γινώσκει, *understand this in your own minds.* *DEM.* viii. 39.

2. In the cases of the second person just given (1), the subject is in the nominative. But when the infinitive is equivalent to the third person of the imperative, its subject is in the accusative, as if some word like δός, *grant*, were understood. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὲν κεῖ Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος κακαπέφνη, αὐτὸς Ἑλένην ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ Μενέλαος, Τρώας ἐπειθ' Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, *i.e. let him keep Helen himself,—and let the Trojans surrender Helen.* *Il.* iii. 281-285. Τείχεα συλήσους φερίτω, σῶμα δὲ οἰκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν *sc. αὐτόν.* *Il.* vii. 78.

These examples follow the construction of the infinitive in wishes (785).

785. The infinitive with a subject accusative is sometimes used for the optative in the expression of a wish referring to the future. This occurs chiefly in poetry. *E.g.*

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἧ Διάντα λαχεῖν ἧ Τυδῆος νιόν, *Father Zeus, may the lot fall on Ajax or on the son of Tydeus* (= Αἴας λάχοι). *Il.* vii. 179. Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιον εἶναι, καὶ οἱ πάντα γένοιθ'

¹ See Grunewald, page 17.

ὄσσα φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοινᾶ (εἶναι = εἶη is followed by γένοιτο). Od. xvii. 354. Μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἠέλιον δῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἔλθειν. Il. ii. 413. Αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαῖταν αἴσαν διακρίνειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων. PIND. Py. i. 67. Θεοὶ πολῖται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν (= μὴ τύχοιμι). AESCH. Sept. 253. Δῆμητερ, εὐδαιμονεῖν με θησέα τε παῖδ' ἑμόν. EUR. Supp. 3. Ἐρμᾶ ἔμπολαίε, τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἑμὴν οὕτω μ' ἀποδόσθαι τὴν τ' ἑμῆν τοῦ ματέρα, *O that I could sell my wife and my mother at this rate!* AR. Ach. 816. ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι, *may it be permitted me to punish the Athenians.* HDT. v. 105. Ὀκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τοῖσι τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν, i.e. *let their victory count for the whole army.* Id. ix. 48.

This construction, like the preceding (784, 2), is often explained by an ellipsis of δός, *grant*; see Il. iii. 351, δός τίσασθαι. Aristarchus supplied γένοιτο or εἶη.

786. In two passages of the Odyssey, we find the infinitive in a wish introduced by αἶ γάρ, once in the sense of the optative and once in that of a past tense of the indicative, with the subject (understood) in the nominative:—

Αἶ γάρ, τοίος εὖν οἶός ἐσσι, . . . παῖδά τ' ἑμὴν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἑμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι, *O that, being such as you now are, you might have (— ἔχοις) my daughter and be called my son-in-law.* Od. vii. 311. Αἶ γάρ, οἶος Νήρικον εἶλον, . . . τοίος εὖν τοι χθιζὸς ἐφροστᾶμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν ἄνδρας μνηστῆρας· τῷ κε σφέρον γούνατ' ἔλιψα, *O that I had stood by you yesterday and had punished the suitors; then would I have loosened their knees.* Od. xxiv. 376.

These passages agree in construction with the second person of the infinitive in commands (784, 1).

787. The infinitive, with its subject accusative, may be used in exclamations of surprise or indignation. *E.g.*

Ἐμὲ παθεῖν ταῦδε, φεῦ, ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατὰ τε γᾶν οἰκεῖν, ἀτίστον, φεῦ, μῦθος, *that I should suffer this, alas! I, with my thoughts of old; and that I should dwell in this land, alas! an unhonoured plague!* AESCH. Eum. 837. Ἀλλὰ τοῖτόδ' ἔμοι ματαίαν γλώσσαν ὄδ' ἀπαρτίσαι κάκβαλεῖν ἐπη τοιαῦτα, *that these should thus cast at me the flowers of their idle tongues, etc.* Id. Ag. 1662. ὦ διστάλαινα, τοιάδ' ἄνδρα χρηστῶν φωνεῖν. SOPH. Aj. 410. Τοιοῦτονὶ τρέφειν κῆνα, *to keep a dog like that!* AR. Vesp. 835. Τοῦτον δὲ ὑβρίζειν· ἀναπνεῖν δέ, *and that he should be thus insulting, and should draw his breath!* DEM. xxi. 209.

Compare *Mene incepto desistere victam!* VERG. Aen. i. 37. This infinitive often has the article τό (805).

B. INFINITIVE WITH THE ARTICLE.¹

788. It has been seen that the infinitive without the article

¹ See Gildersleeve, *Contributions to the History of the Articular Infinitive*,



was already established in the Homeric language, in nearly all the constructions in which it was most frequently used in later times. In this simple form it developed its various tenses, and their uses became fixed, especially in indirect discourse; so that the infinitive gradually came to be more of a verb and less of a noun.

When the definite article had become common with nouns, it was soon prefixed to the infinitive, which thus, with all its attributes as a verb unimpaired, was restored to new life as a neuter verbal noun.¹ As a nominative and accusative, it could be used with τὸ in all the constructions in which the simple infinitive was already familiar as subject or object, although here the older form was preferred except when it was desired to emphasise the infinitive especially as a nominative or accusative. But in other constructions (especially in the genitive, dative, and accusative with prepositions), and in its wonderful capacity for carrying dependent clauses and adjuncts of every kind, the articular infinitive appears as a new power in the language, of which the older simple infinitive gave hardly an intimation.

As might be expected, the articular infinitive found its chief use in the rhetorical language, as in Demosthenes and in the speeches of Thucydides. It appears first in Pindar (for τὸ in *Od.* xx. 52 and *HES. Frag.* clxxi. can hardly be the article), but always as a subject nominative, with one doubtful exception. In the dramatists and Herodotus it is not uncommon, being generally a nominative or accusative with τὸ, although it occurs also as a genitive or dative with τοῦ or τῆ; and it is found even with prepositions. In Thucydides (especially in the speeches), we find the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative all used with the greatest freedom (in 135 cases), besides the accusative, genitive, and dative with prepositions (in 163 cases). Its fully developed power of taking dependent clauses must be seen in the Orators, especially in Demosthenes.²

in *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc.* for 1878, pp. 5-19; and *The Articular Infinitive in Xenophon and Plato*, in *Am. Jour. Phil.*, iii. pp. 193-202; Birklein, *Entwickelungsgeschichte des substantivierten Infinitivs*, in *Schanz's Beiträge*, Heft 7.

¹ "By the substantial loss of its dative force the infinitive became verbalized; by the assumption of the article it was substantivized again with a decided increment of its power." *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. p. 195.

² See the statistics given by Gildersleeve in the *Am. Jour. Phil.* viii. p. 332. It appears that the average number of articular infinitives in a Teubner page of Demosthenes is 1.25; of the speeches of Thucydides, 1.00; of Xenophon (whole), 1.02; of Isocrates, .60; of Antiphon, .50; of Aeschines, .30; of Andocides, .29; of Isæus, .25; of Lysias, .12. Hypereides even exceeds Demosthenes. For the actual number of articular infinitives in each author before Aristotle, see Birklein's table, p. 91.

Rel. &
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Articular Infinitive as Subject or Object.

789. Although the infinitive, as subject or object of a verb, generally stands without the article, the article may be prefixed to make the infinitive more prominent as a noun in the structure of the sentence.

790. The infinitive with τό may stand as a subject, especially of ἔστιν. *E.g.*

Τὸ γινῶναι ἐπιστήμην που λαβεῖν ἔστιν, *to learn is to acquire knowledge*. PLAT. Theaet. 209 E. Τὸ δίκην δίδόναι πότερον πάσχειν τί ἔστιν ἢ ποιεῖν; Id. Gorg. 476 D. (In the last two examples the *subject* infinitive has the article to emphasise it, while the *predicate* infinitive stands alone.) Τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εἰ πρώτον ἀέθλων. PIND. Py. i. 99. Οἴτοι ἡδὺ ἔστι τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα οὕτως ὡς ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. XEN. Cyr. viii. 3, 42. Πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι τὰγαθὰ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι, *to keep advantages often seems to be harder than gaining them*. DEM. i. 23 (cf. ii. 26, quoted in 745, for both construction and sense). Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πλεόντων ἄλλων ζητεῖν ἔχειν. PLAT. Gorg. 483 C. Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τοῖτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν. DEM. ii. 20. Τὸ γὰρ θάνατον δεδιέναι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἶδέναι ἔστιν ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν. PLAT. Ap. 29 A. See also 29 C.

It will be seen by comparison that most of these examples would admit the construction without the article by making the infinitive less prominent as a subject nominative. Compare οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει, AESCH. Sept. 656, with τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει, Ag. 941.

791. The infinitive with τό can stand as an accusative of the direct object, sometimes as an accusative of kindred meaning. The relation of such an infinitive with τό to the verb is often less close than that of the simple infinitive in a similar case (see 811). *E.g.*

Τλήσονται τὸ καθθανεῖν, *I shall dare to die*. AESCH. Ag. 1290. Ἔστω τις, ἔστιν, ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν, *who will prevent you from acting*. SOPH. Ph. 1241. So ἐπισπεῖδειν τὸ δρᾶν, El. 467. Τὸ σπεύδειν δέ σοι παραινῶ. Id. Ph. 620. Τὸ δρᾶν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, *they were unwilling to act (would not act)*. Id. O. C. 442. Τὸ δ' αἰξυνοικεῖν τῆδ' ὁμοῦ τίς ἂν γυνὴ δύναιτο, *what woman would be able to live with her? (to live with her—what woman could do it?)*. Id. Tr. 545. Τὸ ἐπὶ οἴνου μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, *to take care not to be upset by wine*. XEN. Rep. Lac. v. 7. Αἰσχύνονται τὸ τολμᾶν. PLAT. Soph. 247 C. Συνεθίζεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ τὴν πατρίδα φιλεῖν. LYCURG. 100. Καὶ πῶς δὴ τὸ ἀρχιχοῦς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων παιδείης; XEN. Oec. xiii. 4: see also ix. 12. (So παιδεύω τινα τι.) Ἐπέεχον τὸ εἰθέως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν. THUC. vii. 33 (cf.





Kadaj (1726) is in error in stating that the articulation of *u* with both *r* and *l* is always front except in Persian where
D. 18. 33 " $\rho\delta$ $\sigma\delta$ $\tau\delta$ ϕ ψ χ σ τ δ ρ σ τ δ is against σ rule
F. 7. 68 11 12

Thuc. 4. 120.4

τοῦτο ἐπέσχον, ii. 76). Οὐδέ τοι τῇ χειρὶ πείθομαι τὸ δρᾶν, *nor am I persuaded by your violence to act (as you bid me)*. SOPH. Ph. 1253 (cf. οὐ πείθομαι σοι ταῦτα). Καρδίας ἐξίσταμαι τὸ δρᾶν, *I withdraw from my resolution (i.e. I consent) to do it*. Id. Ant. 1105 : cf. φρονεῖν μετέγνω, i.e. *changed his purpose (and resolved) to contemplate*, AESCH. Ag. 221.

For τὸ μὴ οὐ with the infinitive after negated verbs in this construction (e.g. AR. Ran. 68), see 815, 2, and 814.

792. The infinitive with τὸ as an object accusative may follow verbs which would not allow the simple infinitive in its place. *E.g.*

Τὸ τελευτῆσαι πάντων ἢ πεπωμένη κατέκρινε, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἴδιον τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀπένειμεν, *Fate condemned all mankind to death; but a glorious death she reserved for the virtuous*. ISOC. i. 43. Μόνον ὄρων τὸ παῖειν τὸν ἀλιεκόμηνον, *seeing only the beating of the captive*. XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 21. Τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖεν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἀγαμαί σευ. HDT. ix. 79.

The double character of the articular infinitive, as noun and verb, permits it to stand as an object wherever the object accusative of a noun would be allowed.

793. A few of the verbs included in 747, which govern the genitive of a noun, allow also the infinitive of the infinitive with τοῦ (798), as well as the simple infinitive. This applies chiefly to ἀμελέω, ἐπιμελέομαι, and to the verbs of *hindrance* etc. included in 807. *E.g.*

Ἀμελήσας τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι. XEN. Mem. ii. 3, 9. (But ἀμελήσας λέγειν, PLAT. Phaed. 98 D.) Most verbs of *desiring* and *neglecting* take only the simple infinitive. Ἐπιμελέομαι, which usually takes ὅπως with the future indicative (339), allows also the simple infinitive (THUC. vi. 54), the infinitive with τὸ (XEN. Rep. Lac. v. 7), and the infinitive with τοῦ (Id. Mem. iii. 3, 11). (See 361, 791, and 798.)

794. The infinitive of indirect discourse after verbs of *saying* and *thinking* sometimes takes τὸ. Here each tense of the infinitive preserves its time, and even the infinitive with ἄν occurs. *E.g.*

Ἦμεν δ' ἐτόιμοι θεοῖς ὀρκωμοτεῖν τὸ μῆτε δρᾶσαι μῆτε τῷ ξινηεῖναι τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι, *to swear that we neither had done it (ἐδράσαμεν) nor were in the secret (ξίνισμεν) of any one who had plotted the deed*. SOPH. Ant. 264. Ἐξομῆ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναί; *will you swear that you have no knowledge?* Ib. 535. Καὶ τὸ προειδέναί γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ᾧ βούλεται, *τοῦτο πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν*. XEN. Ap. 13. See also Hell. v. 2, 36 (814).

(With ἄν.) Τῆς ἐλπίδος γὰρ ἔρχομαι δεδραγμένος, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἄν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ μὲνικτον, *for I come clinging to the hope that I could suffer nothing except what is fated*. SOPH. Ant. 235. For the articular infinitive with ἄν in other constructions, see 212.

Infinitive with τό after Adjectives and Nouns.

795. In some constructions in which the simple infinitive appears to preserve most distinct traces of its origin as a dative, especially after adjectives or nouns (758 ; 763 ; 766), the articular infinitive takes τό as an accusative. *E.g.*

Τὸ δὲ βία πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος, *but I am helpless to act in defiance of the citizens.* SOPH. ANT. 79. Μακρὸς τὸ κρίναι ταῦτα χῶ λουπὸς χρόνος, *a long time to settle this.* ID. EL. 1030 (cf. χρόνος βραχὺς διηγῆσθαι, *a time short for narrating*, under 763). Τὸ μὴ βλέπειν ἑτοίμα, *ready to cease beholding the light.* IB. 1079 (see 758). Τὸ προσταλαιπωρεῖν οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν. THUC. II. 53. Τὸ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν ἐσβάλλειν, κἂν μὴ ἐκπλείσωμεν, ἱκανοὶ εἴσι. ID. VI. 17. Ἐς δέον πάρεσθ' ὅδε Κρέων τὸ πράσσειν καὶ τὸ βουλευεῖν, *he is here at the right moment to act and advise.* SOPH. O. T. 1416. Αἴτιος τὸ σὲ ἀποκρίνεσθαι μὴ τοῦτο. PLAT. LACH. 190 E. (This is rare, but see DEM. VIII. 56, IX. 63. Αἴτιος generally has the infinitive with τοῦ, 798, or the simple infinitive, 749.)

Ἡ ναυμαχία οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι, *the sea-fight offers no just ground for alarm.* THUC. II. 87. Οὐδὲ τοῦ ξανιστάναι ἐστὶ θάρσος, *nor have I courage to remove you.* SOPH. O. C. 47.

The exact force given to these accusatives by those who used them is not always clear ; but they come nearest to the accusative of *respect* or *limitation* (as εἶδος κάλλιστος, *most beautiful in form*). Sometimes the infinitive with τό has this force, where the simple infinitive could not be used ; as in LYCURG. 91, ἐπεὶ γε τὸ ἐλθεῖν τοῦτον, οἶμαι θεὸν τινα αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀγαγεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, *for, as to his departure, I think that some God led him directly to punishment.*

796. We occasionally find τό with the infinitive in the Mss. in a similar loose construction, where we should expect the infinitive with τοῦ or τῷ in apposition with a preceding genitive or dative. See THUC. VII. 36, τῇ πρότερον ἀμαθία δοκοῖσθαι εἶναι, τὸ ἀντίπρῳρον ξεγκροῦσθαι, and VIII. 87, καταβοῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τὸ λέγεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, where most editors now read τῷ and τοῦ against the Mss. But Birklein defends the Mss. readings by HYPER. Epitaph. 2, ἀξίον δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπαιεῖν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡμῶν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἕνεκεν, τὸ προελέσθαι ὅμοια, . . . τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκότας τῆς ἀνδρείας, τὸ μὴ καταισχνᾶναι τὰς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς, where the two infinitives with τό explain προαιρέσεως and ἀνδρείας. (See 804.)

797. The infinitive with τό appears in its greatest variety of meanings in the construction of τὸ μὴ or τὸ μὴ οὐ after verbs implying a negative (811). See also 813 and 814.

ἐπιτὸν ἔργον τούτου αἰτίας, τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιτὸν
καὶ ἄλλοις ἀν. 2.5.22.

Infinitive with τοῦ, τῶ, and τό, as a Noun, in various Constructions.

798. The infinitive with *τοῦ* appears as an adnominal genitive, a genitive after verbs and adjectives and with comparatives, a partitive genitive, a genitive absolute, and a genitive expressing cause, purpose, or motive. *E.g.*

Τοῦ πικεῖν ἐπιθυμία, *the desire to drink*. THUC. vii. 84. Πόνους δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως ἡγεμόνας νομίζετε. XEN. Cyr. i. 5, 12. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα ἦλθον τοῦ εἰλεῖν, *i.e. hope of taking the city*. THUC. ii. 56 (see 749). Τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίνεται, *for doing well beyond their deserts sets fools to thinking ill*. DEM. i. 23. Ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὐτῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελεῖσθαι, *this vote of the assembly that the treaty had been broken*. THUC. i. 87. See XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 4.

Δόξετε αἰτιοὶ εἶναι, ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, *by having begun the passage of the river*. XEN. An. i. 4, 15. Ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι, *being eager each to be first*. THUC. ii. 65. Παρεκάλει ἐπιμελειῶσαι τοῦ ὡς φρονιμώτατον εἶναι. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 55; so iii. 3, 11. (See 793.) Ἐπότχομεν τοῦ δακρύνειν, *we ceased to weep*. PLAT. Phaed. 117 E. (See below, 807.) Καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις τοῦ κατακούειν τινός εἰναι, *for they are unused to obeying any one*. DEM. i. 23. See XXIX. 17. Ἄγιος αὐτοῖς εὐόκεις εἶναι τοῦ τοιαῦτ' ἀκούειν. Id. xxi. 134. Τοῖς καρποῖς, οἳ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἰτιοὶ γέγονασιν, *the fruits of the earth, which are the cause of our not living like beasts*. ISOC. iv. 28. Κατηρώτατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδοῦσθαι τὸν μῦθον, *he cursed him who was responsible for the waves not having been paid long before*. XEN. An. vii. 7, 48. (Λέτιος may take the simple infinitive and even the infinitive with *τό*. See 749 and 795.) Πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φηλαῖαι τὰγαθὰ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. DEM. i. 23. So XEN. Cyr. i. 5, 13. Νέος τὸ σιγᾶν κρείττον' ἐστὶ τοῦ λαλεῖν. MEN. Mon. 387. Τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον εὐληφότες, *i.e. how we became most emboldened*. THUC. iv. 34. Οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀναδείξαι οὔτε τοῦ ζεύεσθαι παραλείψει. DEM. xxxvii. 45. Εἰς τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθε τοῦ νομίζειν. Id. xxii. 16. Τὸ μέγαλον ἔργον ὄντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ τῷ ὄοντα παρασκευάζειν μὴ ἀρκεῖν τούτο. XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 8. see 806.

Ζηλωσέ με μᾶλλον ἢ μὲ τοῦ μηδὲν φρονεῖν, *for want of knowledge*. EUR. I. A. 677. Μῖνος τὸ ληπτικὸν καθήρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον εἶναι αὐτῷ, *in order that revenues might come in to him more abundantly*. THUC. i. 4. So ii. 22, 32, 75, 93; XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 9. Τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, *to eschape doing what was just*. DEM. xviii. 107. Πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα φιλοεικοῦντα λέγειν τοῦ καταφανὲς γενέσθαι. PLAT. Gorg. 457 E. This final use appears first and chiefly in Thucydides.

799. The infinitive with *τῶ* may express *cause, manner, or*

means; or it may follow verbs, adjectives, and adverbs which take the dative. *E.g.*

Οὐδέ τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ εἰωθέναι λέγειν ἐπαρθείς. *Lys.* xxii. 2. Οἰδένι τῶν πάντων πλέον κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι. *Dem.* viii. 11. See xxiii. 9, τῷ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ. Ἄλλὰ τῷ φανερός εἶναι τοιοῦτος ὢν, *by making it plain that he was such a man.* *Xen. Mem.* i. 2, 3. So *Cyr.* iv. 5, 9. Οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ γε κοσμίως ζῆν ἄξιον πιστεύειν, *to trust in an orderly life.* *Isoc.* xv. 24. Ἴνα ἀπιστώσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων, *that they may distrust my having been honoured by divine powers.* *Xen. Ar.* 14. Μείζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι. *Thuc.* iii. 3. Ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστέειν. *Aesch.* Ag. 253. Τῷ ζῆν ἔστι τι ἐναντίον, ὥσπερ τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι τὸ καθείδειν. *Plat. Phaed.* 71 C. Ὁμοίον ἔστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. *Dem.* xviii. 269. Τῷ πλουτεῖν ἰπήκοα, *obedient to wealth.* *Ar. Pl.* 146. Ἄμα τῷ τιμᾶσθαι. *Plat. Rep.* 468 D; so ἄμα τῷ τιμᾶν, 468 E.

800. The infinitive with the article, as genitive, dative, or accusative, very often follows prepositions, or adverbs used as prepositions. *E.g.*

Τοῖς γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένων, *for I see that the speeches are made about punishing Philip.* *Dem.* iii. 1. Πρὸ τοῦ τοῖς ὀρκῶν ἀποδοῦναι, *before taking the oaths.* *Id.* xviii. 26. Ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίου. *Id.* iii. 3. Ἄντι τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φροῦριον κατέστη. *Thuc.* vii. 28; so i. 69. Ἄπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦς ξυνετός φαίνεσθαι. *Id.* i. 138. Ἐνεκα τοῦ πλείω ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οἰσίαν. *Isoc.* i. 19. Πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας λαβεῖν, *besides receiving nothing from the embassy.* *Dem.* xix. 229. Ἐν τῷ πολίτην ποιεῖσθαι (Χαρίδημον), *in making Charidemus a citizen.* *Id.* xxiii. 188. Ἐθανμάζετο ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθίμως ζῆν. *Xen. Mem.* iv. 8, 2. Ὅμως διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι οὐκ ἂν οἶε ἀδικηθῆναι, *on account of being a stranger.* *Ib.* ii. 1, 15. Πάντων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δεοὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς ἕκαστα ποιεῖν. *Id. Cyr.* i. 3, 1. Πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δεῖσθαι πεπαιδευμένους. *Id. Mem.* i. 2, 1; so *Dem.* i. 4. Παρὰ τὸ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομείναι. *Plat. Ar.* 28 C.

801. The infinitive is not found with ἀνά in any case, with ἀμφί in accusative or dative, with κατά in genitive, with παρά in genitive or dative, with περί in dative, with πρὸς in genitive, with ὑπέρ in accusative, or with ὑπό in accusative or dative.

802. The genitive of the infinitive with ὑπέρ is often equivalent to a final clause. *E.g.*

Τὰς δεήσεις αἷς κέκρηται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει (= ἵνα μὴ γίγνηται), *the solicitations which some have employed in order that moderate counsels and the ordinary principles may not prevail in the state.* *Aeschin.* iii. 1. Εἰς τὰς τρώξεις ἐμβάιτες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελειόμενον ποιῆσαι (= ἵνα μὴ ποσέωσιν),





ὅς. τῆς πάσης τῶ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεῦρο τυχεῖο Σπ. 2.
... ..



embarking on shipboard that they might avoid doing what was bid. DEM. xviii. 204.

803. The article cannot ordinarily be omitted, when the infinitive follows a preposition.

(a) A singular exception occurs in a few cases of ἀντί with the simple infinitive in Herodotus. See δς ἀντί μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντί δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων, i. 210, where the antithesis of ἀντί μὲν δούλων makes ἀντί δὲ ἄρχεσθαι more natural; also vi. 32 (with no antithesis). So vii. 170 (but with a various reading ἀντί τοῦ).

(b) Πλὴν, except, as an adverb, may have the simple infinitive; as τί ἄλλο πλὴν ψευδῆ λέγειν, SOPH. Ph. 100. So πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν, AESCH. Eum. 737.

804. An infinitive, with the article in any case, may stand in apposition to a noun in the same case. *E.g.*

Ἡ τῶν παιδῶν ἀρχή, τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, ἕως, κ.τ.λ., the government of children,—not permitting them to be free, until, etc. PLAT. Rep. 590 E. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ζητεῖν ἔχειν. Id. Gorg. 483 C. Τοῦτο προσόμοιον ἔχουσι τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ πολλῶν ἄρχειν. Id. Rep. 578 D. Τί τοῦτου μακαριώτερον, τοῦ γῆ μιχθῆναι; XEN. Cyr. viii. 7, 25. Δοκεῖ τοῖτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων, τῷ τιμῆς ὑρέγεσθαι. Id. Hier. vii. 3; so Oec. xiv. 10.

For a few doubtful cases of the infinitive with τό, in apparent apposition with a genitive or dative, see 796.

805. The infinitive with τό is used in exclamations of surprise or indignation. *E.g.*

Τὸ δὲ μὲνδὲ κενῶν οἰκοθεν ἐλθεῖν ἐμὲ τὸν κακοδαίμον' ἔχοντα, but to think that I, wretched fellow, should come from home without even my cap! AN. Nub. 268. Τῆς μωρίας· τὸ Δία νομίζειν, ὄντα τηλικουτονί, what folly! to believe in Zeus, now you are so big! Ib. 819.

For the simple infinitive in these exclamations, see 787.

806. The infinitive with its subject, object, or other adjuncts (sometimes including dependent clauses) may be preceded by the article τό, the whole sentence standing as a single noun, either as the subject or object of a verb, as the object of a preposition, or in apposition with a pronoun like τοῦτο. *E.g.*

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλέκεναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖν δικάϊως· τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλα τοῦτο πεπονθέναι, πεφηνέναι τέ τινα ἡμῖν σιμμαχίαν τοῦτων ἀτίτροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εἰνοίας ἐνεργέτημ' ἂν ἐγωγε θεῖν. DEM. i. 10. Τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνδρα θνητὸν καὶ διὰ καιροῖς τινας ἰσχύοντα γράφοντας εἰρήνην ἀθάνατον συνθέσθαι τὴν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχύνην, καὶ ἀποστερηῆσαι μὴ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς

pay off with the wife only when there is a "certain pressure of
mutual interest".

248. Τοῦμόν φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα μὴ πάσχειν κακῶς. SOPH. O. C. 667. Ὅπερ ἄρχε μὴ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, *which prevented him from ravaging the Peloponnesus*. THUC. i. 73. Διεκόλυτε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. Id. iii. 49. Ἐπεγένετο κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι. Id. i. 16. Πέμπονσι κήρυκα, ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιότην μὴ ἐξιέναι. HDI. ix. 12. Εἶργε μὴ βλαστάνειν. PLAT. Phaedr. 251 B.

Οὐ γὰρ ἄστι Ἑλληνισι οὐδεμία ἐκδύσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. HDI. viii. 100. (See 815, 2; 816.) Οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. Id. ix. 12. Ὡστε ξένοι γ' ἂν οὐδὲν ὄνθ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν, ὑπεκτραποίμην μὴ οὐ συνεκσφύξειν. SOPH. O. C. 565. Τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχὶ ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; XEN. AN. iii. 1, 13. (Τί ἐμποδῶν implies οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν.) Τίνοις ἂν δέοιο μὴ οὐχὶ πάνπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι; *what would hinder you from being perfectly happy?* Id. Hell. iv. 1, 36.

(d) Πᾶς γὰρ ἄσκος δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύνασθαι, i.e. *will keep two men from sinking*. XEN. AN. iii. 5, 11. Ὅν οὐδεὶς πω προθεῖς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο. THUC. i. 76. Εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἐμποδῶν τι αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ εἰθὺς τότε δικάσασθαι. DEM. xxiii. 25. Ἠπίστατο τὴν πόλιν μικρὸν ἀπολοιπούσαν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν. ISOC. xv. 122. Ἀποσοβούντες ἂν ἐμποδῶν γίνοντο τοῦ μὴ ὄρᾶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὅλον στρατέμμα. XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 23. Εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἰσι τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν. Ib. iii. 3, 31 (cf. THUC. vi. 18, quoted in 749). Τοῦ δὲ μὴ (κακῶς) πάσχειν αὐτοὶ πῶταν ἀδεῖαν ἤγετε, *you were entirely free from fear of suffering harm*. DEM. xix. 149. Ἐροίσις οὐδεμίας ἐτ' ἀποστροφῆς τοῦ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν ἑμάς, *there being no longer any escape from the conclusion that you have taken bribes (from your having bribes)*. Id. xxiv. 9.

The last two examples show that the genitive of the infinitive can take μὴ, even after nouns implying *hindrance* or *freedom*. In the two following, the addition of μὴ is more peculiar:—

Ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡνευχάσειν, *the inability to rest*. THUC. ii. 49. Τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξημεπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ, *through distrust of sailing with them*; i.e. *through unwillingness to sail, caused by distrust*. Id. iii. 75.

808. The infinitive with τοῦ μὴ can be used as a genitive in its ordinary negative sense; as οὔτε ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πρόφασις ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτα, *no ground for not doing this*. PLAT. TIM. 20 C. See also examples in 798.

809. Although μὴ οὐ is more common than μὴ after negatives in the form (a), the simple μὴ sometimes occurs. E.g.

Οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μ' ἐπέσχον μὴ με ναυστολεῖν ταχύ. SOPH. Ph. 349. Οὐδέ μ' ὀργατος φρονῶν παρήλαθε, τόνδε μὴ λείσσειν στόλον. Id. Tr. 226.

810. The infinitive in the forms (a), (c), and (d), (but, according to Madvig, not in the form (b), with τοῦ without μὴ) may follow negatives in the construction of 807. See the examples.

Ἰσχυαίτε ἐπιτῆ το μὴ ἢ το μὴ οὐ.

811. The infinitive with τὸ μὴ is used after many verbs and expressions which denote or even imply *hindrance, prevention, refusal*, or demand, the μὴ merely strengthening the negative idea of the leading verb. If the leading verb is itself negated, or is interrogative with a negative implied, τὸ μὴ οὐ is generally used with the infinitive instead of τὸ μὴ (compare 807).

This infinitive with τὸ μὴ ἢ τὸ μὴ οὐ is often less closely connected with the leading verb than the simple infinitive (see 791), and it sometimes denotes merely the *result* of a prevention or omission. It is sometimes an object accusative, as after expressions of denial; but it oftener resembles the accusative of respect or limitation. It adds a fifth expression, εἴργει σε τὸ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, to the four already given in 807 as equivalents of *he prevents you from doing this*; and a corresponding form, οὐκ εἴργει σε τὸ μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, for *he does not prevent you from doing this*.
E.g.

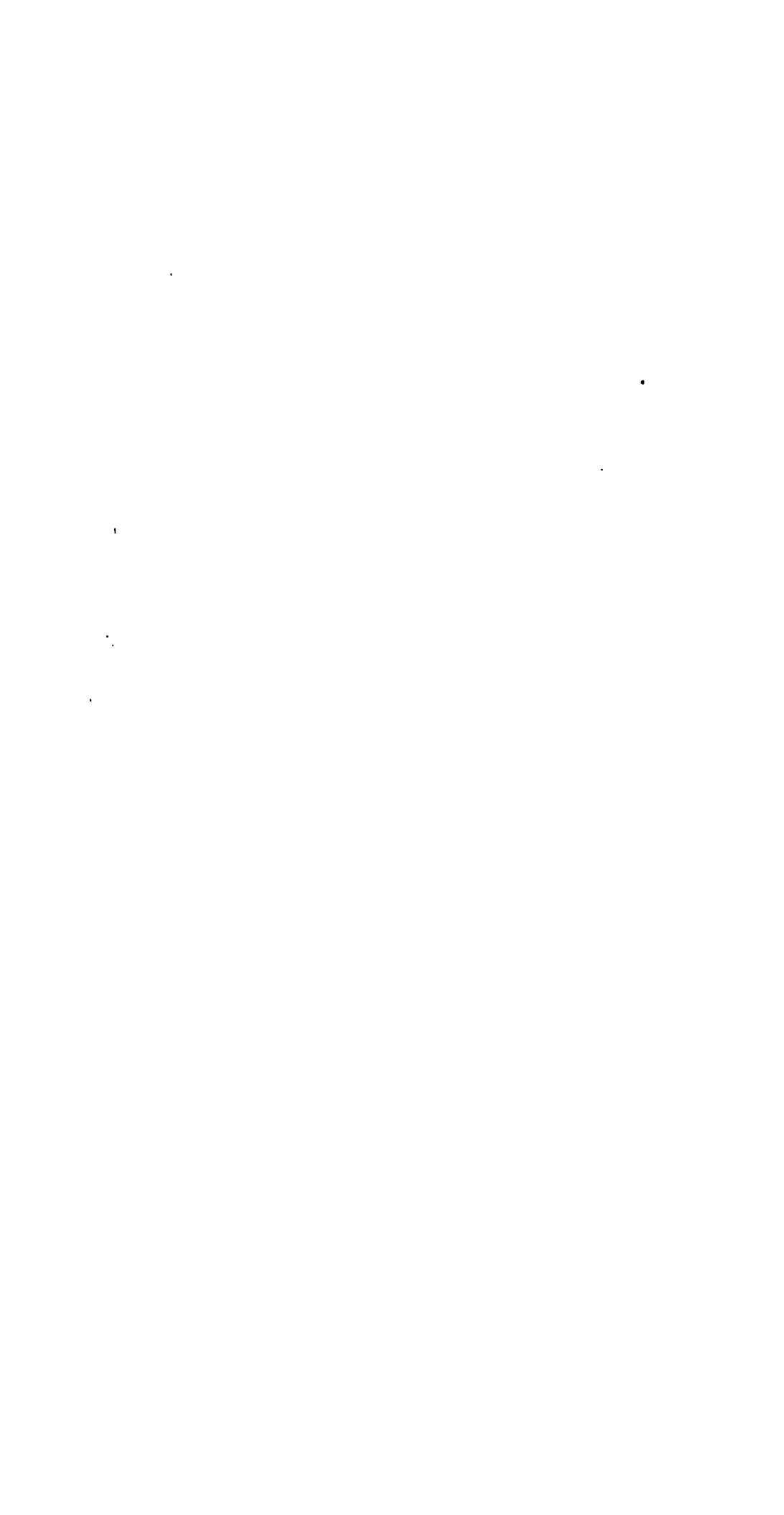
Τὸν πλεῖστον ὄμιλον εἴργον τὸ μὴ προξιώτας τῶν ὄπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακοῦργεῖν, *they prevented them from injuring, etc.* THUC. iii. 1. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τότε, *this prevented them from plundering the city.* HD. v. 101. Οἷοί τε ἦσαν κατέχειν τὸ μὴ ὀακρῦεῖν, *to restrain their tears.* PLAT. PHAED. 117 C 'cf. 117 E, quoted in 807. Φόβος τε ξυγγενῆς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σχῆσει, *will check injustice.* AESCH. EUM. 691. Οἷτοί εἰσιν μόνοι ἐπι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἐνθα πάλαι ἐσπεύδομεν. XEN. AN. iv. 8, 14. Κίμωνα παρὰ τρεῖς ἀφείραν ψήφους τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι, i.e. *by three votes they allowed Cimon to escape the punishment of death.* DEM. xxiii. 205. Τρεῖς δὲ μόνοι ψήφοι διήνεγκαν τὸ μὴ θανάτου τιμῆσαι, *and only three votes prevented you from condemning him to death* (lit. *made the difference about condemning, etc.*) Ib. 167. See XEN. CYR. v. 1, 25, AN. ii. 3, 2. Φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα σφραβεῖν ὕπνῳ, i.e. *stands by to prevent my closing my eyes in sleep.* AESCH. AG. 15.

Οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ γεγωνεῖν πᾶν ὅσον προσχρήζετε. Id. PROM. 786. Οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ πεσεῖν ἀτίμος πτόματ' οὐκ ἀνωχετά, *this will not suffice to prevent him from falling, etc.* Ib. 918. Λεῖπει μὲν οὐδ' ἂ πρόσθεν ἤδεμεν τὸ μὴ οὐ βαριέστον εἶναι, *they have no lack of being heavily grieved.* SOPH. O. T. 1232. Μήτοι, κασιγνήτη, μ' ἀτιμάσῃς τὸ μὴ οὐ θανεῖν τε σὺν σοὶ τὸν θανάτου θ' ἀγνώσαι, *do not think me too unworthy to die with thee, etc.* Id. ANT. 544. (Compare ANT. 22, and O. C. 49.) Οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν, *I did not refrain from proceeding to this subject.* PLAT. REP. 354 B; see CRIT. 43 C. Οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειράσθαι. XEN. CYR. i. 6, 32. Αὐτὴν μὲν οὐ μωσοῖντ' ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν τὸ μὴ οὐ



οὐδὲν ἑλλείψω τὸ μὴ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν περθεῖσθαι. Τα





μεγάλην εἶναι κευδαίμονα, *not grudging that city its right to be great*, etc. AR. AV. 36. (Compare μίσσησέν μιν κινεῖ κέρμα γενέσθαι, II. xvii. 272.) Οὐδείς ἀντιλέγει τὸ μὴ οὐ λέξειεν ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἡγείται πλείστου ἄξιον ἐπίστασθαι, *no one objects to saying*, etc. XEN. Symp. iii. 3. Μὴ παρῆς τὸ μὴ οὐ φράσαι, *do not omit to speak of it*. SOPH. O. T. 283. Οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν, *that no one is able to prevent people from knowing that he would gladly even eat some of them raw*. XEN. Hell. iii. 3, 6.

812. The form τὸ μὴ is more common here when the leading verb is negative, where regularly τὸ μὴ οὐ would be used, than μὴ for μὴ οὐ in the corresponding case (809). *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμεν τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῆσαι τοῖμόν ἄθλιον δέμας. SOPH. O. T. 1387. Τίς σοῦ ἀπειλείβη τὸ μὴ σοὶ ἀκολουθεῖν; *i.e. who failed to follow you?* XEN. Cyr. v. 1, 25. Ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπῆρκεσαν τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν. AESCH. Ag. 1170. Καὶ φημί δρᾶσαι κούκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μὴ. SOPH. Ant. 443. ἄρνησις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πρῶττειν, *it is not even possible for them to deny that they did these things in the interest of Philip*. DEM. xix 163; so xv 135. So perhaps we may explain τὸ μὴ ἐπιβουλεύειν in HDT. i. 209. see § 814.

813. Although the infinitive with τὸ μὴ is most frequently used as in 811) after verbs containing a negative idea, it can also have a negative sense as the object of other verbs or with adjectives. See τὸ μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (quoted in 791), and τὸ μὴ βλέπειν ἐπιόμα (quoted in 795), in both of which the infinitive is really negatived by μὴ. We must distinguish also the use of τοῦ μὴ with the infinitive as an ordinary negative expression (see examples in 798) from that which is explained in 807. Compare, likewise, τὸ μὴ οὐ with the infinitive in 814 and in 811. The nature of the leading verb will always make the force of the negative plain. We have the same distinction, with the simple infinitive, between ἀναγκάζει σε μὴ ἐλθεῖν, *he compels you not to go* (747), and εἴργει σε μὴ ἐλθεῖν, *he prevents you from going* (807).

814. The infinitive with τὸ μὴ οὐ may be used in a *negative* sense in various constructions with verbs and expressions which do not have a negative meaning, provided these are themselves negatived or are interrogative implying a negative. Though τὸ μὴ οὐ is more common here, τὸ μὴ is also allowed. *E.g.*

Κουδαίς γέ μ' ἂν πείσειεν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν, *and no man can persuade me not to go after him*. AR. Ran. 68. Οὐ μέντοι ἐπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι, *but he did not persuade them that he was not full of great and evil undertakings*. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 36. (For similar expressions with μὴ οὐ without τὸ, see 749 and 815, 2.) Τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχομεν μίμψασθαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα πεπρωμέναι, *we cannot blame the Gods for not*

having done everything. Id. Cyr. vii. 5, 42 (cf. ταῦτ' ὄν ὑμῖν μέμφομαι, AR. Nub. 525). Οὐδὲ ὅστιον ἔμοιγε εἶναι φαίνεται τὸ μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν τοῖσι τοῖς λόγοις πάντα ἄνδρα. PLAT. Leg. 891 A. "Ἄλογον τὸ μὴ οὐ τέμνειν. Id. Soph. 219 E (see 817). Τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ λόγος λείπεται τὸ μὴ οὐ πονηροῖς εἶναι. DEM. xxiv. 69.¹

Οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ οἵδεμίᾳ τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί, there is then no way by which I can believe that he is not plotting against me. HD. i. 209 (cf. PLAT. Phaed. 72 D). "Ἐξεῖ τίνα γνώμην λέγειν τὸ μὴ εὐρίπρωκτος εἶναι; AR. Nub. 1084. "Ἐφη οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτείναι με, he said it was not possible not to condemn me to death. PLAT. Ap. 29 C.

Μὴ οὐ WITH INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE, AND (RARELY)
WITH NOUNS.

815. 1. The use of *μή* with the infinitive in the forms (c) and (d) in 807 is to be referred to the general principle, by which the infinitive after all verbs expressing a *negative* idea (as those of *denying, distrusting, concealing, forbidding, preventing, etc.*) can always take *μή*, to strengthen the negation implied in the leading verb. Thus we say ἀρνείται μὴ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τοῦτο, *he denies that this is true*; ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, *he forbade any one to do this*. This *μή* can, however, be omitted without affecting the sense.

2. An infinitive which *for any reason* would take *μή* (either affecting the infinitive itself, as an ordinary negative, or strengthening a preceding negation, as in the case just mentioned), generally takes the double negative *μή οὐ*, if the verb on which it depends is *itself negatived* or is interrogative with a negation implied. Thus the example given above, ἀρνείται μὴ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τοῦτο, if we negative the leading verb, generally becomes οὐκ ἀρνείται μὴ οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τοῦτο, *he does not deny that this is true*. So, when the original *μή* really negatives the infinitive, as in δικάσιον ἐστὶ μὴ τοῦτον ἀφιέναι, *it is just not to acquit him*, if we negative the leading verb, we commonly have οὐ δικάσιον ἐστὶ μὴ οὐ τοῦτον ἀφιέναι, *it is not just not to acquit him*. E.g.

Ὡς οὐχ ἥσιόν σοι ὄν μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν δικαιοσύνην, *because (you said) it would be impious for you not to bring aid to Justice*. PLAT. Rep. 427 E. Οὐκ ἂν πιθόμην μὴ οὐ τίδ' ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς, *I cannot consent not to learn the whole*. SOPH. O. T. 1065. "Ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ κακὸν ἔμμεναι, *it is not possible for a man not to be base*. SIMON. v. 10. See also PLAT. Phaed. 72 D (in 749). For examples in which *μή οὐ* strengthens the negation of the leading verb, see 807.

¹ This is cited by Birklein (p. 67) as the only case of the article with *μή οὐ* in the Orators; and no case occurs in either Herodotus or Thucydides.





* principal word expresses what is impossible or repugnant. The participle denotes a conditiona restriction



This applies also to the infinitive with τὸ μὴ. See 811 and 814.

816. When μὴ or μὴ οὐ with the infinitive follows a verb of *hindrance*, etc. (807), neither μὴ nor μὴ οὐ can be translated. When μὴ really negatives the infinitive (as in the examples last given), μὴ οὐ must be translated by one negative. In PLAT. Rep. 368 B, the passage quoted in 427 E (815, 2, above), Socrates had said δέδοικα μὴ οὐδ' ὄσιον ἤ . . . ἀπαγορεύειν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, being prevented from saying μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν by the previous μὴ οὐδ'. In XEN. Ap. 34 we have οὔτε μὴ μεμνήσθαι δύναιμαι αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἐπαυεῖν.

817. Verbs and expressions which contain such negative ideas as *impossibility*, *difficulty*, *unwillingness*, or *impropriety* sometimes take μὴ οὐ (instead of the simple μὴ) with the infinitive, to express a real negation, even when the leading verb is not negated. *E.g.*

Δήμον ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι, *it is impossible that vice should not come in* (as if it were οὐ δυνατά). HDI. iii. 82. Δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. Id. i. 187. Ὅστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνῃν εἶναι μὴ οὐ σισπονδάζειν, *so that all were ashamed not to join heartily in the work*. XEN. AN. ii. 3, 11. So ὑσχύνετο μὴ οὐ φαίνεσθαι, Cyr. viii. 4, 5. Αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ μὴ οὐχὶ φάναι. PLAT. PROT. 352 D. Πολλὴ ἀνοία μὴ οὐχὶ ἡγείσθαι. Id. Symp. 210 B. So after ἀνόητον, *ib.* 218 C; after ἄλογον, *id.* Soph. 219 E (see 814). For χαλεπὸς followed by μὴ οὐ, see example under 819.

818. Μὴ οὐ is occasionally used with participles in negative sentences, in place of the simple μὴ, to express a negative condition. The following cases are quoted:—

Οἴκων δίκαιον εἶναι (Δαρείων ἀνδριάντα) ἰστάναι μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι, *i.e. he said that Darius had no right to set up his statue* (in front of that of Sesostris), *unless he surpassed him in his exploits* (= εἰ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεται). HDI. ii. 110. Καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ . . . τὴν Μίλητον οὐοί τε ἔωκε ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐ ἔόντες ναυκράτορες *of the sea* (their thought was εἰ μὴ ναυκράτορες ἔσμεν). Id. vi. 9. Εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρους ἔοντος τοῦ κύκλου, *they refused to march out on the ninth of the month* (and thereafter) *until the moon should be full* (εἰ μὴ πλήρης ἦ). Id. vi. 106. Δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἂν εἴην τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτείρων ἔδραν, *for I should be hard of heart* (817) *should I feel no pity for such a band of suppliants* (εἰ μὴ κατοικτείρωμαι). SOPH. O. T. 12. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν ἔχενον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον, *for I should not have truced it far, if I had attempted it by myself without any clue*. *Ib.* 220. (For the force of the subordinate condition of μὴ οὐκ ἔχων in its relation to the real protasis in αὐτός, see 511.) Ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενὴ γε, τοῖτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἔφοιδα, μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέροισά τι, *i.e. you have not come empty-handed*,—(not at least) *without bringing me some cause for alarm* (*i.e. οὐκ εἰ μὴ φέρις*). Id. O. C. 359. (Μὴ οὐχὶ φέροισα adds a condition as a quali-

fication to κενή.) Οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ φιλὸν τῷ φιλοῦντι οὐδὲν μὴ οὐκ ἀντιφιλοῦν, *unless it loves in return*. PLAT. Lys. 212 D. (Cf. φίλοι δέ γε οὐκ ἂν εἴεν μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι ἑαυτούς, 215 B.) Τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠβουλήθη μικρὰ κερδᾶναι, κ.τ.λ.; οὐδ' ἂν εἰς μὴ οὐ συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ συκοφαντοῦντι, *not a man (would have wished for this) if he had not been conscious that he was a sycophant (= εἰ μὴ συνήδει)*. DEM. lviii. 13. Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγὸς, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος, οὐποτ' ἂν σώσειεν αὐτόν· οὐτ' ἀνὴρ πένης γεγώς μὴ οὐ τέχνην μαθὼν δύναται ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν τὸν βίον (i.e. εἰ μὴ μάθοι, corresponding to ἂν μὴ λάβηται). PHILEM. Fr. 213.

819. Μὴ οὐ occasionally occurs with nouns, in the same general sense as with participles, to express a negative condition to a negative statement. *E.g.*

Αἱ τε πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ χαλεπαὶ λαβεῖν, μὴ οὐ χρόνῳ καὶ πολιορκίᾳ, *the cities were many, and difficult (= not easy, 817) to capture except by time and siege*. DEM. xix. 123. Τοιαύτης δὲ τιμῆς τυχεῖν οὐχ οἶόν τε μὴ οὐ τὸν πολὺν τῇ γνώμῃ διαφέροντα, *to attain such honour is not possible except for one who is of far transcendent wisdom*. ISOC. i. 47. (If τὸν is omitted, διαφέροντα as a participle belongs under 818.)

820. It may be noted that μὴ οὐ in poetry always forms one syllable.





CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICIPLE.

821. As the infinitive is a verbal noun, so the participle is a verbal adjective; both retaining all the attributes of a verb which are consistent with their nature.

822. The participle has three uses:—first, it may express an *attribute*, qualifying a noun like an ordinary adjective (824-831); secondly, it may define the *circumstances* under which the action of the sentence takes place (832-876); thirdly, it may be joined to a verb to *supplement* its meaning, often having a force resembling that of the infinitive (877-919).

823. The distinction between the second and third of these classes is less clearly marked than that between the first and the two others: thus in ἡδέσθαι τιμώμενος, *he delights in being honoured*, the participle is generally classed as supplementary (881), although it expresses cause (838). Even an attributive participle may also be circumstantial; as ὁ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος, *the unflinching man* (824), involves a condition. The three classes are, nevertheless, sufficiently distinct for convenience, though the lines (like many others in syntax) must not be drawn so strictly as to defeat their object.

A. ATTRIBUTIVE PARTICIPLE.

824. The participle may qualify a noun, like an attributive adjective. Here it may often be translated by a finite verb and a relative, especially when it is preceded by the article. *E.g.*

Πόλις κάλλει διαφέρουσα, *a city excelling in beauty.* Ἄνιρ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένος, *a man (who has been) well educated.* Οἱ πρό-

σβεις οἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου πεμφθέντες, *the ambassadors (who had been sent from Philip.* Ἄνδρες οἱ τοῦτο ποιήσοντες, *men who will do this.*

Ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῆ, *in the land which was once Messenia.* THUC. iv. 3. Στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένους, *they sail against the so-called Aeolian islands, lit. the islands called those of Aeolus.* Id. iii. 88. Αἱ ἀρισταὶ δοκοῦσαι εἶναι φύσεις, *the natures which seem to be best.* XEN. Mem. iv. 1, 3. Αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆες ναυμαχοῦσαι THUC. vii. 23. Ἐπεκείσθη μὲγαν εἶναι τὸν κατεilahφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, *the danger which had overtaken the city.* DEM. xviii. 220. Ὅ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδέεται. MEN. Mon. 422.

825. The participle with the article may be used *substantively*, like any adjective. Here it may generally be translated by a finite verb and a relative, the verb expressing the tense of the participle. *E.g.*

Οἱ κρατοῦντες, *the conquerors.* Οἱ πεπεισμένοι, *those who have been convinced.* Οὗτός ἐστι ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας, *this is the one who did it.* Οἱ ποῖ εἰσιν οἱ ἡμῖς πάντας ἀδικήσοντες, *these are the men who will wrong you all.* Πάντες οἱ παρόντες τοῦτο ἔωρων, *all who were present saw this.* Τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως, *the ruling part of the state.*

Ὅ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεῖς νενίκηκε τὸν ἄνοούμενον, *he who did not take (the bribe) and become corrupt has defeated the one who would buy him.* DEM. xviii. 247 (see 841). Τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνότων, *there being in the country those who would cultivate it (i.e. men to cultivate it).* XEN. An. ii. 4, 22. (See 826 and 840.) Παρὰ τοῖς ἀριστοῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, *among those who seem to be best.* Id. Mem. iv. 2, 6. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος, *and Peisander was the one who gave this opinion.* THUC. viii. 68. Τοῖς Ἀρκάδων σφετέρους οὔσι ξινημάχοις προείπον, *they proclaimed to those of the Arcadians who were their allies.* Id. v. 64. Ἀφεκτέον ἐγὼ φημι εἶναι τῷ σωφρονεῖν δυνησομένῳ, *i.e. one who is to be able to be discreet.* XEN. Symp. iv. 26.

826. When the participle, in either of these constructions, refers to a purpose, intention, or expectation, it is generally future, though sometimes present. *E.g.*

Νόμον δημοσίᾳ τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα τέθεινται τοιτονί, *they have publicly enacted this law, which is to prevent these things.* DEM. xxi. 49. See XEN. An. ii. 4, 22 in 825. Ὅ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται, *there will be nobody who will lead us.* Ib. ii. 4, 5. Πολλοὺς ἔξομεν τοῖς ἐτοίμως συναγωνιζομένοις ἡμῖν. ISOC. viii. 139.

See the more common use of the circumstantial future participle to express a purpose, in 840.

827. (a) Participles, like adjectives, are occasionally used substantively even without the article, in an indefinite sense; generally in the plural. *E.g.*





Ἐπλεῖ δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, *he sailed with twelve triremes against men who had many ships*. XEN. Hell. v. 1, 19. Ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἀλφῶ, *whenever a city of belligerents is taken*. Id. Cyr. vii. 5, 73. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνούνται μοι ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀφείται, *there come messengers announcing, etc.* ISOC. xvii. 11. Δέναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν, *not even a strong man could escape*. SOPH. El. 697. Οὐκ ἔστι φιλοῦντα (a lover) μὴ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι; PLAT. Lys. 212 B.

(b) This use in the singular appears especially in *θητὸν ὄντα*, *one who is a mortal*. This indefinite expression, though masculine, may refer to both sexes. *E.g.*

Ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου, *i.e. for a mortal (like myself) to walk on these rich embroideries, etc.* AESCH. Ag. 923. Κούφος φέρειν χρὴ θνητὸν ὄντα συμφοράς, (*one who is*) a mortal (like yourself) must bear calamities lightly (addressed to Medea). EUR. Med. 1018. So in SOPH. Ant. 455 *θητὸν ὄνθ'* means a mortal (like myself), and refers to Antigone, not to Creon; she means that Creon's proclamations could not justify her in violating the edicts of the Gods.

828. In the poets, the participle with the article sometimes becomes so completely a substantive, that it takes an adnominal genitive rather than the case which its verbal force would require. A few expressions like *οἱ προσήκοντες*, *relatives*, *τὸ συμφέρον* or *τὰ συμφέροντα*, *gain, advantage*, *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*, *resources*, are thus used even in prose. *E.g.*

Ὁ ἐκείνου τεκών, *his father* (for ὁ ἐκείνου τεκών). EUR. El. 335. Τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως, *the small advantages of the state*. DEM. xviii. 28. Βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες, *certain relatives of the king*. THUC. i. 128.

829. (a) The neuter singular of the present participle with the article is sometimes used as an abstract noun, where we should expect the infinitive with the article. This occurs chiefly in Thucydides and in the poets. *E.g.*

Ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξινετώτεροι ἔσονται, *in the want of practice they will be less skilful*. THUC. i. 142. (Here we should expect *ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετᾶν*.) Ἐνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις μᾶλλον φοβῆτον, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν ἀδέεστερον ἐσόμενον. Id. i. 36. (Here τὸ ἀδέεσθαι, *fear*, is used like τὸ δεδιέναι, and τὸ θαρσοῦν, *courage*, like τὸ θαρρεῖν or τὸ θάρρος.) Μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου, *with action* (like μετὰ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι. Id. v. 102. Τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένοντος τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν ἄνθιν. and partic. combined). Id. v. 9. Καὶ σέ γ' εὐπίθω τὸ γὰρ νοσοῦν ποθεῖ σε ξυμπαραστάτην λαβεῖν. SOPH. Ph. 674 τὸ νοσοῦν = ἡ νόσος). Τὸ γὰρ ποθεῖν ἕκαστος ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων οὐκ ἂν μεθεῖτο, πρὶν καθ' ἡδονὴν κλέειν. Id. Tr. 196.

This is really the same use of the neuter singular of an adjective for the corresponding abstract noun, which is common in ordinary adjectives; as τὸ καλόν, *beauty*, for τὸ κάλλος; τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ αἰδικόν for ἡ δίκαιοσύνη and ἡ ἀδικία.

(b) A similar construction sometimes occurs when a participle and a noun are used like an articular infinitive with its subject, where in English we generally use a finite verb. *E.g.*

Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, i.e. *after Solon was gone* (like μετὰ τὸ Σόλωνα οἰχεσθαι). HDI. i. 34. Ἐπὶ τούτου τυραννεύοντος, *in his reign*. Id. i. 15 : so viii. 44. Ἐτεῖ πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακοῖσας οἰκισθείσας, *in the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse*. THUC. vi. 3. Compare *post urbem conditam* in Latin. Μετὰ καλὸν οὕτω καὶ παντοδαπὸν λόγον ῥηθέντα (like μετὰ τὸ . . . ῥηθῆναι). PLAT. Symp. 198 B. Τῇ πόλει οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος οὔτε στάσεως πώποτε αἴτιος ἐγένετο, i.e. *the cause of a disastrous result of any war* (like τοῦ πόλεμόν τινα κακῶς συμβῆναι). XEN. Mem. i. 2, 63.

(c) The same construction occurs in Homer; as ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύντα, *to the going down of the sun*, II. i. 601; ἀμ' ἦοι φαινομένηφιν, II. ix. 682.

For the peculiar use of the aorist participle here, see 149.

830. The participle is sometimes used like a predicate adjective, with εἶμι or γίγνομαι. *E.g.*

Τί ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτος ἐκείνου διαφέρων; *in what is this man different from that one* (another form for διαφέρει) ? PLAT. GORG. 500 C. Συμφέρον ἦν τῇ πόλει, *it was advantageous to the state* (= συνέφερον). DEM. xix. 75. Οὔτε γὰρ θρασίς οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἶμι τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ. SOPH. O. T. 90. Ἀπαρνεόμενός ἐστι (= ἀπαρνεῖται). HDI. iii. 99. Ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα, *and it (the island) is ten stades distant*. Id. ix. 51.

Ἄν ἡ θέλουσα, πάντ' ἐμοῦ κομίζεται, *whatever she wants, she always obtains from me* (for ἂν θέλῃ). SOPH. O. T. 580. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβουήτατα δὴ φήσεως ἰσχὴν δηλώσας, καὶ ἀξίος θανείναι, *Themistocles was one who manifested, etc.* THUC. i. 138. Τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶ γιγνόμενον παρ' ἡμῖν; *is not this something that goes on in our minds?* PLAT. Phil. 39 C. Τοῦτο κινδυνεῖει τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμενον ἢ δικαιοσύνη εἶναι, *justice seems somehow to be proving to be* [lit. *becoming*] *this*. Id. Rep. 433 B.

So with ἵπάρχω and the poetic πέλομαι; as τοῦτο ἵπάρχειν ἡμᾶς εἰδότες ἡγοῦμαι, *I think you may be presumed to know this*, DEM. xviii. 95; ἐμῶ λελασμένος ἔπλεν, II. xxiii. 69.

831. On the same principle, the participle is used in all periphrastic forms with εἶμι and ἔχω for the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect. In the future perfect active, the periphrastic form is generally the only one in use; in the third person plural of the perfect and pluperfect middle and passive of most verbs, it is the only form possible. Examples of the perfect participle with εἶμι or ἦν as peculiar forms of the perfect and pluperfect, in other persons, are given in 45; of ἔχω and εἶχον with the aorist and perfect participle for the perfect and pluperfect, in 47 and 48; of ἔσομαι with the perfect and aorist participle for the future perfect, in 80 and 81.

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Dem. 18.32 δια τούτους οὐχι πεισθέντας ελπίσθησαν
τὸ τούτους μὴ πεισθῆναι.

Δ. Π. Α. 13.

B. CIRCUMSTANTIAL PARTICIPLE.

832. The participle may define the *circumstances* under which an action takes place, agreeing with the noun or pronoun to which it relates. The negative of such a participle is οὐ, unless it has a conditional force.

The relations expressed by the participle in this use are the following:—

833. I. Time, the tenses of the participle denoting various points of time, which is relative to that of the leading verb.

E.g.

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπήει, *when he had said this, he departed.* Ἀπήνησα Φιλίππῳ ἀπιόντι, *I met Philip as he was departing.* Τοῦτο πεποιηκότες χαίρουσιν. Ταῦτα ἐπραττε στρατηγῶν, *he did these things while he was general.* Ταῦτα πράξει στρατηγῶν, *he will do these things when he is general.* Τυραννείσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἐχώρει ὑπόσποιδος ἐς Σίγειον, *after a rule of three years.* THUC. vi. 59. Νῦν μὲν δεῖπνεῖτε· δεῖπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε, *i.e. after supping.* XEN. Cyr. iii. 1, 37. So vii. 5, 78; An. vii. 1, 13.

834. Certain temporal participles, agreeing with the subject of a sentence, have almost the force of adverbs. Such are ἀρχόμενος, *at first*; τελευτῶν, *at last, finally*; διαλείπων (or ἐπισχῶν) χρόνον, *after a while, or διαλείπων χρόνον, at intervals*; χρονίζων, *for a long time.* *E.g.*

Ἄπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, *as I said also at first.* THUC. iv. 64. Τελευτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις ἦμα, *finally then I went to the artisans.* PLAT. Ap. 22 C. Ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλείπων ἐκινήθη, *after a little while he moved.* Id. Phaed. 118. Ὁὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχῶν ἦκε, *after (waiting) no long time he came.* Ib. 59 E. Διαλείπουσαν χρόνον, *at intervals (of Clotho's regular movements).* Id. Rep. 617 C. Ὅπως χρονίζον εἰ μενῆ βουλευτέον. AESCH. Ag. 847: cf. χρονισθεῖς, Ib. 727.

835. II. Means. *E.g.*

Ἀγξόμενοι ζῶσιν, *they live by plunder.* XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 25. Τοῖς Ἕλλησι εὐδοξῆαι, ὃν τρόπον διοικοῦντες τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας καὶ πρὸς οἷς πολεμοῦντες μεγάλην ἂν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσειαν. ISOC. xii. 44. Ὁὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασι ἀλλ' οἰκείοις, εὐδαίμωνιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι, *for it is by using not foreign but domestic examples that you can become prosperous.* DEM. iii. 23. Τῶν νόμων ἀπειροὶ γίνονται καὶ τῶν λόγων, οὓς δεῖ χρωμένον ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, *which we (τινά) must use in our intercourse with men.* PLAT. Gorg. 484 D. So often χρωμένος in the sense of *with* (cf. 843).

836. III. Manner and similar relations, including manner of employment, etc. E.g.

Προείλετο μᾶλλον τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ παρανομῶν ζῆν, *he preferred to die abiding by the laws, rather than to live disobeying them.* XEN. Mem. iv. 4, 4. Προαιροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω κερδαίνειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτούς, *they prefer to get gain by this means from each other, rather than by uniting to aid themselves.* Ib. iii. 5, 16. Καὶ ἡ γελάσασα ἔφη, *and she said with a laugh.* PLAT. Symp. 202 B. Ἀρπάσαντας τὰ ὄπλα πορεύεσθαι, *to march having snatched up their arms (i.e. eagerly).* DEM. iii. 20: cf. οἶον ῥίψαντας τὰ ἰμάτια, PLAT. Rep. 474 A.

837. The following participles of manner are used in peculiar senses: φέρων, *hastily*; φερόμενος, *with a rush*; ἀνίστας, *quickly*; κατατείνας, *earnestly*; διατεινόμενος and διατεταμένος, *with all one's might*; φθάσας, *before (anticipating)*; λαθῶν, *secretly*; ἔχων, *continually*; κλαίων, *to one's sorrow*; χαίρων, *with impunity (to one's joy).* E.g.

Εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, *he rapidly brought things to such a pass.* AESCHIN. iii. 82. Ὡς ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, *when the Persians fell upon the Greeks with a rush.* HDT. vii. 210. So οἰχήσεσθαι φερομένην κατὰ ῥοὴν, PLAT. Rep. 492 C. Ἄνοιγ' ἀνίστας τὸ φροντιστήριον, *make haste and open the thinking-shop.* AR. Nub. 181. Κατατείνας ἐρῶ τὸν ἀδικον βίον ἐπαυδῶν, *I will speak earnestly in praise of the unjust life.* PLAT. Rep. 358 D: so 367 B. See Rep. 474 A, and XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 23. Ἐστ' ἀνέψας με φθάσας, *then you opened it (the door) before I could knock.* AR. Plut. 1102: so ὅς μ' ἐβυλε φθάμενος, II. v. 119; but in such expressions ἔφθη βυλών etc. (887) is more common. Ἀπὸ τείχεος ἄλτο λαθῶν, *he leaped from the wall secretly.* II. xii. 390: cf. λήθουσά μ' ἐξέπινες, SOPH. Ant. 532; here again ἔλαθον with the participle is more common (see 893). Τί κιντᾶσεις ἔχων; *why do you keep poking about?* AR. Nub. 509. Κλαίων ἄψει τῶνδε, *you will lay hands on them to your sorrow.* EUR. Her. 270: so SOPH. Ant. 754. Οὐ τι χαίρων ἔρεῖς, *you shall not speak with impunity.* Id. O. T. 363; so Ant. 759. Τοῦτον οὐδεὶς χαίρων ἀδικήσει. PLAT. Gorg. 510 D. Compare ταξαμένους, *according to agreement,* Id. Rep. 416 E.

838. IV. Cause or ground of action. E.g.

Λέγω δὲ τοῦδ' ἔνεκα, βουλόμενος δόξαι σοὶ ὅπερ ἐμοί, *and I speak for this reason, because I wish, etc.* PLAT. Phaed. 102 D. Ἀπειχόντο κερδῶν, αἰσχυρῶ νομίζοντες εἶναι, *because they believed them to be base.* XEN. Mem. i. 2, 22. Τί γὰρ ἂν βουλόμενοι ἄνδρες σοφοὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς δειπότης ἀμείνους αἰτῶν φεύγοιεν, *with what object in view, etc. (i.e. wishing what)?* PLAT. Phaed. 63 A. Τί γὰρ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπέγεσθε; *what do you fear, that you are in such great haste?* XEN. Hell. i. 7, 26.



ὁ λογισμὸς τῶν ἐξετασθέντων προσεῖται D.18.113

For the participle with *ὡς*, used to express a cause assigned by the subject of the sentence, see 864.

839. (a) Here belong *τί μαθῶν*; and *τί παθῶν*; both of which have the general force of *wherefore?* *Τί μαθῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖ*; however, properly means *what put it into his head to do this?* or *with what idea does he do this?* and *τί παθῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖ*; means *what has happened to him that he does this?* *E.g.*

Τί τοῦτο μαθῶν προσέγραψεν; *with what idea did he add this to the law?* DEM. XX. 127. *Τί παθοῦσαι, εἰπερ Νεφέλαι γ' εἰσὶν ἀληθῶς, θνηταῖς εἴξασι γυναῖξιν*; *what has happened to them that they resemble mortal women?* AR. Nub. 340.

(b) These phrases may be used even in dependent sentences, *τί* becoming *ὅ τι*, and the whole phrase meaning *because*. *E.g.*

Τί ἀξίως εἰμι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι, ὅ τι μαθῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἦγον; *what do I deserve to suffer or pay because I did not keep quiet?* i.e. *for taking it into my head not to keep quiet?* PLAT. AP. 36 B. *Ὅμοι ἂν κακὰ ἦν, ὅ τι μάθοντα χαίρειν ποιεῖ καὶ ὄπρῳν*; *would they still be evil because they give us joy in any conceivable manner?* Id. Prot. 353 D. (In cases like this, the original meaning of the participle is forgotten.) So Euthyd. 283 E and 299 A.

840. V. *Purpose, object, or intention*, expressed by the future participle, rarely by the present. *E.g.*

Ἦλθε λυσόμενος θύγατρα, *he came to ransom his daughter*. II. i. 13. *Παρελήλυθα συμβουλεύσων*, *I have risen to give my advice*. ISOC. vi. 1. *Ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμπειν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρός βεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, ἰν ὅρῳ τοι σῶσθαι, καὶ ἀσκέσαι τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἀδελφόν*. XEN. Hell. ii. 1, 6. *Ἐὰν εἰς πόλεμον (ἢ πατρὶς) ἄγῃ τρωθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανοῦμενον, ποιητῶν ταῦτα, ἵνα ἴδῃς ἂν ἄνθρωπον εἰσελθεῖν ἐν πόλει, ἵνα ἴδῃς ἂν ἄνθρωπον εἰσελθεῖν ἐν πόλει*. PLAT. Crit. 51 B. *Ἀφθίς δὲ ὁ ἡγῆσόμενος οἰδεῖς ἔσται*, *there will be nobody to lead us (= ὡς ἡγήσεται)*. XEN. An. ii. 4, 5. (This participle is also attributive: see 826.) *Προσβολὰς περσικεύζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι*, *they prepared (themselves) to make attacks on the wall*. THUC. ii. 18.

Ἐπεχον γὰρ (νῆες) οἰχόμεναι, περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν, *for some ships happened to be gone, to give notice to send aid*. Id. i. 116. So *ἀπύρνοι*, II. i. 159. The present here expresses an *attendant circumstance* (843) as well as a *purpose*. See also *φθείροντε*, AESCH. Ag. 652.

841. VI. *Condition*, the participle standing for a protasis, and its tenses representing the various forms of condition expressed by the indicative, subjunctive, or optative (472). *E.g.*

Οἶε σὶ Ἀλκίησιν ἕπερ Ἀδμήτου ἐπιπέσειν ἢ Ἀχιλλείᾳ Πατρόκλῳ ἰπαποθανεῖν, μὴ οἰομένους . . . *οἶε σὶ ἄλλοις ἕπερ Ἀδμήτου ἐπιπέσειν ἢ Ἀχιλλείᾳ Πατρόκλῳ ἰπαποθανεῖν, μὴ οἰομένους*

ἐαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι, *do you think that Alcestis would have died for Admetus, etc., if they had not believed, etc.* PLAT. Symp. 208 D. (Here *μη̄ οἰομένους* is equivalent to *εἰ μη̄ φοντο*.) Οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμελεν μη̄ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, *for it would not have concerned them, unless they had had this idea.* DEM. ix. 45. (Μη̄ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν = *εἰ μη̄ τοῦτο ὑπελάμβανον*.) Ἄστρον ἂν ἔλθοιμι ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς καὶ γῆς ἐνερθε, *δυνατὸς ὦν δρᾶσαι τάδε, if I should be able to do this (εἰ δυνατὸς εἴην).* EUR. Ph. 504. So the attributive participles *ὁ μη̄ δαρείς* (824) and *ὁ μη̄ λαβῶν* (825).

In SOPH. O. T. 289, *πάσαι δὲ μη̄ παρὼν θαυμάζονται*, the construction represents *θαυμάζομεν εἰ μη̄ πάρεστιν, we wonder that he is not here* (494).

For *μη̄* οὐ with the participle in negative conditions, where *μη̄* is more common, see 818.

See other examples under 472.

842. VII. Opposition, limitation, or concession, where the participle may often be translated by *although*. E.g.

Οὗτος δὲ καὶ μεταπεμφθῆναι φάσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἰσελθεῖν μὲν οὐ φησιν, Δημοφῶντος δ' ἀκούσαι γραμματεῖον ἀναγινώσκοντος, καὶ προεισεληλυθῶς καὶ ἅπαντα διωμολογημέως πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, *and this man, although he admits that he was summoned, and although he did go to the house, yet denies that he went in, etc., although he had previously gone in and arranged everything with my father.* DEM. xxviii. 14. Ὀλίγα δυνάμενοι προορᾶν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειροῦμεν πράττειν, *although we are able to foresee few things, etc.* XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 15. Ἐλὼν καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν, παρέδωκε, *i.e. when he had captured it (Olynthus) and might have kept it himself, he surrendered it.* DEM. xxiii. 107.

The participle in this sense is very often accompanied by *καίτερ* and other particles. (See 859.) This construction is the most common equivalent of a clause with *although*.

843. VIII. Any attendant circumstance, the participle being merely *descriptive*. E.g.

Παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκίας ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον, *they took Bœotians and Phocians with them and marched against Pharsalus.* THUC. i. 111. Παραγγέλλει τῷ Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἡκεῖν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, *he sends orders to Cl. to come with all the army that he has.* XEN. An. i. 2, 1. Ἔρχεται Μανδάνη τὸν Κύρον τὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα, *Mandane comes with her son Cyrus.* Id. Cyr. i. 3, 1. Καταδιώξαντες καὶ ναῦς δωδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἀνδρας ἀνελόμενοι ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τρόπαιον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. THUC. ii. 84. Μία ἐς Ἡελοπόννησον ψηφο πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, *one (ship) was gone to Peloponnesus with ambassadors.* Id. vii. 25. Δὸς τῷ ξένῳ ταῦτα φέρων, *take these and give them to the stranger.* Od. xvii. 345. Βοῆ χρώμενοι, *with a shout.* THUC. ii. 84.



844. The participles ἔχων, ἄγων, λαβών, φέρων, and χρώμενος may often be translated by *with*: see examples in 843. (For another use of φέρων see 837.)

845. IX. That *in which* the action of the verb consists.

E.g.

Τόδ' εἶπε φωνῶν, *thus he spoke saying*. AESCH. Ag. 205. Ὅσ' ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ δέδρακας εἰρήνην ποιήσας, *what blessings you have done us in making peace!* AR. Pac. 1199. Εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με, *you did well in reminding me*. PLAT. Phaed. 60 C.

See other examples under 150, where the peculiar force of the aorist participle in such cases, denoting the same time with the verb, is illustrated.

846. The examples show that no exact distinctions of all circumstantial participles are possible, as many express various relations at the same time. See 823.

Genitive Absolute.

847. When a circumstantial participle (832-846) belongs to a substantive which is not grammatically connected with the main construction of the sentence, both the substantive and the participle generally stand in the genitive, in the construction called the *genitive absolute*. *E.g.*

Ὅς τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος σοὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίησει, *no one while I live shall lay heavy hands upon you*. II. i. 88. Ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη Κόνωνος μὲν στρατηγοῦντος, Εὐαγόρου δὲ τοῦτο παρασχόντος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην παρασκευάσαντος, *these were accomplished while Conon was general, and after Eragoras had thus supplied him, etc.* ISOC. ix. 56. Φοβοῦμαι μὴ, προσιδεξαμένων τῶν τῶν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾶς γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. DEM. xviii. 176: see xix. 50 (pres. and perf.). Ἀφίκετο δεῦρο τὸ πλοῖον, γνώτων τῶν Κεφαλλήνων ἀντιπράττοντος τούτου . . . καταπλεῖν, *the Cephallenians having determined to sail in, although this man opposed it*. Id. xxxii. 14. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθάντων, ἀπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάσθαι (οἶμαι), *i.e. if the Athenians should ever suffer this same thing, etc.* THUC. i. 10. Ὅλης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρεπομένης τῷ στρατηγῷ, μεγάλα τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ κατορθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κακὰ διαμαρτάνοντος εἰκὸς γίγνεσθαι. XEN. Mem. iii. 1, 3.

The genitive absolute was probably used at first to express time (present or past according to the tense), and afterwards the other circumstantial relations, cause, condition, concession, etc. The construction is most fully developed in **Attic prose**, especially in the **Orators**.¹

¹ See Spicker in *Am. J. Philology*, vol. 10, pp. 310-343, on *The Genitive Absolute in the Attic Orators*.

848. A participle sometimes stands alone in the genitive absolute, when a subject or object can easily be supplied from the context, or when some general word like *ἀνθρώπων* or *πραγμάτων* is understood. *Eg.*

Οἱ τὸ πικρῶς προσέειπεν, *τῶς μὲν ἠσύχασον, but the enemy, as they were before mentioned, once on, for a time kept quiet.* XEN. An. vi. 4. 12. Σὺ ἐπαγόμενος αὐτοῖς, *when they were called in (when people called them).* THUC. i. 3. Οὔτω δ' ἐχόντων, *εικός, κ.τ.λ., and τίθησι βίβλιν κ. σὺ πραγμάτων, etc.* XEN. An. iii. 2. 10. Οὐκ ἐξαιρούμενος οὐκ Ἀποικτιστικῆς οἰκᾶς ἐπαγόντων, *οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένου, οὐδὲμὸς ἐνὶ πρόβωκα τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς εἴποιαν.* DEM. xviii. 322. Here the vague idea *they* is understood with *ἐπαγόντων* and *ἐπαγγελλομένων*.

So when the participle denotes a state of the weather; as ὕπνους πολλὰς εἰς τὴν νύκτιν *heavily.* XEN. Hell. i. 1, 16. In such cases the participle is masculine. Διὸς being understood. See AR. Nub. 370, ὕπνους; and IL. xii. 25, *τε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς.*

849. A passive participle may stand in the genitive absolute with a clause introduced by *ὅτι*. If the subject of such a clause is plural, or if there are several subjects, the participle itself may be plural, by a kind of attraction. *Eg.*

Σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, *it having been clearly shown, that, etc.* THUC. i. 74. Ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κλείουσιν, *it having been announced, that, etc.* IL. i. 116. So XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 18; vi. 2, 19.

850. The genitive absolute is regularly used only when a new subject is introduced into the sentence (847) and not when the participle can be joined with any substantive already belonging to the construction. Yet this principle is sometimes violated, in order to make the participial clause more prominent and to express its relation (time, cause, etc.) with greater emphasis. *Eg.*

Διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους, ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀπέστηκε, *when Pericles had already crossed over, it was announced to him that Megara had revolted.*

So sometimes in Latin, but generally with difference in meaning: as Galliam Italianamque tentari *se absente nolebat,* CAES. Bell. Civ. i. 29.

Accusative Absolute.

851. The participle of an *impersonal* verb stands in the *accusative* absolute, in the neuter singular, with or without an infinitive, when other participles with their subjects would stand in the genitive absolute.

Such are *ἔξόν, δέον, παρόν, προσήκον, πρέπον, παρήκον, μέλλον, μεταμέλον, δοκοῦν, δόξαν,* and the like; also *passive* participles used impersonally (as *προσταχθέν, εἰρημένον, δεδομένον*); and such



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expressions as ἀδύνατον ὄν, *it being impossible*, composed of an adjective and ὄν; also τυχόν, *perchance*. *E.g.*

Οἱ δ' οὐ βοηθήσαντες δεῖον ὑγίεις ἀπῆλθον; *and did those who brought no aid when it was necessary escape safe and sound?* PLAT. Alcib. i. 115 B. Ἄπλᾶς δὲ λύπας ἐξὸν (sc. φέρειν), οὐκ οἶσω διπλᾶς. EUR. I. T. 688. Παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἀρχεῖν εὐπέτειος, ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε; HDL. v. 49. Εἰ δὲ παρασχόν, *and when an opportunity offers*. THUC. i. 120. Οὐ προσῆκον, *improperly*. Id. iv. 95. Συνδόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ, γαμῆ τὴν Κναζάρου θυγατέρα. XEN. Cyr. viii. 5, 28. Εἰρημένον κύριον εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσῃται. THUC. v. 30. Σὸ δεδομένον, id. i. 125; γεγραμμένον, v. 56; and προστεταγμένον, PLAT. Lsg. 902 D. Καὶ ἐνθάδε πάλιν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Μένωνα ἀγεῖν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, ψῆχόμεν. DEM. L. 12. Παρεκελεύοντό τε, ἀδύνατον ὄν ἐν νυκτὶ ἄλλω τῷ σημεῖναι. THUC. vii. 44. Ἐγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οἶμαι, ἅμα μὲν συναγορευόντων ἡμῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχυρὸν ὄν τὸ ἀντιλέγειν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 20. (See 876.) Ἀντιπαρσκευάζετο ἐρρομίως, ὡς μάχης ἐτι δεῆσον, *on the ground that there would still be need of a battle*. Ib. vi. 1, 26. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς περιανεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον, κ.τ.λ., i.e. *thinking that it was now in their power*, etc. Id. Hell. ii. 4, 1.

852. Rarely the infinitive in the accusative absolute has τό; as αἰσχυρὸν ὄν τὸ ἀντιλέγειν, XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 20 (above): so v. 1, 13; PLAT. Rep. 521 A, 604 C.

853. Even the participles of *personal* verbs sometimes stand with their nouns in the accusative absolute, in all genders and numbers, if they are preceded by ὡς or ὥσπερ (864; 867). *E.g.*

Δὸ καὶ τοῖς νείεισι οἱ πατέρες ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰργουσαν, ὡς τῆν μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ὁμιλίαν ἀσκησιν οὔσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς, τῆν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κατάλυσιν (sc. οὔσαν). XEN. Mem. i. 2, 20. Φίλους κτῶνται ὡς βοηθῶν δεόμενοι, τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν ἀμελοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γεγονόμενος φίλοις, ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γεγονόμενος, *as if friends were made from fellow-citizens, and were not made from brothers*. Ib. ii. 3, 3. Ὡς τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνύστασιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας. AESCHIN. iii. 142. Ὡσπερ ἡμῶς ἀγνωσίπτας. Ib. 189. Μέγιστον οὔτω διακειῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἡμῶν, ὡς ἕκαστον ἐκότα προθύμως ὃ τι ἂν δεῖ ποιήσοντα. DEM. xiv. 14.

854. The accusative absolute used personally without ὡς or ὥσπερ is very rare. It occurs chiefly with neuter participles which are regularly impersonal. *E.g.*

Προσῆκον αὐτῷ τοῦ κλήρον μέρος ὅσον περ ἐμοί. ISAE. v. 12. Ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα, πέθεια μεγάλα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καταλαμβάνει. HDL. ii. 66. Ἦδη ἀμφοτέροις μὲν δοκοῦν ἀναχωρεῖν, κερρωθὲν δὲ οὐδέν, νυκτός τε ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνας ἐχώρουν ἐπ' οἴκου. THUC. iv. 125. Δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα τὰ στρα-

τείματα ἀπῆλθε. XEN. Hell. iii. 2, 19. Δόξαν ἡμῖν ταῦτα occurs in PLAT. Prot. 314 C, where we may supply ποιῆν, or δόξαν ταῦτα may represent ἔδοξε ταῦτα. So XEN. An. iv. 1, 13.

Adverbs connected with the Circumstantial Participle.

855. The adverbs τότε, ἤδη (τότε ἤδη), ἐνταῦθα, εἶτα, ἔπειτα, and οὕτως are often joined to the verb of the sentence in which the *temporal* participle stands, to give greater emphasis to the temporal relation. *E.g.*

Ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα, ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, he commanded that, after he had joined them in crossing, he should then retire as he proposed. XEN. An. vii. 1, 4. Πειθόμενων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι ἐβοήθηον αὐτῇ. HDT. vi. 23. Ἀποφυγῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, and having escaped these also, he was then (under these circumstances) chosen general of the Athenians. Id. vi. 104.

856. Εἶτα, ἔπειτα, and οὕτως sometimes refer in the same way to a participle expressing *opposition* or *limitation*; in which case they may be translated by *nevertheless*, *after all*. *E.g.*

Πάντων δ' ἀτοπώτατόν ἐστι, τηλικαύτην ἀνελόνας μαρτυρίαν οὕτως οἰεσθαι δεῖν εἰκῆ πιστεῖσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν, it is most absurd of all that, although they have destroyed so important a piece of evidence, they should after all think, etc. DEM. xxviii. 5. Δεινὰ μὲν' ἂν πάθους, εἰ Ἀθήναζε ἀφικόμενος, οὐ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλείστη ἐστὶν ἐξουσία τοῦ λέγειν, ἔπειτα οὐ ἐνταῦθα τοῦτον μόνος ἀτυχῆσαις, ἢ, although you are come to Athens, you should after all be the only one to fail in obtaining this. PLAT. Gorg. 461 E.

857. Οὕτως, διὰ τοῦτο, and διὰ ταῦτα sometimes refer in the same way to a participle denoting a cause. *E.g.*

Νομίζων ἡμίονος καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ἡμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον, because I believed, etc. XEN. An. i. 7, 3. Ὑμᾶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡγησάμενοι ἰκανοὺς γινῶναι, οὕτω παρελάβομεν. PLAT. Lach. 178 B.

858. The adverbs ἄμα, μεταξύ, εὐθύς (Ionic *ἰθύς*), αὐτίκα, ἄρτι, and ἐξαίφνης are often connected (in position and in sense) with the *temporal* participle, although grammatically they qualify the verb of the sentence. *E.g.*

Ἄμα προῶν ἐπισκοπεῖτο εἴ τι δυνατὸν εἴη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσθενεστέροις ποιῆν, as he advanced, he looked at the same time to see whether it was possible, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 22. Ἄμα καταλαβόντες προσεκάτ' αἴφῃ, as soon as they had overtaken them, they pressed hard upon them. HDT. ix. 57. Νεκὸς μεταξύ ὀρίσσων ἐπαύσατο, μαντηρίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου, Necho stopped while digging (the canal), etc. Id. ii. 158. Πολλαχού δὲ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξὺ, ἢ often checked me



while speaking. PLAT. AP. 40 B. Ἐπιτόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται, *by toilsome discipline, even while they are still young, etc.* THUC. II. 39. Τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα εὐθύς ἀποβεβηκότι οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπέκυντο, *the Corinthians pressed upon the right wing, as soon as it was disembarked.* Id. IV. 43. Ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου, *beginning as soon as it (the war) broke out.* Id. I. 1. Διώνυσον λέγουσι ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεγράφατο Ζεὺς, *they say of Dionysus that, as soon as he was born, Zeus sewed him into his thigh.* HD. II. 146. Τὴν ψυχὴν θεωρῶντα ἐξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάστου, *viewing the soul of each one the moment that he is dead.* PLAT. GORG. 523 E. Καὶ αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος ὁ Κλεινίας ἐτυχεν ἀποκρινάμενος. Id. EUTHYD. 275 E.

859. The participle expressing *opposition, limitation, or concession* is often strengthened by *καίπερ* or *καί* (after a negative, by *οὐδέ* or *μηδέ*, with or without *πέρ*), or by *καὶ ταῦτα*, *and that too*. Ὅμως, *nevertheless*, may be connected with the participle (like *ἀμα*, etc. in 858), belonging, however, grammatically to the leading verb. *E.g.*

Ἔκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω. II. IX. 655. Ἐπικτήρω δὲ νῦν δίστηγον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δινομενῆ, *although he is my enemy.* SOPH. AJ. 122. Οὐκ ἂν προδοίην, οὐδέ περ πρᾶσσω κακῶς. EUR. PH. 1624. Γυναικὶ πείθον μηδὲ τάληθῆ κλέων (= μηδὲ ἦν τάληθῆ κλέων). Id. FR. 443. Πείθον γυναιξί, καίπερ οὐ σπέργων ὄμως, *although you are not fond of them.* AESCH. SEPT. 712. Here ὄμως *qualitively* πείθον; although, as usual, it is joined with the participle for emphasis. Ἄδικεῖς ὅτι ἄνδρα ἡμῖν τὸν σποιδαιότατον διαφθείρετε γελᾶν ἀναπείθον, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα τῷ γέλωτι. XEN. Cyr. II. 2, 16.

860. In Homer, the two parts of *καί . . . περ* are generally separated by the participle, or by some emphatic word connected with it. *Καί* is here very often omitted, so that *πέρ* stands alone in the sense of *although*. Both of these uses are found also in tragedy. *E.g.*

Τὸν μὲν ἐπειτ' εἶπτε, καὶ ἀχνύμενός περ ἑταῖρον, κείσθαι. II. VIII. 125. Καὶ κρατερός περ ἔων, μενέτω τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ. II. XV. 195. Τέταλθε, μῆτερ ἐμῆ, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ, μὴ σε φίλην περ εἴσταν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι θεινομένην· τότε δ' οὐ τι δυνήσομαι ἀχνύμενός περ χρωσμεῖν. II. I. 586.

Κάγω σ' ἰκνούμαι, καὶ γινῆ περ οἷσ' ὄμως. EUR. OR. 680. Τύφον γὰρ αὐτῆ καὶ κατακαφᾶς ἐγὼ, γινῆ περ οἷσα, τῷδε μηχανήσομαι. AESCH. SEPT. 1037. So *πέρ* alone in Herodotus, as *ἀσκεινός περ* εἶν, III. 131.

861. *Καίτοι* was very seldom used like *καίπερ* with the participle, its only regular use being with finite verbs. *E.g.*

Οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιπτάκειον νέμεται, καίτοι σοφοῦ παρὰ

φασίς ἐπισημένον. SIMON. Fr. 5, 6 ap. PLAT. PROT. 339 C). Ἰκανέ μου ἰσχυρῶς ἐπισημέναι, κίττοι πολλὰ γε παραλιγών. LXX. xxxi. 34.

862. Ἄτε and οἷα or οἷον, as, *inasmuch as*, are used to emphasise a participle denoting the *cause* or *ground* of an action. Here the cause assigned is stated merely on the authority of the speaker or writer. (See 864.) *E.g.*

Ὁ δὲ Κῆρος ἄτε παῖς ὢν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος, ἦδετο τῇ στυγρῇ βῆθ' ὄφρα ἰσχυρῶς as he was a child (as being a child), etc. XEN. Cyr. i. 3, 3. Ἄτε χρόνου ἐγγινομένου σιγροῦ, as a long time (interposed). HD. i. 190: in the same chapter, οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι. So ἄτε ἀγροθέντων. THUC. vii. 85. Μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι οἷα δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ τε καὶ φόβῳ ἀπίοντες, εἰς Αἰγύσθενα ἀφικνούσασθαι ἰσχυρῶς as they were departing by night, etc. XEN. Hell. vi. 4, 26. Ὅσον δὲ οὐ γινόν ἀφίγμενος, ἀσμένως ἦα ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθειαι διατριβῆς. PLAT. Charm. 153 A.

863. In Herodotus, ὥστε is used in the sense of ἄτε; as in i. 8, ὥστε ταῦτα νομίζον, *inasmuch as he believed this*. So vi. 136, ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος, ὥστε σηπόμενον τοῦ μηροῦ. In THUC. vii. 24, ὥστε (so the MSS., γὰρ τιμειῶν χρομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τεύχεσιν, Bekker wrote ἄτε for ὥστε, and Stahl reads ὥστε).

864. Ὡς may be prefixed to participles denoting a *cause* or *ground* or a *purpose*, sometimes to other circumstantial participles. It shows that what is stated in the participle is stated as the thought or assertion of the subject of the leading verb, or as that of some other person prominent in the sentence, without implying that it is also the thought of the speaker or writer. *E.g.*

Οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αἰτοῖς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἦδη πάντες νικῶντες, one side pursuing those opposed to them, thinking that they were victorious over all; and the other side proceeding to plunder, thinking that they were all victorious. XEN. An. i. 10, 4. Τὴν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισιδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν, he made his pretence as if he wished to drive out the Pisidians. Ib. i. 2, 1. Συλλαμβάνει Κῆρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, he seizes Cyrus with the (avowed) object of putting him to death. Ib. i. 1, 3. Διαβαίνει ὡς ἀμύσων τὸν σῆτον. HD. vi. 28. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες, the Athenians prepared with the (avowed) intention of going to war. THUC. ii. 7. Τὸν Περικλέην ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ξημοφοαῖς περιπεπωκότες, they found fault with Pericles, on the ground that he had persuaded them to engage in the war, and that through him they had become involved in the calamities. Id. ii. 59. (Here Thucydides himself is not responsible for the statements in the participles, as he would be if ὡς were omitted.) Ἄγανακτοῦσιν ὡς μεγάλων τινῶν ἀπεστερημένοι, they are indignant, because (as they allege) they have been deprived, etc. PLAT. Rep. 329 A. Βασιλεῖ χεῖρον ἴσταν, ὡς δὲ ἐκέεινον τυχοῦσαι τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, i.e. they thank him because (they believe) they have obtained this independence through him.



ἡ D. 18. 50 ὡς ἴσως ἐνδοκρασίαν πρὸς μουσικῆς ποικιλίαν
ἐπισημαίνει ὅτι καὶ ὡς ἴσως ἐνδοκρασίαν πρὸς ποικιλίαν.

ISOC. iv. 175. Ὡς γὰρ εἰδότες περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν ἀκούετε, *for you hear them as men who (you believe) know about what they were sent for.* DEM. xix. 5.

Ἐλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον, *he bids them take courage, on the ground that these matters were about to be settled as they should be.* XEN. AN. i. 3, 8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξίεναι πάντας Θηβαίους, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων, *because (as they said) the tyrants were dead.* Id. HELL. v. 4, 9. Ἀπελογίσσατο ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἶποι, *that he said what he did, not because they intended to be at war with the Greeks.* Id. AN. v. 6, 3. So ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τιτσαφίρονος ταῖς πόλεσι, *on the ground that T. was plotting,* ib. i. 1, 6. Ὡς οὐ προσοίσοντος (sc. ἐμοῦ) τὰς χεῖρας, . . . δίδασκε, *since (as you may feel sure) I will not lay hands on you, teach me.* Id. MEM. ii. 6, 32. Ὡς ἀναμενοῦντος καὶ οὐκ ἀποθανομένου (sc. ἐμοῦ), οὕτω παρασκευάζου, *make your preparations in the idea that I shall remain and shall not die.* Id. CYT. viii. 4, 27. Νῦν δὲ, ὡς οὕτω ἔχόντων, στρατῶν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. HD. viii. 144. So ὡς βέβαιον ὄν, THUC. i. 2; DEM. xviii. 207.

865. It is a mistake to suppose that ὡς implies that the participle does not express the idea of the speaker or writer. It implies *nothing whatever* on this point, which is determined (if at all) by the context. The question whether the clause with ὡς gives the real or the pretended opinion of the leading subject is also determined (if at all) by the context.

866. Ὡς may also be used before participles standing in indirect discourse with verbs of *knowing*, etc. (see 916).

867. Ὡσπερ, *as, as if were*, with the participle denotes a comparison of the action of the verb with an assumed case. The expression may generally be translated by *as if* with a verb; but the participle is not felt to be conditional in Greek, as is shown by the negative οὐ (not μή). *E.g.*

Ἐρχοῦντο ὥσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, *they danced as if they were showing off to others i.e. they danced, not really but in appearance showing off.* XEN. AN. v. 4, 34. Τί ἐμοὶ τοῦτο λέγεις, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ ὄν ὅ τι ἂν βούλη περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν; *why do you say this to me, as if it were not in your power to say what you please about me?* Id. MEM. ii. 6, 36. In both these cases, there is a comparison between the action stated in the verb and dancing or speaking under circumstances stated in the participial clause. The *if* in our translation is a makeshift, which we find convenient in expressing the supposed case in a conditional form, which, however, is not the Greek form. The construction is the same as when ὥσπερ takes a noun, as τὸν κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος, *it caused the danger to pass by like a cloud.* DEM. xviii. 188; only we can translate ὥσπερ νέφος, but we could not translate ὥσπερ νέφος ὄντα.

Ὡσπερ ἡγήσασθαι εἰδότες οὐκ ἐθέλει ἀκοίειν,

you are unwilling to hear, as if you already knew well what should be done. ISOC. viii. 9. Ἀπήντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύσειν, as if they had been about to incur the risk with others' lives. Id. iv. 86. Τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἴληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος, he has taken half (of the land) as if he were dividing the country with Zeus, and not making a treaty with men. Ib. 179. Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ μετ' εἰνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ ἐκέλευεν, as if he had himself spoken, etc. DEM. xviii. 276. Οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτως ἡγανάκτησαν, ὥσπερ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πεπορθημένης, as if the whole of Greece had been laid waste. ISOC. x. 49. See Id. iv. 53, ὥσπερ οὐ τοὺς λόγους ὄντας, and XEN. AN. iii. 1, 14, v. 7, 24; Mem. ii. 3, 3; Oec. ii. 7. In PLAT. AP. 35 A, we have ὥσπερ ἀθανάτων ἐσομένων ἐὰν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀποκτείνῃτε, i.e. as if they will be (like men who will be) immortal if you do not put them to death, where the future participle indicates that there is no condition (473).

The participle with ὥσπερ generally denotes attendant circumstances (843), sometimes manner (836).

868. Ὡσπερ, like any particle meaning *as*, can be followed by εἰ and an actual condition, the apodosis of which it represents; as in ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστέαταις, as (you would do) if you had lived near by, AESCH. Ag. 1201. A participle with ὥσπερ εἰ seems to have hardly more conditional force than one with the simple ὥσπερ; as ἐμὲ ᾤχου καταλιποῦν' ὥσπερ εἰ προκείμενον, you went off and left me as if I had been laid out, AR. Eocl. 537. See ὥσπερ εἰ νομίζων, DEM. xxx. 7.

When a real condition is expressed, we generally have ὥσπερ ἀγεί, as in ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις αἰτιώτο, DEM. xviii. 194. But when ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (or ὥσπερανεῖ) is followed by a participle or a noun without a verb, it is hardly possible that either of the verbs which were originally understood with ἂν and εἰ (227) was felt as implied in the language as we find it: indeed, it would seldom be possible to supply an actual verb. Thus in ὁμοίως διεπορεύθησαν ὥσπερανεῖ προκείμενοι, they proceeded as if they were under escort, ISOC. iv. 148, and in ὥσπερανεῖ ἡγοούμενοι, as if they believed, DEM. xviii. 214, ὥσπερ alone would have given essentially the same sense. So in ἐφοβήθη ὥσπερανεῖ παις, PLAT. Gorg. 479 A, ὥσπερ παις, like a child, would probably have expressed the whole idea with less emphasis.

REMARKS ON ὥσπερ AND ὡς WITH THE PARTICIPLE.

869. 1. In Homer ὡς τε, ὡς εἰ, and ὡς εἴ τε are used in a sense approaching that of ὥσπερ in Attic Greek. Ὡς here always expresses a comparison, and when εἰ is added the form must originally have included a condition; but, even in Homer, the force of εἰ had become so weakened that it is hardly possible that any actual verb was felt to be implied in the expression. *E.g.*



Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον αἰδεῖς, ὡς τέ που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλον ἀκούσας, *you sing as if you had been present yourself or had heard from another.* Od. viii. 490. Κίρκη ἐπήξα ὡς τε κτάμεναι μενεαίνων, *I rushed upon Circe as if I were eager to kill her.* Od. x. 322; so x. 295. Τὸν δ' ὁ γέρον ἐν ἔτρεφεν, ἀμφαγαπάζομενος ὡς εἴ θ' εἶν νῖδν ἰόντα, *welcoming him as (if he had been) his own son.* Il. xvi. 191. Πόλλ' ὀλοφνύρομενοι ὡς εἴ θανάτῳδε κιδόντ' αἰ, *as (if he were) going to death.* Il. xxiv. 327. Τίς νύ σε τοιαύδ' ἔρεξεν, ὡς εἴ τι κακὸν βέζουσαν ἐνωπῆ, *as if you were doing any evil openly.* Il. v. 373. Καπνὸς γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς εἴ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο, *as (if) when a fire is burning.* Il. xxii. 149; so Od. xix. 39.

2. In Homer ὡς εἴ may have a noun without a participle. Here the comparative force is specially clear, as the difficulty of supplying a verb with εἴ is specially great: see μ' ἀνύφηλον ἔρεξεν ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην, *he made me of no account, like some dishonoured stranger,* Il. ix. 648, xvi. 59. So ὡς εἴ τε κατὰ ῥέον, *as if down stream,* Od. xiv. 254; ὡς τε περὶ ψυχῆς, *as it were for my life,* Od. ix. 423.¹

870. The weak conditional force that appears in the Homeric ὡς εἴ with a participle or a noun (869) helps to explain the perhaps still weaker condition of ὥσπερ εἴ or ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ in Attic Greek (868).

871. The very few cases of ὡς with the participle in Homer do not indicate that ὡς had yet begun to develop its later force (864). See Od. xvi. 21, πάντα κῆσεν περιφῆς, ὡς ἐκ θανάτῳ φηγόντα, *he kissed him all over, like one escaped from death, though we might translate since he felt that T. had escaped from death.* No such force is possible, however, in Il. xxiii. 430, ὡς οὐκ αἰόντι εἰκώς, *appearing like one who heard not.*

872. Herodotus uses ὥσπερ with the participle in the sense of ἄτε, although he has ὡς with the participle in the Attic sense (864). See examples under 863.

873. Ὡς εἴ for ὡσεὶ and ὡς εἴ τε appear occasionally in Attic poetry with nouns or adjectives in their Homeric sense. So ματῆρ ὡσεὶ τις πιστά, *like some faithful mother,* SOPH. EL. 234; πτίσας ὡσεὶ τε ἀστρηνῆ, *spurning her as an enemy,* ANT. 653.

874. Ὡσπερ with the participle occasionally seems to have the same force as ἄτε or οἷον; as in EUR. Hipp. 1307, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ὦν δίκαιος οὐκ ἐφίσπετο λόγους, *inasmuch as he was just,* etc. Or is the meaning here *he, like a just man?*

In PLAT. Rep. 330 E, ἵπτοι ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γήρως ἀσθενείας ἢ καὶ ὥσπερ ἤδη ἐγγυτέρω ὦν τῶν ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον τι καθορᾶ αὐτά, *the same force is generally given to ὥσπερ. But it may have the comparative force: either because of the feebleness of old age, or perhaps (feeling) like one who is nearer the other world, he takes a more careful view of it,—a*

¹ See Lange, *Partikel EI*, pp. 235-243. I cannot follow Lange (p. 241), in making the Attic ὡς with the participle the natural successor of the Homeric ὡς εἴ with the participle.

genitive of cause with *ὑπό* and a participle of circumstance being united under *ἦτοι* and *ἦ*.

Omission of ὦν.

875. The participle *ὦν* is sometimes omitted, leaving a predicate adjective or noun standing by itself.

1. This occurs chiefly after *ἄτε*, *οἶα*, *ὡς*, or *καίπερ*, and more frequently with predicate adjectives than with nouns. *E.g.*

Ἄλλὰ γυγνώσκω σαφῶς, καίπερ σκοτεινὸς (sc. ὦν), τὴν γε σὴν ἀδὴν ὄμως, *although my sight is darkened.* SOPH. O. T. 1325. Ἐφη κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δεχέσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς πολεμίου (sc. ὄντας), *that no city should receive them, on the ground that they were enemies.* XEN. AN. vi. 6, 9. So ὡς φίλους ἤδη, Cyr. iii. 2, 25. Αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἀγαθόν (sc. ὄν), *they practise it on the ground that it is necessary, and not on the ground that it is good.* PLAT. REP. 358 C. Ἦ μὴν ἐτι Ζεὺς, καίπερ αὐθάδης (sc. ὦν) φρενῶν, ἔσται ταπεινός. AESCH. PROM. 907.

So in the genitive and accusative absolute. Ὡς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων (sc. ὄντων). XEN. AN. vii. 8, 11. Ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας (sc. οἴσσης), *since I alone am near you.* SOPH. O. C. 83. Ὡς καλὸν (sc. ὄν) ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν, *on the ground that it is good for it (the speech) to be spoken.* THUC. ii. 35. Σὺ πρῶτος, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον (sc. ὄν) τὸ κλέπτειν, αἰτιᾷ τὸν κλέπτοντα. XEN. CYR. v. 1, 13. Ὡς ἄρα παντὶ δῆλον (sc. ὄν) ὅτι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔσται. PLAT. REP. 449 C.

(With nouns.) Εὐθὺς, οἷα δὴ παῖς (sc. ὦν) φύσει φιλόστοργος, ἠσπάζετο αὐτόν, *as he was by nature an affectionate child.* XEN. CYR. i. 3, 2. Αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ παραδεξόμεθα, ἅτε τυραννίδος ἄμνητάς (sc. ὄντας), *since they sing the praises of tyranny.* PLAT. REP. 568 B.

2. Without the above mentioned particles (875, 1), *ὦν* is rarely omitted, and probably only in poetry. *E.g.*

Τοὺς ὄρνις, ὧν ἐφηγητῶν (sc. ὄντων) ἐγὼ κτανεῖν ἐμελλον πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν, *the birds, by whose guidance, etc.* SOPH. O. T. 966. So 1260, and O. C. 1588. Νοεῖς θάπτει σφ', ἀπόρητον πόλει (sc. ὄν), *do you think of burying him, when it is forbidden to the city.* Id. ANT. 44.

3. The adjectives *ἐκόν*, *willing*, and *ἄκων*, *unwilling*, omit *ὦν* like participles. *E.g.*

Ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐχ ἐκόντος, *against my will.* SOPH. AJ. 455. Ἄεκοντος ἐμεῖο. H. i. 301. Νικίαν καὶ Δημοσθένην ἄκοντος τοῦ Γυλίκπου ἀπέσφμαξαν. THUC. vii. 86. So AESCH. PROM. 771. Παρὰ τούτων οὐκ ἂν ποτε λάβοις λόγον οὔτε ἐκόντων οὔτε ἀκόντων. PLAT. THEAET. 180 C.

4. A predicate adjective or noun sometimes stands without *ὦν*, when it is connected by a conjunction to a participle in the same construction. *E.g.*



all of these... the... with...
... ..

✓



Τί με οὐκ ὀλομένην ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλ' ἐπίφαντον; *why do you insult me when I am not yet dead, but am before your eyes?* SOPH. Ant. 839. Λόγους δὲ συμβὰς καὶ θεῶν ἀνόμοτος. EUR. Med. 737: so Or. 457. Ἀύτρα φέρων καὶ ἰκέτης (sc. ὦν) τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. PLAT. Rep. 393 D. So HDL. i. 60 (ἀπολείποντα . . . καὶ εὐειδής), and 65 (ἀδελφιδείου μὲν . . . βασιλεύοντος δέ); THUC. iii. 82 (οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οἷδ' ἰτοίμων). See other examples in Kühner, vol. ii. § 491.

Combinations of Circumstantial Participles.

876. As the participle in the genitive or accusative absolute denotes the same relations (*time, cause, etc.*) as the circumstantial participle in its ordinary construction (833-845), both may be used in the same sentence and be connected by conjunctions. When several participles denoting these relations occur in any sentence, those which belong to substantives already connected with the main construction agree with these in case, while those which refer to some new subjects stand with these in the genitive absolute; any which are impersonal standing in the accusative absolute. *E.g.*

Οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος sc. τοῦ βασιλέως) καὶ δεξόμενοι, *they prepared themselves with a view to his the King's coming up and to receiving him.* XEN. An. i. 10, 6. Καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Κλέων), καὶ ψηφισαμένον Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τὸν πλοῦν, τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἕνα προσελάμβανος, τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο. THUC. iv. 29. Ἀλκιβιάδης τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ἔποπος ὢν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς ὡστ' ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐποχωρεῖ παρὰ Τισσαφέρην. Id. viii. 45. Τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οἷδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοι τε τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἑκάστοι ὄσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιορισίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οἷδὲ γῆν φετειότες, ἀδελῶν ὢν ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἀμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο. Id. i. 2. Here οὔσης and ἐπιμιγνύντες belong to the leading clause; νεμόμενοι, ἔχοντες, and φετειότες—corresponding to ἡγούμενοι—are in the second line: ἀδελῶν ὢν depends on νεμόμενοι, etc., and introduces the indirect question ὅποτε . . . ἀφαιρήσεται, which contains ἐπελθὼν and ἀτειχίστων ὄντων as circumstantial participles.

C. SUPPLEMENTARY PARTICIPLE.

877. The supplementary participle completes the idea expressed by a verb, by stating that to which its action relates. It often approaches very near the use of the

object infinitive. It may belong to either the subject or the object of the verb and agree with it in case. *E.g.*

Παύομέν σε λέγοντα, *we stop you from speaking*; παύομεθα λέγοντες, *we cease speaking*.

878. The supplementary participle has two uses. In one of these it corresponds to the infinitive in indirect discourse, with its tenses representing the same tenses of the direct form; and in the other it corresponds to the object infinitive in other constructions, so far as it approaches the infinitive at all in meaning. (See 746.)

Compare παύομέν σε λέγοντα, *we stop you from speaking*, with δείκνυσί σε λέγοντα τάληθῆ, *he shows that you speak the truth*; and compare both with κωλύομέν σε λέγειν, *we prevent you from speaking*, and φησί σε λέγειν τάληθῆ, *he says that you speak the truth*.

I. NOT IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE. 709-703)

879. I. The participle may be used with verbs signifying *to begin, to continue, to endure, to persevere, to cease, to stop* (i.e. *cause to cease*), and to *permit or put up with*. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ δ' ἦρχον χαλεπαίνων, *and I was the first to be angry*. II. ii. 378. Ἄρξομαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς λέγων, *I will begin my speech with the art of medicine*. PLAT. Symp. 186 B. Αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελεῖ μόνη ἐλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων, *this house continues to be the only free one among the Persians* HDT. iii. 83. So XEN. AN. iv. 3, 2; DEM. xviii. 1. Οὐκ ἀνέξομαι ζῶσα, *I shall not endure life*. EUR. Hipp. 354. Ἄνεχσθαί τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων, *to endure certain men saying*. DEM. ix. 6. So ἀνέξει λέγοντος ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων; *will you allow me to say?* PLAT. Rep. 613 C. With the accusative: καὶ ταῦτ' Ἰάσων παῖδας ἐξανέξεται πάσχοντας; *and will Jason endure to have his children suffer this?* EUR. Med. 74. Διαπαίετε μένοντες, *persevere and hold your ground*. HDT. ix. 45. Οἱ δ' ἐκαρτέρουν πρὸς κῆμα λακτίζοντες. EUR. I. T. 1395. Τρῶας δ' οὐ λήξω ἐναρίζων, *I will not stop slaying Trojans*. II. xxi. 224. Παῦσαι λέγουσα, *stop talking*. EUR. Hipp. 706; so 474. Τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παῦσον ταῦτα λέγουσαν, *stop Philosophy from talking in this style*. PLAT. Gorg. 482 A. Ἐκείνουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖνσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, *we must not allow them to act in this way*. HDT. ix. 58. Ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει παραβαίνουσι τὸν νόμον, *the city will not put up with their transgression of the law*. ISOC. xii. 170.

880. The poets sometimes have the participle with *τολμᾶν* and *τλᾶν*, *to endure, to have courage*, and with *μένο*, *to await*, which usually take the infinitive. *E.g.*

cf 703. 2. A. 3. 1. 14

Enders, support la se presentant; les a²x q^ue s'explique
à travers 1.13.8. H. D. V. 89. double H. D. 7. 159.

≠ μὴ τελευτήσῃ ἐπὶ Δεστ. 12.11.

Thesogn. 442

I.F. 756

in participles before clauses
 Ἐτόλμα βαλλόμενος. Od. xxiv. 162. Τόλμα δ' ἐρῶσα, have the courage to love. EUR. Hipp. 476. Τλῆναί σε δρῶσαν ἂν ἐγὼ παραινέσω, that you take courage to do what I shall advise. SOPH. EL. 943. So πραθέντα τλῆναι, endured to be sold, AESCH. Ag. 1041; σπείρας ἔτλα, was bold enough to plant, Sept. 754. Ὅφρα μένουιν νοστήσαντα ἀνακτα, that they might await the king's return. II. xiii. 38 (compare iv. 247, μένετε Τρῶας ἐλθέμεν;).

For the aorist participle in the last three examples, see 148.

881. II. The participle may be used with many verbs which denote a state of the feelings, as those signifying to repent, to be weary, to be pleased, displeased, satisfied, angry, troubled, or ashamed. E.g.

Μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι, they repented that they had not accepted the peace. THUC. iv. 27. Τὸν δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀποδεωκότες, they repented of having returned the prisoners. Id. v. 35. Εἰ μετεμέλῃσέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγῶσαντι, whether he repented that he had scourged the Hellespont. HDL. vii. 54. Ἐάν τις μὴ ἀποκάμῃ ζητῶν, provided one is not weary of seeking. PLAT. MEN. 81 D. Τῷ μὲν ῥα χαίρον νοστήσαντι, they rejoiced in his return. Od. xix. 463; so II. xviii. 259. Τιμώμενοι χαίρουσιν, they delight to be honoured. EUR. Hipp. 8. Χαίρουσιν ἐξεταζομένοις τοῖς οἰομένοις μὲν εἶναι σοφοῖς οἷσι δ' οὐ, i.e. they delight in having them examined. PLAT. AP. 33 C. In poetry χαίρω may have the accusative: τοὶς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι, for the Gods do not rejoice in the death of the pious. EUR. Hipp. 1340. Σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσουντ' ἐπιχαίρω. SOPH. AJ. 136. Φιλέω with nominative: φιλεῖς δὲ δρῶσ' αὐτὸ σφόδρα, and you are very fond of doing it. AR. PL. 645. Οὐ γὰρ τίς τοι ἀνάται παρεόντι. Od. xv. 335. Τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ἀπεστερημένος, he took it hard that he was deprived of Aeolis. XEN. HELL. iii. 2, 13. Ὑπὸ μικροτέρων τιμώμενοι ἀγαπῶσιν, they are content to be honoured by smaller men. PLAT. REP. 475 B. Ἐλεγχόμενοι ἤχθοντο, they were vexed at being exposed. XEN. MEM. i. 2, 47. Τοὺς φρονίμους ἀνανακτεῖν ἀποθνήσκοντας πρέπει, it is right to be indignant when the wise die. PLAT. PHAED. 62 E. Ὡς μισῶ σ' ἔχων. EUR. SUPP. 1108. Οὐ νεμειῶ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὀτρύνοντι μάχεσθαι Ἀχαιοῖς. II. iv. 413. Ἀδικούμενοι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. THUC. i. 77. Τοῦτο οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων, I say this without shame (see 903, 1). XEN. CYR. v. 1, 21. Αἰδεῖσαι πατέρα προλείπων. SOPH. AJ. 506. Νικώμενος λόγουσιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I am not sorry (non piget) to be overcome by your words. AESCH. Ag. 583. Εὐ δράσας δὲ σ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I do not regret that I helped you. EUR. H. F. 1235. Θανατοῦσα οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I do not regret my death (about to come). Id. I. A. 1503. Ἀναίνομαι τὸ γῆρας ἡμῶν εἰσορῶν, I am troubled at the sight, etc. Id. Bacch. 251. (Ἀναίνομαι, refuse, takes the infinitive: see AESCH. Ag. 1652.)

882. Most of the participles of 881 denote a cause or ground of action, and might be placed under 838. (See 823.)

883. III. The participle with verbs signifying to *find, to detect, or to represent*, denotes an act or state in which a person or thing is found, detected, or represented. *E.g.*

Εἶπεν δ' εὐρίσπα Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἤμενον ἄλλων, *she found the son of Kronos sitting apart.* Il. i. 498. Ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀφικόμενος εἶρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους, *the herald, when he came, found the men already put to death.* THUC. ii. 6. Ἦν γὰρ εὐρεθῆ λέγων σοὶ ταῦτ', ἐγὼ γ' ἂν ἐκπεφειγοίην πάθος, *if he shall be found to tell the same story as you, etc.* SOPH. O. T. 839. Καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Ποτιδαίαν καὶ τὰλλα ἀφεστηκότα, *they find Potidaea and the other towns in revolt.* THUC. i. 59. Κακός γ' ὢν ἐς φίλους ἀλίσκεται, *he is detected in business.* EUR. Med. 84. Ἐὰν ἀλψς ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανεῖ, *if you are ever caught doing this again, you shall die.* PLAT. AP. 29 C. So Rep. 389 D. Βασιλέας πεποιήκε τοὺς ἐν Ἅιδου τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον τιμωρουμένους, *he has represented kings in Hades as suffering punishment without ceasing.* Id. Gorg. 525 D. Ἀκλιτον ἐποίησεν (Ὀμηρος) ἐλθόντα τὸν Μενέλεω ἐπὶ τὴν θοῖνην. Id. Symp. 174 C.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish this use of the participle from that of indirect discourse, especially with εὐρίσκα. (See 904.)

884. IV. The participle (not in indirect discourse) with verbs signifying to *hear, learn (hear of), see, or perceive* denotes the act which is perceived or heard of (not, as in indirect discourse, the fact that the act occurs). Here the participle approaches very nearly the ordinary object infinitive in its use, and the tenses of the participle differ only as the same tenses of the infinitive differ in such constructions, the aorist not denoting past time (148). *E.g.*

Βαρὶ δὲ στενάχοντος ἄκουσεν, *and he heard him groaning heavily.* Od. viii. 95. Εἰ δὲ φθεγξαμένον τευ ἢ αὐδήσαντος ἄκουσεν, *but if he had heard any one call or speak.* Od. ix. 497. (The aorist participles denote the occurrence of the act, as the present denotes its progress.) Ἦκοισα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένου, *I once heard him discourse, etc.* (see 886). XEN. Mem. ii. 4, 1. Τσαυτὰ φωνήσαντος (sc. αὐτοῦ) εἰσηκούσαμεν, *so much we heard him say.* SOPH. O. C. 1645. Ἦδη πρόποτέ του ἤκουσας αὐτῶν λόγον διδόντος οὐ καταγέλαστον; PLAT. Rep. 493 D. Μεγάλ' ἔκλυεν αὐδήσαντος. Od. iv. 505. Οἱ πω πεπίνθησαν Πατρόκλοιο θανάτος, *they had not yet heard of the death of Patroclus.* Il. xvii. 377; so 427. Ὡς ἐπίθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης, *when they heard of the capture of Pylos.* THUC. iv. 6. (But with the accusative, in ὅτι πύθοιο τὸ Πλημμύριον ἐαλωκός, *that he had heard that P. was captured,* vii. 31, as indirect discourse. See Classen's note on iv. 6.) Οἱ τοῖτους ὄρωντες πάσχοντας, *those who see these suffer.* PLAT. Gorg. 525 C. Μή σε ἴδωμαι θεινομένην. Il. i. 587. So Od. x. 99. Τῷ κέ μ' ἴδωσι πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισιν μιγέντα, *then would you see me mingle with the foremost champions.* Od. xviii. 379; so 176, ὃν ἠρῶ γενεῖσαντα ἰδῆ

ἔγλασαν ἐπι δεῖν ἐρήμην μὲν τῆν πόλιν γενομένην τῆν
χώρην σαρθουμένην, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον παρὶ τῆν
Γρίδα τῆν αὐτὴν γιγνόμενον

α. β. γ. δ. ε. ς. ζ. η. θ. ι. κ. λ. μ. ν. ξ. ο. π. ρ. σ. τ. υ. φ. χ. ψ. ω. δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω δ ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω

σθαι, *to see with a beard*. Τῷ πόποι' εἶδες ἤδη ἀγαθὸν τι γενόμενον; *to whom did you ever yet see any good come?* AR. Nub. 1061. Ὄταν αὐτὸν ἴδῃ ἐξαίφνης πταίσαντα πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐκ χιείοντα τὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν, *when he sees him suddenly come into collision with the state and fall overboard with all his belongings*. PLAT. Rep. 553 A. Εἰ μὴ ὤφθησαν ἐλθόντες. THUC. iv. 73. (The aorist participle with a verb of seeing is not common in prose.) Αἰσθόμενος Λαμπροκλέα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα χαλεπαίνοντα, *perceiving Lamprocles angry with his mother*. XEN. Mem. ii. 2, 1. Οὐδεμίαν πόποτε ἀγέλην ἤσθημεθα σὺ τῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν νομέα. Id. Cyr. i. 1, 2. So also αἰσθάνομαι with the genitive: ἤσθησαί μου ἢ ψευδομαρτυροῦντος ἢ συκοφαντοῦντος; Id. Mem. iv. 4, 11. Οἰμαί σε οὐκ ἂν φάναι γενομένου ποτὲ ἐν σαυτῷ τοῦ τοιούτου αἰσθῆσθαι, *I think you would not say that you ever knew such a thing to happen within yourself*. PLAT. Rep. 440 B. Τὸν δὲ νόησεν ἐστειώτ', *and he perceived him standing*. II. iv. 200.

885. The participle may be used in a similar way, having the same distinction of present and aorist (884), with *περιωρῶ* (*περιεῖδον*), and sometimes with *έφορῶ*, *είσορῶ* (*εἰπέιδον*, *εἰσεῖδον*), and even the simple *ὄρω* (*εἶδον*), in the sense of *overlook*, *allow*, or *not to prevent*. *E.g.*

Τοὺς ξηρμάχους οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους, *we shall not let our allies be wronged*. THUC. i. 86. Μείζω γειγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, *we allow the man to grow greater*. DEM. ix. 29. Ὑμῖν ἐπισκήπτω . . . μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν, *I adjure you not to see the leadership come round again into the hands of the Medes*. HDL. iii. 65. Μὴ περιιδωμεν ἔβρισθεισαν τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ καταφρονηθείσαν, *let us not allow Lacedaemon to be insulted and despised*. ISOC. vi. 108. Περιεῖδε τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα καὶ ζῶντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντα καὶ τελειτήσαντα οὐ τυχόντα τῶν νομίμων, *he allowed his own father to remain in want (pres.) of the necessaries of life while he lived, and not to receive (aor.) a decent burial when he died*. DIS. ii. 8. Καὶ μὴ μ' ἐρημον ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰσίδης, *do not see me driven out without a friend*. EUR. Med. 712. Μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανόνθ' ἐπ' ἀστών, *not to see me killed by citizens*. Id. Or. 746. See other examples of the aorist participle with these verbs in 148. For the infinitive, often in nearly the same sense, see 903, 6.

886. The verbs of perception included in 884 may take the participle also in indirect discourse, with the natural force of each tense preserved see 904. With some of these verbs, the construction of the participle is generally shown by its case: thus *ἀκούω* and *πυνθάνομαι* in Attic Greek regularly take the genitive in the construction of 884, and the accusative in indirect discourse. See Ellendt, *Lex. Sophoc.* s.v. *ἀκούω*, who does not allow an exception in SOPH. Ph. 615. For the less fixed usage of Homer with *ἀκούω* and *πείθομαι*, see Schmitt in Schanz's *Beitrage*, p. 9. Other verbs, as *ὄρω*, have the accusative regularly in both constructions, but the context generally makes the meaning

plain: see, however, EUR. *Hea.* 342. *Αἰσθάνομαι* sometimes has the genitive, as in some examples in 884, but not in indirect discourse.

887. V. With *λανθάνω*, to escape the notice of, *τυγχάνω*, to happen, and *φθάνω*, to anticipate or get the start of, the participle contains the leading idea of the expression and is usually translated by a verb in English. Here the aorist participle does not denote time past relatively to the leading verb (unless the latter is a present or imperfect), but coincides with it in time (144). Other tenses of the participle express their usual relations of time to the verb (147). *E.g.*

Φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, he was unconsciously supporting the slayer of his son. *HD.* i. 44. *Ἡ σε λανθάνει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;* are you unaware that our enemies' evils are advancing upon our friends? *SOPH. Ant.* 9. *Τοὺς δ' ἔλαθ' εἰσελθὼν Πρίαμος*, and Priam entered unnoticed by them. *Il.* xxiv. 477; so xvii. 1. *Μή σε λάθῃσιν κείσ' ἐξορμήσασα*, lest the ship be driven thither before you know it. *Od.* xii. 220. *Φύλασσε δ' ὁ γ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, μὴ ἔλθοι παριῶν.* *Od.* iv. 526. *Ῥῶν ἔλαθον ἰσελθόντες*, they entered more easily without being noticed. *THUC.* ii. 2. *Ἐλάθομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς παιδῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντες;* did we never find out that all the time we were no better than children? *PLAT. Crit.* 49 B. (See 147, 2.)

Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε. *THUC.* ii. 13. *Ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς*, it happened that the guide had died (was dead). *Id.* iii. 98. *Ἐτυχον ἔφεροι ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες ἤδη*, there happened to be other Ephors already in office. *Id.* v. 36. *Ἐτυχεν ἡμῶν ἡ φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα*, our tribe happened to hold the prytany. *PLAT. Ap.* 32 B. *Ἐτυχον καθήμενος ἐναύθα.* *Id.* *Euthyd.* 272 E. *Ἐν τῷ σκοτῷ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐτυχον ἔνδον λαβῶν.* *AN. Eccl.* 375. *Ἐτυχον παραγεόμενος ἵππον ἔχων*, I came, as it happened, with a horse. *PLAT. Symp.* 221 A. *Ἐς Ναύπακτον, ἣν ἐτυχον ἠρηκότες νεωστή,* in Naupactus, which it happened they had lately captured. *THUC.* i. 103. (See 147, 1.) *Ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτῇ βοηθήσας θεῶν τύχη*, unless some God by chance comes to its aid. *PLAT. Rep.* 492 A; so 495 B. *Κἂν εἰ τύχοιεν ἐν τῷ παρακρήμῳ κικεῶνα πιόντες*, even if they should happen to drink a kikēon on the spot. *Id.* 408 B.

Φθάνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες, they are the first to run to them. *AESCHIN.* iii. 248. *Αὐτοὶ φθίσονται τοῦτο δράσαντες*, they will do this for themselves first. *PLAT. Rep.* 375 C. *Ἐφθησαν πολλὰ τοῖς Πέρσας ἀπικόμενοι*, they arrived long before the Persians. *HD.* iv. 136. *Βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.* *Id.* vi. 115. *Φθάνει πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν βλάβητος' ἀνθρώπους*, i.e. she (Ate) harms men over the whole earth before Prayers can avail. *Il.* ix. 506. *Ἐφθη ὀρεξάμενος*, he hit him first. *Il.* xvi. 322. *Ὅστις πρώτος κε φθῆνι ὀρεξάμενος χροῶ καλόν*, whichever shall first hit. *Il.* xxiii. 805. *Ὅκ ἐφθασαν πνθόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἦκον*, no sooner did they hear of the war than they came. *ISOC.* iv. 86. *Φθάνουσιν (hist. pres.) ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίου.* *XEN. An.* iii. 4, 49.



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888. So sometimes with διαλανθάω and the poetic λήθω. *E.g.* Τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ἧ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστός ὤν. ISOC. iii. 16. Οὐδέ σε λήθω κινούμενος, nor do I ever move without your knowledge. II. x. 279.

889. Κυρέω in poetry takes the participle like τυγχάνω. *E.g.* Τοῦτον οἶσθ' εἰ ζῶν κυρεῖ; do you know whether perchance he is alive? SOPH. Ph. 444. Σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ. AESCH. Pers. 503. Ταῦτ' εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖ; Id. O. C. 414. Ἐχθρὸς ὢν κυρεῖ. EUR. Alc. 954.

So συγκυρέω in HDT. viii. 87, with the aorist participle (144): εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδῶν παραπεσοῦσα τῆς.

890. Συμπίπτω (chiefly in Herodotus) and συμβαίνω may take the participle like τυγχάνω. *E.g.*

Καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γεινόμενον, and this other event occurred, as it chanced. HDT. ix. 101. Συνεπεπτώκει ἔρις ἐούσα, it had happened that there was a quarrel. Id. i. 82. Οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ ἡ τῶνδε εὐγένεια κοσμομένη. PLAT. MENEX. 237 C. Πάντα συμβαίνει γιγνόμενα. Id. Phil. 42 C. Ὅπου ἂν ξυμπίπτῃ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καλὰ ἦθη ἐνόντα. Id. Rep. 402 D.

891. Θαμίζω, to be wont or frequent, may take the participle. *E.g.*

Οὐ τι κομιζόμενός γε θαμίζειν, he was not used to being thus cared for. Od. viii. 451. Οὐ θαμίξεις καταβαίνων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, you do not come down to the Piræus very often. PLAT. Rep. 328 C.

For examples of the above verbs (887-890), retaining the present or imperfect of some of the above verbs (887-890), retaining its own reference to past time, see 146.

892. As λαυθάω is active and means to escape the notice of, it must have an object expressed or understood. When none is expressed, sometimes πᾶντας is understood, and sometimes a reflexive referring to the subject. Thus ἔλαθε τοῦτο ποιήσας may mean either he did this without any one's knowing it (sc. πᾶντας), or he did this unconsciously (sc. ἐαυτόν).

893. The usual construction of λαυθάω and φθάω (and rarely that of τυγχάνω and κυρέω) with the participle may be reversed, these verbs appearing in the participle, and what is generally the participle becoming the verb. *E.g.*

Ἄψ ἀπὸ τείχεος ἄλτο λαθών, back from the wall he leaped secretly (for ἔλαθεν ἄλμενος). II. xii. 390. Ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλοισ ἀιτόθεν λαυθάνοντες. THUC. iii. 51. Ὅς μ' ἔβαλε φθάμενος, who took advantage of me and hit me. II. v. 119. Φθάνοντες ἤδη διοῖμεν τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν. XEN. Cyr. iii. 3, 18. Τὴν ἐσβολὴν φθάσαντες προκατέλαβον. THUC. iv. 127; so ii. 52. Ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει τυχών, i.e. speaks at random. EUR. I. A. 957. Πλησίον γὰρ ἦν κυρῶν, for he happened to be near. SOPH. Ph. 371.

894. The phrase οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις (or οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε), you could not be too soon, is used with the participle as an exhortation, meaning *the sooner the better*. The first and third persons are less common in this sense. *E.g.*

Ἀποτρέχων οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, *the sooner you run off the better*. AR. Pl. 1133. So HDT. vii. 162; XEN. Mem. iii. 11, 1. Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις λέγων, *the sooner you speak the better*. PLAT. Symp. 185 E. Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμι (λέγων), *I might as well speak at once*. Ib. 214 E. Εἰ μὴ τιμωρήσεσθε τοῦτους, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι τὸ πλῆθος τοῦτοις τοῖς θηρίοις δουλεῖον, *the people might as well be slaves to these beasts at once*. DEM. xxiv. 143.

895. VI. The participle, with many verbs signifying *to come* or *to go*, contains the leading idea of the expression. Such verbs are οἴχομαι, *to be gone*, ἦκω, *to have come*, ἔρχομαι, εἶμι, with the Homeric βῆ, and ἔβαν or βάν, from βαινω. Some of these uses are very peculiar. *E.g.*

᾽Οἴχεται ἀποπτάμενος, *it flew away and was gone*. Il. ii. 71. Οἴχεται φερίγων ὃν εἶχες μάρτυρα, *the witness whom you had has run away*. AR. Pl. 933. Ἴν' εἰδῆς οὓς φέρων ἦκω λόγους, *that you may know the words I bring with me*. EUR. Or. 1628. Ἐρχομαι ἐπιχειρῶν σοι ἐπιδείξασθαι τῆς αἰτίας τὸ εἶδος, *I am going to undertake to show you the nature of the cause*. PLAT. Phaed. 100 B. Οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως πως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, *I am not going to say that these things occurred so, or in some other way* (cf. French *je vais dire*). HDT. i. 5. Ἦε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, *he always praised her* (he went on praising her, French *il allait la louant toujours*; see Baehr's note). Id. i. 122. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἦμα τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐρῶν, *and I was going to speak of them in order*. PLAT. Rep. 449 A; so 562 C. Βῆ φεύγων, *he took flight*. Il. ii. 665; so βῆ αἶξασα, ii. 167. Οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτῳ φέρονται, Il. ii. 302; so xix. 279.

896. VII. Herodotus uses the participle with πειρῶμαι, *to try*, and with πολλὸς εἶμι or γίνομαι, πολλὸς ἔγκειμαι, and παντοῖος γίνομαι, *to be urgent*; rarely with ἐπείγομαι, *to press on*. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἐπειράτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῆρος, *Cyrus did not attempt to approach*. i. 77; so i. 84, vi. 50, vii. 9. Πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξείνος, *the stranger entreated urgently*. ix. 91. Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐπέκειτο λέγων τοιαῦτα, *and Gelon spoke urgently as follows*. vii. 158. Τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, *they begged them in every way* (lit. *they took every form in begging them*), etc. vii. 10. Ἦν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιούμενος, *if you do not press on and fight a naval battle*. viii. 68 (but just below, ἦν ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆται).

897. The participle with πειρῶμαι, πολλὸς ἔγκειμαι, and ἔγκειμαι alone, occurs occasionally in Attic Greek. So also with πάντα ποιῶ and rarely with σποιδάζω. *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἐρῶ σοι πρὶν ἂν πανταχῇ πειραθῶ σκοπῶν. PLAT. Theæt.

— μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ἄχευ' εἰδεύς ἀπὸ τῶν D. 18. 65

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190 E. So ANT. Tetr. A. γ. 1. Πολὺς ἐνέκειτο λέγων. THUC. iv. 22. Ἐνέκειτο φεύγοντες. Id. ii. 81. Πάντα ποιῶσι καὶ λέγουσι φεύγοντες τὴν δίκην. PLAT. Euthyphr. 8 C. Τὰ πλοῦτου καὶ δυνάμεων διώγματα τί καὶ τις ἂν ὡς ἄξια λόγου σπουδαίῳι μεμφόμενος; why should any one seriously censure them as if they were worth noticing? Id. Polit. 310 B; so XEN. Oec. ix. 1.

898. VIII. Ἀποδείκνυμι, καθίζω, and παρασκευάζω, in the meaning to put into a certain condition, to render, may take the participle. E.g.

Ἄμα καὶ τάπιπτήδεια μάλιστα ἔχοντας ἀποδείξιν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄριστα ἔχοντας παρασκευάσειν, (I undertake to say) that he will at the same time make them (show them forth) best supplied with provisions, and cause them to have their bodies in the best condition. XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 18. Βλέποντ' ἀποδείξω σ' ὀξύτερον τοῦ Λυγκίως, I will make you see sharper than Lyceus. AR. Pl. 210. Ἐὰν κλαίοντας αὐτοῖς καθίσω. PLAT. Ion. 535 E. So XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 14. See these verbs in Liddell and Scott.

899. IX. Ἀρκέω (and ἄλις εἰμί in poetry), to be sufficient, and ἱκανός, ἡδίων, κρείσσον, ἀμείνων, or βελτίων with εἰμί, are sometimes used in a personal construction with the participle (like δηλός εἰμι, etc. 907), where we should expect an impersonal construction with the infinitive. E.g.

Ἀρκέσω θηήσκουσ' ἐγώ, it will be enough for me to die. SOPH. Ant. 547. (We might expect ἀρκέσει ἐμέ θηήσκειν.) Ἦσ' ἀρκείτω δέδηλωμένον, THUC. v. 9. Ἰκανὸς ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀτυχῶν εἶναι, he said that it was enough for himself to be in misfortune. ISAE. ii. 7. Κρείσσον γὰρ ἦσθα μηκέτ' ὢν ἢ ζῶν τυφλός. SOPH. O. T. 1368. Ἦδίων ἴσατε ἀκούσαντες, you will be more pleased to hear. DEM. xxiii. 64. So ἄλις τοσοῦτ' ἐγώ (sc. εἰμί), it is enough for me to be afflicted. SOPH. O. T. 1061.

900. X. The participles βουλόμενος, ἐθέλων (poetic), ἡδόμενος, ἄσμενος, ἀχθόμενος, προσδεχόμενος, ἐλπίμενος, ἐλδόμενος (Ionic), and occasionally others, may agree in case with a dative which depends on εἰμί, γίγνομαι, or some verb signifying to come, to appear, or to happen. E.g.

Ὡς ἄρα τὸ Τρώεσσι ἐελδόμενοισι φανήτην, thus then did they appear to the delight of the Trojans. II. vii. 7. Ἐμοὶ δέ κεν ἀσμένῳ εἶν, and I should be pleased with it. II. xiv. 108. Ἦδομένοισιν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γέγονασιν, we are pleased with the proposals made to us. HD. I. 46. Οὐλοῦντι καί μοι τοῦτ' ἂν ἦν. SOPH. O. T. 1356. Τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν, it was not the wish of the majority. THUC. ii. 3; so vii. 35. Προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ἡμῶν ἐς ἐμέ γεγνηται, I have been expecting the manifestations of your wrath against me. Id. ii. 60; so vi. 46. Ὅτι ἡμῶν μὴ ἀχθόμενῳ εἶν. XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 21. Ἄν βουλομένους ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοῖσι, μνησθήσομαι, if these shall want to hear it. DEM. xviii. 11. Ὅρα, εἰ σοι βουλομένῳ (sc. ἔστιν) ἂ λέγω. PLAT. Rep. 358 D.

See also *τοῦτων πεπειραμένοις ἂν τι γένοιτο καὶ ὑμῖν*, THUC. v. 111; and *ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι ἢ ποικιλείμων νύξ ἀποκρύψει φάος*, you will be glad when spangled-robed night shall hide the light, AESCH. Prom. 23.

Compare Tac. Agric. 18: *Quibus bellum volentibus erat*.

901. XI. In a similar way, the dative of any participle may be used with certain impersonal expressions which take the dative, especially those signifying *it is fitting, good, pleasant, profitable*, or their opposites, and those implying *fear or confidence*. *E.g.*

Εἰ τὸδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ (sc. ἐστίν), *if it pleases him to be thus called*. AESCH. Ag. 161. *Οὐκ ἄξιον τοῦτοισι πολλάκις χρησθαι συμβούλοις, οἷς οἰδὲ ἅπαξ ἐλυσιτέλησε πειθομένοις* (sc. ὑμῖν), *whom it did not profit you to obey even once*. LYS. xxv. 27. *Φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἐνθὺ μὴ τέλη λίγῃ φρονούντι*, *where it does not profit one to be wise*. SOPH. O. T. 316. *Ἐπήρετο τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη οἷς οὗτος ἔθηκε νόμοις, whether it was better for Sparta to obey*. XEN. Rep. Lac. viii. 5. *Ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι* (sc. ἐμοὶ) *τὰ ἐμαντοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων οὐκ ἂν ἀήδης εἴη, it would not be unpleasant for me to compare, etc.* PLAT. Ap. 41 B. *Αἱ δοκοῦσι κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐμοὶ πρόποι ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένῳ*, *those which seem to be the noblest of the sciences, and which it would be most fitting for me to study*. XEN. Oec. iv. 1. *Τοῦτο καὶ πρέπει ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιον κινδυνεύσαι οἰομένῳ οὕτως ἔχειν* (i.e. *πρέπει μοι οἰομένῳ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχειν*), *it seems fitting and worth the risk for me to believe that this is so*. PLAT. Phaed. 114 D. *Ὅτι μὴ ἴστι δρῶντι τάρβος, οὐκ ἔπος φοβεῖ, one who has no dread of a deed, a word does not frighten*. SOPH. O. T. 296.

So εἰ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν εὐσεπτον ἀγνείαν, *may it continue to be my fate to bear, etc.* Id. O. T. 863.

With the expressions of 901 the infinitive is more common (903, 7).

Omission of ὄν.

902. Occasionally the participle ὄν is omitted in the constructions of the supplementary participle that have been enumerated (879-901). *E.g.*

Καταλαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέροισι φίλοισι ἐν φόβῳ (sc. ὄντας) *τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς*. DEM. xviii. 211. *Ἄλλ' οὐκ περιώψεται μ' ὁ θεῖος ἀνιππον* (sc. ὄντα), *but my uncle will not let me go without a horse*. AN. Nub. 124. *Εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει ἀγρός* (sc. ὄν). PLAT. Gorg. 502 B. *Τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ αὐτίρκης* (sc. ὄν). Id. Rep. 369 B.



not in O. B.

Infinitive with Verbs which may also have the Supplementary Participle.

903. Some verbs which take the supplementary participle allow also the infinitive in a similar construction, but with some difference in the meaning or at least in the point of view.

1. *Αἰσχύνομαι* and *αἰδοῦμαι* with the participle (881) mean *I am ashamed of doing* (something which I am doing or have done); with the infinitive, *I am ashamed to do* (something which I have not yet done). *E.g.*

Τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων· τὸ δ' "Ἐὰν μὲν γιτε παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀποδώσω" αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν λέγειν, *this* (something just said) *I am not ashamed of saying*; but *I should be ashamed to say the following*, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 1, 21. *Αἰσχύνομαι ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν τάλληθῆ*, *I am ashamed to tell you the truth* (but still I must tell it). PLAT. Ap. 22 B. *Αἰδοῦνται τοὺς παρόντας ἀπολείπειν*, i.e. *they are ashamed to leave them* (and do not). XEN. Symp. viii. 35. But *αἰδεσθαι πατέρα προλείπων*, *be ashamed of leaving your father* (as you threaten to do), SOPH. Aj. 506. A comparison of the last example with PLAT. Ap. 22 B (above) shows that the choice of the infinitive or participle may depend on the point of view of the speaker in a special case. In Aj. 506, the threat is viewed as the inception of the act.

2. *Ἀρέχομαι*, *ἔπομέω*, *τλάω*, and *τολμῶ* with the participle (879; 880) mean *to endure* something now going on or already done; with the infinitive, *to have the courage* or *to venture* to do something not yet done. *E.g.*

Καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοτο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι, *they remained and had the courage to receive the invader of their country*. HDL. vii. 139. (Cf. οὐκ ἀνέχομαι ζῶσα under 879.) So *ἔπομείναντα τὰ πάντα πάσχειν*, *taking courage to suffer everything*. PLAT. Leg. 869 C. (Cf. μὴ ἔπομείνειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα, *not to await the coming of Xerxes*, i.e. *not to wait to see his coming*, HDL. vii. 120.) *Ἐτλα οὐράνιον φῶς ἀλλάξαι*, SOPH. Ant. 944. *Τόλμησόν ποτε ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν*. AESCH. Prom. 999.

Ἀρέχομαι with the infinitive, and *τλάω* and *τολμῶ* with the participle, are rare.

3. *Ἀποκάμνω* τοῦτο ποιῶν (881) is *I am weary of doing this*; *ἀποκάμνω* τοῦτο ποιεῖν is *I cease to do this through weariness*. *E.g.*

Μήτε ταῦτα φοβούμενος ἀποκάμης σαυτὸν σῶσαι, *do not, through fear of this, despair of saving yourself*. PLAT. Crit. 45 B. (Cf. οὐκ ἀποκάμεις μηχανώμενος, *you are not tired of contriving*, XEN. Mem. ii. 6, 35.)

4. *Ἄρχομαι* (Homeric *ἄρχω*) with the participle (879) means *to be first in something*, *to begin with something*, or *to be at the*

beginning (not at the end); with the infinitive, *to begin to do something*. *E.g.*

*Ἦρξαντο τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, *the Athenians began to build the long walls*. THUC. i. 107. Δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐπιδεικνῖναι, ὡς οὐτ' ἤρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα οὐτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. AESCHIN. iii. 50.

5. Παύω with the participle (879) means *to stop what is going on*; with the infinitive, *to prevent a futuro act*. *E.g.*

*Ἐμ' ἔπαυσας μάχεσθαι, *you prevented me from fighting*. Π. xi. 442. (But ἐμ' ἔπαυσας μαχόμενον would be *you stopped me while fighting*.) *Ραψφοῦς ἔπαυσε ἀγωνίζεσθαι. HDT. v. 67.

6. Περιρῶ and the other verbs signifying *to overlook or see* (in the sense of *permit*) with the participle (885) mean *to see an act done without interfering to stop it*; with the less frequent infinitive, *to permit an act to be done without interfering to prevent it*. Strictly speaking, the infinitive here expresses time future to that of the verb, while the time of the participle coincides with that of the verb. Still, both forms may sometimes be used to express practically the same sense, and may even refer to the same event, though the point of view is different. *E.g.*

Περιρᾶν αἰτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ ἀείσαι, *to let him sing in full dress*. HDT. i. 24. Θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι οὐ περιόψεσθαι φύσι τῇ ἑωπτήσ χρωσθαι, *they say that the winds will not permit the sea to follow its own nature*. Id. vii. 16. Τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζεν ὕψος ἂν ἐπεξελεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιρᾶν τμηθῆναι, *for he hoped that the Athenians would perhaps come forth and not let their land be ravaged*. THUC. ii. 20. But in ii. 18 he has said, προσδέχομενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἐτι ἀκεραῖον οἴσῃς ἐνδῶσειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιρᾶν αἰτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνείχεν, *that they would be unwilling to see it (the land) ravaged* (referring to the same thing with περιρᾶν τμηθῆναι, *to let it be ravaged*, in 20); and again in 20, οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, *it did not seem likely that the Acharnians would see their property destroyed*.

7. The impersonal expressions of 901 take the infinitive more frequently than the participle, the distinction being similar to that in the last case (6). *E.g.*

Οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα πότερον λῶν εἴη αἰτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, *whether it was better for him to go or stay*. XEN. AN. iii. 1, 7. But in XEN. Vect. vi. 2 we have ἐπέρεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη ἂν τῇ πόλει οὕτω κατασκευαζομένη, *whether it would be better for the state, supposing it to be thus constituted*; the difference between this and *better for the state to be thus constituted* (οὕτω κατασκευαζέσθαι) being practically very slight.

8. It is more than doubtful whether λανθάνω, τυγχάνω, and φθάνω (887) ever have the infinitive in classic Greek. The passages

ἄποπτος with pres. part. implies inactive perception. Look on the
difference; with acc. part (II, 18) implies unperception which does not
occur in Dinnah. I 4
ἄποπτος implies loss of perception, and simply ἄποπτος
L. 9. in Mon. II. 1. 24.

ἄποπτος and ἄποπτος because they can occur the same
Building, ἄποπτος and ἄποπτος because they have already another

...

formerly cited for this are now generally emended, or the readings are doubted: thus, in PLAT. REP. 333 E, λαθεῖν ἐμπούσσαι must be for λαθεῖν ἐμπούσας (Schneider), and in AR. EQ. 935, φθαίης ἐλαθεῖν, and Nub. 1384, οὐκ ἐφθης φράσαι, Meineke reads ἐλθῶν and φράσας. See Classen on THUC. iii. 82, ὁ φθάσας θαροῦσσαι (?).

II. PARTICIPLE IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE (904-919)

904. The participle is used with verbs signifying *to see, to hear or learn, to perceive, to know, to be ignorant of, to remember, to forget, to show, to appear, to prove, to acknowledge,* and with ἀγγέλλω, *to announce*, in a sense approaching that of the infinitive in indirect discourse. Here each tense of the participle represents the corresponding tense of the indicative or optative. (See 687.)

The participle may belong to either the subject or the object of these verbs, and agree with it in case. *E.g.*

Μέμνημαι αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, *I remember that he did this (ἐποίησεν)*; μέμνημαι τοῦτο ποιήσας, *I remember that I did this (ἐποίησα)*. Οἶδε τοιούτους εἰ πράξοντας, *he knows that they will prosper*; οἶδε αὐτὸς εἰ πράξων, *he knows that he himself will prosper*.

Εἰ κ' αὐτὸν γνώω νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνόποντα, *if I shall find that he tells all without fault*. Od. xvii. 549. Ὀρῶ δέ μ' ἔργον δεινὸν ἐξεργασμένην, *and I see that I have done a terrible deed*. SOPH. TR. 706. Ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὀρώμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, *we see that we are unable, etc. (ἀδύνατοί ἔσμεν)*. THUC. i. 32. Ἦκουσε Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, *he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia*. XEN. AN. i. 4, 5. Περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον δηγουμένην, *because they heard that it was suffering from ravages*. Ib. v. 5, 7. Ὅταν κλήῃ τινὸς ἤξοντ' Ὀρέστην, *when she hears from any one that Orestes is coming*. SOPH. EL. 293. Πεθόμενοι Ἀρταξέρξην νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα, *learning that Artaxerxes had recently died*. THUC. iv. 50; so HD. vi. 23. Ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἦσθητ' ἠδίκημένη. EUR. MED. 26. Ἦσθηοντο τοῖς μετ' Ἀρωτίως ἐπιπαριόντας. THUC. i. 61. Διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εἰρήσκουσι εὐδοσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐχθρῆς (see 883). HD. i. 5. Ἐπειδὴν γνώσιν ἀπιστούμενοι, *when they find out that they are distrusted*. XEN. Cyr. vii. 2, 17. Ἦιδεσαν Σωκράτην αἰτωρκεστάτα ἰζῶντα. Id. Mem. i. 2, 14. Ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξημοφοραῖς ἐπίσταται τραφέντες. THUC. ii. 44. Διαβεβλημένος οὐ μανθάνεις. HD. iii. 1. Ἐννοῦμαι φαῦλος οὔσα. EUR. Hipp. 435. Ἐννοίσας γένος ἐπιεικὲς ἀθλίως διατιθέμενον. PLAT. Criti. 121 B. Τίς οὕτως εἰήθης ἔστιν ἑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῖρο ἤξοντα; DEM. i. 15. Μέννημαι Κριτία τῷδε ξυνόντα σε (i.e. ξυνήσθα). PLAT. Charm. 156 A. Μενήμεθ' ἐς κίνδνον ἐλθόντες μέγαν (i.e. ἤλθομεν). EUR. Hec. 244. Ἐπιλελίγμεθ' ἠδέως γέροντες ὄντες. Id.

Bacch. 188. Ἐπιδείξω δὲ τοῦτον οὐ μόνον ὠμολογηκότα εἶναι τὸν Μιλίαν ἐλεύθερον (with six other participles, perfect, aorist, and present). DEM. xxix. 5. Ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος δηλώσει μείζων γεγενημένος αὐτῶν (i.e. μείζων γεγένηται). THUC. i. 21. Εἰ φανήσεται ταῦθ' ὠμολογηκῶς, παρά τε τοῦ Δημοφώντος τὰς τιμὰς εἰληφῶς, αὐτός τε . . . ἀπογράφας, οἰκῶν τε τὴν οἰκίαν, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xxvii. 16. Εὐθὺς ἐλεγχθήσεται γελοῖος ὢν. XEN. Mem. i. 7, 2. Οὕτως ὁμολογουμένη οὕσα δούλη καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον αἰσχρῶς βιοῦσα, when it was thus admitted that she was a slave and was all the time living a life of disgrace. ISAE. vi. 49. Εἰ μὴ ἐξήγγειλε προσιὸν τὸ στρατεύμα, had he not reported that the enemy was advancing. XEN. Hell. vii. 5, 10. Ἀπυγγέλη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν Ἑραίων τεύχος πολιορκῶν, it was reported to you that he was besieging, etc. DEM. iii. 4.

Compare the examples of ὀρώ, ἀκούω, and similar verbs here given with those of the same verbs under 884, in which the participle is not in indirect discourse.

See other examples of the participle in indirect discourse under 687, where examples of the participle with ἄν may be found (see also 213-216).

905. When one of these verbs has for its object an accusative of the reflexive pronoun referring to its subject, the participle generally agrees with the reflexive. Thus we may have either δείξω ἑμαυτὸν τοῦτο πεποιηκότα, *I shall show that I have done this*, or δείξω τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς.

906. The participle of an *impersonal* verb in this construction stands alone in the neuter singular. The following includes both the personal and the impersonal construction:—

Πειρώσομαι δείξει καὶ μετὸν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν καὶ πεπονθότα ἑμαυτὸν οὐχὶ προσήκοντα, *I shall try to show not only that we have rights in the city, but also that I have suffered*, etc. DEM. lvii. 1. (The direct discourse is μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν, καὶ πέπονθα αὐτός. Compare 876.)

907. The participle is used in the same way in a personal construction with δηλός εἰμι and φανερός εἰμι, in preference to an impersonal expression. So with ἐπάστος γίνομαι in Herodotus. *E.g.*

Δηλός τ' ἦν οἰόμενος, κ.τ.λ., *it was evident that he thought*, etc. XEN. An. ii. 5, 27. (This is equivalent to δηλὸν ἦν ὅτι οἶοιτο. See 899; 912.) Ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανοροί εἰσι ἐς Ὀασιν πόλιν, *it is evident that they came to the city Oasia*. HDL. iii. 26. Ὡς ἐπάστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, *when it became known (heard of) that he had done this*. Id. ii. 119.

Similar is the participle with φανερὸν ποιῶ; as φανερὸν πάντων ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ πολεμοῦντες, *they made it evident to all that they were not fighting for themselves*. LYCURG. 50.

δύο, ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα δύω λόγ. L, 22, 12

908. When *σύνοιδα* and *συγγιγνώσκω* have a dative of the reflexive referring to the subject, a participle may stand either in the dative agreeing with the reflexive, or in the nominative agreeing with the subject; as *σύνοιδα ἑμαυτῷ ἡδίκημένῳ* (or *ἡδίκημένος*), *I am conscious to myself that I have been wronged.* *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ οὐτε μέγα οὐτε μικρὸν ξύνοιδα ἑμαυτῷ σοφὸς ὢν. PLAT. AP. 21 B. Ἐμαυτῷ ξυγγίδειν οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ. Ib. 22 D.

909. When the participle of indirect discourse belongs to an infinitive depending on a verb with an object dative to which the participle refers, the participle stands in the dative. *E.g.*

Συμβέβηκε τοῖς προεστηκόσι καὶ τᾶλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοῖς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρῶτους ἑαυτοῦς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθῆσθαι, *it has been the lot of those who were in authority and who thought they were selling everything except themselves, to find that they have sold themselves first.* DEM. xviii. 46.

910. Some verbs which regularly have the infinitive or *ὅτι* and *ὡς* in indirect discourse occasionally take the participle. *E.g.*

Νόμιζε ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων, *think that you are putting to death a good man.* XEN. AN. vi. 6, 24. Ἀεβίησθε ἐρεοῖσα φίλον πόσιν ἔδον ἔόντα. OD. xxiii. 1. Θανόντ' Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι λέγοι. SOPH. EL. 676. See O. C. 1579; EUR. HEL. 1076. Οὐ Τρωῶς γεννῆ τεκοῦσα κομπάσειεν ἂν ποτε, *i.e. none could boast that she was the mother (of such children), ἔτερον being the direct form.* EUR. TRG. 477. Μετὸν ἂν ποτε λέγοιτο. PLAT. PHIL. 22 E. Σμέρδιν μηκέτι ἱμῖν ἔόντα λογιέσθε. HD. iii. 65. Οὐ γὰρ εἴτε χῶν ἀρνήσομαι, *for I will not deny that I am happy.* EUR. AL. 1158. So ἀρεῖ κατακτάς. Id. OR. 1581.

911. The participle *ὢν* is sometimes omitted in indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Σὺ δὲ σὺς ἴσθι (sc. ὢν), *but know that you are safe.* SOPH. O. C. 1210. Εἰδὸς εἰτρεπεῖς ἡμῶς (sc. ὄντας). DEM. iv. 18; so iv. 41. Ἀγγελλε παῖσιν ἀθλιωτάτην ἡμέ (sc. οὔσαν). EUR. HEC. 423.

912. The verbs included in 904 may also be followed by a clause with *ὅτι* or *ὡς* in indirect discourse. When *δῆλόν ἐστιν* and *φανερὸν ἔσται* are used impersonally, they regularly take *ὅτι* or *ὡς.* *E.g.*

Ἦσθητο ὅτι τὸ Μέναιος στρατεύμα ἤδη ἐν Κελικίᾳ ἦν. XEN. AN. i. 2, 21. Αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθίμως ἦλθον. Ib. iii. 1, 40. Ἀκοίωτες ὅτι οὗτος πολίξει τὸ χωρίον. Ib. vi. 6, 4. Τικοῦτόν γ' οἶδα κάμαιτήν, ὅτι ἀλγὸν. SOPH. EL. 332. Ταῦτα ἴσασιν ὅτι φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ γίγνεται. PLAT. PROT. 323 D. Δῆλον (sc. ἐστίν) ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει. XEN. AN. i. 3, 9. Φανερόν δὲ ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν Θμιξίν οὔτε Σκίθαις ἐθέλοιεν ἂν διαγωνίζεσθαι. Id. MEM. iii. 9, 2. Τοῦτο φανερόν, ὡς . . . λέγομεν. PLAT. SOPH. 237 D.



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Τῇ φωνῇ σαφῶς κλαίειν ἐφαίνετο, *by his voice he seemed plainly to be weeping* (but he really was not). XEN. SYMP. i. 15. Compare καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἰόν, *and he was plainly well disposed towards them*, HD. vii. 173. But see also AESCH. Ag. 593, πλαγκτὸς οὐδ' ἐφαίνομην, *I appeared to be crazed*, said by Clytemnestra of herself, after she was shown to have been right. Τοῦτό μοι θεϊότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι, *this seems to me to have been a most wonderful event*. HD. vii. 137.

915. Other verbs of this class (904) may be used in a peculiar sense, in which they have the infinitive not in indirect discourse. Others, again, allow both constructions of the infinitive; while γινώσκω and εἰσέσκω have the infinitive in three different senses.

1. Μανθάνω, μέμνημαι, and ἐπιλάνθανομαι, in the sense of *learn, remember, and forget to do anything*, take the ordinary object infinitive. *E.g.*

Ἐπεὶ μάθων ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς αἰεὶ καὶ πρότωσι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, *since I learned to be brave, etc.* II. vi. 444. Τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον. AESCH. Prom. 1068. So XEN. An. iii. 2, 25. Μενήσθη ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, *let him remember to be a brave man*. Ib. iii. 2, 39 (with ὧν it would mean *let him remember that he is a brave man*). Μενήσονται δέῃρο ἀποπέμπειν. Id. Cyr. viii. 6, 6. Ἐπελαθόμεν τοὺς καθύσκους ἐκφέρειν, *I forgot to bring out the urns*. AR. Vesp. 853. Ὀλίγον ἐπελαθόμεθ' εἰπεῖν. PLAT. Rep. 563 B.

2. (a) Οἶδα and ἐπίσταμαι, which regularly have the participle in indirect discourse, take the ordinary infinitive in the sense of *know how to do anything*. *E.g.*

Μὴ ψεῖδέ, ἐπίσταμενος σάφα εἰπεῖν, *do not be false, when you know how to speak truly*. II. iv. 404. Οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νομῆσαι βῶν. II. vii. 238. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναυτίον οὔτ' οἶδεν οὔτ' ἐθέλει. DEM. iv. 40. So EUR. Hipp. 729, Med. 664. Εἴκειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς, *she knows not how to yield to troubles*. SOPH. Ant. 472; so Aj. 666; EUR. Hipp. 996.

(b) But these verbs in the sense *to know* or *to believe* sometimes take the infinitive (like the participle) in indirect discourse. This is rare in prose, except with ἐπίσταμαι, *to believe*, in Herodotus. *E.g.*

Ἴσθη τὰ σκληρὰ ἄγαν φρονήματα πίπτειν μάλιστα, *know that too stubborn spirits are most apt to fall* (like πίπτοντα). SOPH. Ant. 473. (Οἶδα with the participle follows in 477.) Εἰδὲ νῦν ἐπίστω τῶνδ' ἐμ' αἰσχύνῃν ἔχειν. Id. El. 616; so O. T. 690, Ant. 1092; AESCH. Pers. 337. Εἰ ἴσθη τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιάσθαι. XEN. Cyr. viii. 3, 44; so viii. 7, 12. Ἐπιστάμενοι τότε τελευτῆσαι, *believing that he* (Cyrus) *had then perished*. HD. i. 122; so iii. 66, 134, and 140, vii. 172. See ἴσθη μίποτ' ἂν τυχεῖν, SOPH. Ph. 1329; and τόδ' ἴσθη, μὴ γῆμαι, EUR. Med. 593; cf. I. A. 1005.

3. Γιγνώσκω besides its construction with the participle in indirect discourse (904), has three uses with the infinitive:—

(a) In the meaning *to decide or judge*, with the infinitive in indirect discourse; as τὸ δ' ἕρον ἀνταπόδοτε, γρόντες τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν, *making up your minds that this is that time, etc.*, THUC. i. 43; so HDT. ix. 71; XEN. AN. i. 9, 17.

(b) In the meaning *to determine or resolve*, with the ordinary object infinitive; as Ἀλυάττεα ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀστυάγει, *they decided that Alyattes should give his daughter to Astyages*, HDT. i. 74; so XEN. HELL. iv. 6, 9, ἔγνω διώκειν, and iii. 1, 12; ISOC. XVII. 16.

(c) Occasionally in the meaning *to learn* (ἐγνων), with the object infinitive, like μανθάνω and μέμνημαι (1); as ἵνα γνῶ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡσυχωτέρων, *that he may learn to keep his tongue more quiet*, SOPH. ANT. 1089.

4. Δείκνυμι and other verbs signifying *to show*, besides the participle in indirect discourse (904), may take an object infinitive in the sense *to show how to do anything*. *E.g.*

Ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, *the guides instructed them to take provisions*. XEN. AN. ii. 3, 14. Διαιτητήρια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεδείκνυον τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἔχειν ψυχρινὰ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἀλεινὰ, *I taught the men to keep their dwellings cool in summer and warm in winter*. ID. OEC. ix. 4.

5. Δηλῶ sometimes has the infinitive (like the regular participle, 904) in indirect discourse; and sometimes in the sense of *command* (*make known*) it has the ordinary object infinitive. *E.g.*

Δηλοῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν σωρὸν ἦκειν χρημάτων ἔχοντα, *for you indicate that he has come with a heap of money*. AR. PL. 269. Δηλοῦντες προσείσθαι τὰ κερηρυγμένα, *showing that they accepted the terms which were announced*. THUC. iv. 38. Κηρύγματι ἐδήλου τοῖς ἐλευθερίας δεομένοις ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρῆναι, *he proclaimed that those who wanted freedom should come to him as an ally*. XEN. AG. i. 33.

6. (a) Εἰρίσκω, which has two constructions with the participle (883; 904), occasionally has the infinitive in indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Εἴρωσκε πρῆγμα ὅτι εἶναι ἐλαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, *he found that he must (πρῆγμα μοι ἔστι, mihi opus est) march to Sardes*. HDT. i. 79; so i. 125, vii. 12. See PLAT. LEG. 690 B.

(b) The middle may take the ordinary object infinitive in the sense of *discover how to do anything*. *E.g.*

Οὐδὲς λίπυς εἴρωτο παύειν, *no one ever found out how to stop pains*. EUR. MED. 195.

. Gauth says " damit er sich entschliesse "



(c) The middle may also have the infinitive in the sense of *procure by asking*. *E.g.*

Παρά δὲ σφίσι εὐροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ ἐστάναι Ποτιδαίητων τοὺς παρόντας, *they gained (the favour) from Pausanias that those who were present from Potidaea should stand next to themselves*. *Hdt.* ix. 28.

'Ως with the Participle in Indirect Discourse.

916. The participle in indirect discourse may be preceded by ὥς, which implies that the thought of the participle is expressed as that of the leading subject, or as that of some person prominent in the sentence. (See 864.) When this is already implied in the context, as it often is, ὥς adds only emphasis to the expression. Thus ἴσθι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα means *know that this is so*; but ἴσθι ὥς ταῦτα ἔχοντα means *know that (as you may assume) this is so*, i.e. *be assured that this is so*. *E.g.*

'Ως μὴδὲν εἰδὸτ' ἴσθι μ' ὦν ἀνωτορεῖς, *understand (that you must look upon) me as knowing nothing of what you seek*. *SOPH. PH.* 253. 'Ως μηκέτ' ὄντα κείνον ἐν φάει νόει, *think of him as no longer living*. *Ib.* 415. 'Ως ταῦτ' ἐπίστω δρώμεν', οὐ μέλλοντ' ἔτι, *understand that (as you may assume) these things are going on, etc.* *Ib.* 567. Ταῦτα γῆ τῆδ' ὥς τελῶν ἐφαίετο. *Id. O. C.* 630. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπωτάσθω Κροῖσος, ὥς ἕστερον ἄλλοις τῆς πεπρομένης, *and let Croesus understand this, that he was captured later than it was fated for him to be*. *Hdt.* i. 91. 'Ως μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα, *be assured that you will not buy me off from my determination*. *SOPH. ANT.* 1063. Δηλοῖς δ' ὥς τι σημανῶν νέον, *you show that you have something new in your mind to disclose*. *Ib.* 242. Δηλός ἐστιν ὥς τι δρασεῖων κακόν, *it is very plain that he wishes to do some harm*. *Id. AJ.* 326. Δηλός ἦν Κῆρος ὥς σπεύδων, *Cyrus showed that he was in haste*. *XEN. AN.* i. 5, 9. Δηλοὶ ἔσεσθε ὥς ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, *you will show that you are angry*. *LYS.* xii. 90. Πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγγελῶν ὥς οὐκ ἔτ' ὄντα, *(he comes) to announce that your father is no more*. *SOPH. O. T.* 956. (In vs. 959, the messenger himself says εἰ ἴσθ' ἐκείνον θανάσιμον βεβήκοτα.)

The force of ὥς here can seldom be well expressed in English.

917. In place of the participle with ὥς in indirect discourse, we may have a circumstantial participle with ὥς in the genitive or accusative absolute, followed by a verb to which the participle would naturally be the object. *E.g.*

'Ως ὧδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδ' ἐπίστωσθαί σε χρή, *you must understand that this is so*; lit. *believing this to be so, you must understand (it is so)*. *SOPH. AJ.* 281; see Schneidewin's note. By an entirely different construction this comes practically to the same meaning as ὥς ὧδ' ἔχοντα τῶδ' ἐπίστωσθαί σε χρή. 'Ως τοίνυν ὄντων τῶνδ' σοι μαθεῖν

πάρα, in the belief that this is so, you may learn it, i.e. you may learn that this is so. AESCH. Prom. 760. Ὡς πολέμον ὄντος παρ' ἑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ; shall I announce from you that there is war? lit. shall I make a report from you on the assumption that there is war? XEN. An. ii. 1, 21. Ὡς πάνν μοι δοκοῦν, οὕτως ἴσθι, know that I think so very decidedly; lit. in the belief that this seems so to me, understand accordingly. Id. Mem. iv. 2, 30. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἀγωνιουμένου, οὕτως γίνωσκε, know that I shall contend. Id. Cyr. ii. 3, 15.

918. Ὡς with the participle in the genitive absolute, used as in 917, may depend on verbs or expressions which do not take the participle without ὡς in indirect discourse. *E.g.*

Ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντων τῶν τέκνων φρόντιζε δὴ, think of it, that your children are no longer living, lit. knowing that your children are no longer living, think of it. EUR. Med. 1311. Ὡς καὶ τῶν στρατωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡμῶν μὴ μεμπτῶν γεγενημένων, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε, be of this mind, that both your soldiers and their leaders have been free from blame. THUC. vii. 15. Ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε, be of this opinion, that I shall go wherever you do. XEN. An. i. 3, 6. Ὡς τοίνυν μὴ ἀκουσομένων, οὕτως διανοεῖσθε, make up your minds then that we shall not hear; lit. knowing then that we shall not hear, so make up your minds. PLAT. Rep. 327 C. Ἐν τοιούτοις μὲν ὡς διδακτοῦ οὕσης τῆς ἀρετῆς λέγει, here he speaks of virtue as a thing that can be taught. Id. Men. 95 E. Ὑποβήμενοι ὡς τοῦτου οὕτως ἔχοντος, προΐωμεν, having premised that this is so, let us proceed. Id. Rep. 437 A. Διανοηθέντες ὡς ἰόντων πάντων ἀεὶ καὶ βρόντων, thinking of all things as moving and in flux. Id. Crat. 439 C. Οὕτω σκοπῶμεν, ὡς τάχ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ τοιούτων κἀκείνων συμβάντων, let us look at the case, feeling that both this and that might perhaps happen if it should so chance; lit. with the idea that both this and that might perhaps happen if it should so chance, let us look at it in this light. DEM. xxiii. 58. (For ἂν see 215 and 221.)

919. Verbs of *saying* and *thinking* which do not take the participle in indirect discourse sometimes have the participle (in the accusative or nominative) with ὡς, which in some cases approaches very near indirect discourse, and in others is more like a circumstantial participle. *E.g.*

Φροντίξεθ' ὡς τοιούτοις τε καὶ σοφωτέροις ἄλλοισι τούτων πλείοσιν μαχομένοι, consider that you will have to fight with these, etc. SOPH. El. 1370 (cf. EUR. Med. 1311, quoted in 918). Λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὄλωλότας, they speak of us as lost. AESCH. Ag. 672. Ὡς οὐκ ἐπέξων οὐδὲ πιστεύσων λέγεις; do you speak with a resolution not to yield or to believe? SOPH. O. T. 625. Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Λιολέας ὡς δούλους πατριῶν ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, he thought of Ionians and Acolians as his father's slaves. HDL. ii. 1. Ὡς στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ μηδεὶς λέγέτω, let no one speak of me as the one who is to be general. XEN. An. i. 3, 15. Ἐδόκει πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα

2. prosedur belajar always ko. ov. o. it. no. g. : ko. p. h' be. an. 2.
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τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα, he was thought to have already reported truly many such occurrences, (reporting) what was real as real, and what was unreal as unreal. *Ib.* iv. 4, 15. Ὅταν ὡς πετόμενοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ διανοῶνται, when in their sleep they fancy themselves flying. *PLAT. Theaet.* 158 B.

διανοεῖσθαι οὕτως ... ὡς ... οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔγοντας
 to make up their minds to this that they could not become
 off T. 7. 5. 3

CHAPTER VII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES IN -τέος AND -τέον.

920. The verbal in -τέος is used in both a personal and an impersonal construction.

921. In the personal construction, the verbal is always passive in sense. It expresses *necessity* (like the Latin participle in *-tus*) and agrees with its subject in case. This construction is, of course, restricted to transitive verbs.
E.g.

᾽Οφελητέα σοι ἡ πόλις ἐστί, *the city must be benefited by you.* XEN. Mem. iii. 6, 3. Ἄλλας (ναῦς) ἐκ τῶν ξυμμάχων μεταπεπτεύας εἶναι (ἔφη), *he said that others must be sent for.* THUC. vi. 25. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ, *a man must not be honoured before the truth.* PLAT. Rep. 595 C. Ὅμοίως φησὶν ἀπάσας εἶναι καὶ τιμητέας ἐξ ἴσου. Ib. 561 C. Φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφι περιοπτήε ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολλυμένη. HDT. vii. 168.

922. The substantive denoting the agent is here in the dative. *Εἰμί* is often omitted.

923. In the impersonal construction (which is the more common), the verbal is in the neuter of the nominative singular (sometimes plural), with *ἐστί* expressed or understood. The expression is equivalent to *δεῖ*, (*one*) *must*, with the infinitive active or middle of the verb to which the verbal belongs.

This construction is practically active in sense, and allows transitive verbals to have an object in the same case which would follow their verbs. The agent is generally expressed by the dative, sometimes by the accusative. *E.g.*



Ταῦτα ἡμῖν (or ἡμᾶς) ποιητέον ἐστί, *we must do this*, equivalent to ταῦτα ἡμᾶς δεῖ ποιῆσαι. Οἰστέον τάδε, *we must bear these things*. EUR. OR. 769. Πειστέον τάδε (sc. σοί), *you must obey in this* (= δεῖ πείθεσθαι). SOPH. PH. 994. Ἀπαλλακτέον αὐτοῦ (τοῦ σώματος), καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα (= δεῖ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ θεᾶσθαι τὰ πράγματα), *we must free ourselves from it (the body), and with the soul itself we must contemplate things themselves*. PLAT. PHAED. 66 E. Φημι δὲ διχῶ βοηθητέον εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡμῖν, *I say that you must give assistance in two ways*. DEM. I. 17. Τί ἂν ἀπὸ ποιητέον εἴη; *what would he be obliged to do?* XEN. MEM. I. 7, 2. Ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμητέα εἶναι (= δεῖν πολεμεῖν), *they voted that they must go to war*. THUC. I. 88. Τὴν χώραν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτοῖς ὀρωμένους πολεμητέα ἦν. Id. VI. 50. Οὔτε μισθοφορητέον ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείους ἢ πεντακισχιλίους. Id. VIII. 65. (Here both the accusative and the dative of the agent are found: see 926.) Ἡμῖν δὲ ξίμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οἷδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ (ἡμᾶς) αὐτοῖς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει (= οὓς οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι, κ.τ.λ.). Id. I. 86. Ἰτέον ἂν εἴη θεασομένους (sc. ἡμᾶς), *it would be best for us to go and we her*. XEN. MEM. III. 11, 1. Οἷδεν ἄν τρώῳ φαιμέν ἐκόντας ἀδικητέον εἶναι. PLAT. CRIT. 49 A. Ἀτὰρ οὐ γυναικῶν οὐδέποτε ἐσθ' ἡττητέα ἡμῖν (= οὐ γυναικῶν δεῖ ἡττᾶσθαι), *but we must never be beaten by women*. AR. LYS. 450. So SOPH. ANT. 678.

It will be seen that this construction admits verbals of both transitive and intransitive verbs.

924. The Latin participle in *-dus* is used in the same personal construction as the Greek verbal in *-τέος*; as *epistula scribenda est*, *ἐπιστολή γραπτή ἐστίν*, *a letter must be written*.

The impersonal construction is found in Latin, but generally only with verbs which do not take an object accusative, as *Eundem est tibi vitium ἐστί σοι*,—*Moriendum est omnibus*,—*Bello utendum est nobis* (τῷ πολέμῳ χρηστέον ἐστίν ἡμῖν), *we must employ war*. See *Madvig's Latin Grammar*, § 421.

Occasionally the earlier Latin uses even the object accusative, like the Greek; as *Aeternas quoniam roenas in morte timendum est*, *LUCR. I. 112*.

925. A sentence sometimes begins with an impersonal verbal in *-τέον* and is continued with an infinitive, the latter depending on *δεῖ* implied in the verbal. *E.g.*

Πανταχοῦ ποιητέον ἂν κελεύῃ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πατρίς, ἡ πείθειν αὐτήν. PLAT. CRIT. 51 B.

926. The dative and the accusative of the *agent* are both allowed with the verbal in *-τέον* (or *-τέα*); although the equivalent *δεῖ* with the infinitive has only the accusative. Thus we can say *τοῦτο ἡμῖν ποιητέον* or *τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ποιητέον*, but only *τοῦτο ἡμᾶς δεῖ ποιῆν*.



APPENDIX.

I.

THE RELATION OF THE OPTATIVE TO THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OTHER MOODS.

IN the chapter on the general view of the moods, no attempt was made to assign to either the subjunctive or the optative a single "fundamental idea" from which all the uses of the mood could be derived, except so far as the idea of futurity was shown to belong essentially to the subjunctive in all its most primitive uses. It would be impossible to include under one fundamental idea all the actual uses of any mood in Greek, except the imperative; for even the indicative is used to express unfulfilled conditions, unaccomplished wishes, and unattained purposes, none of which can be brought under the ideas of "declaration" or "absolute assertion" commonly attributed to this mood. Again, it is not to be expected that the true fundamental idea of any mood should include all its uses in a developed language; for the fortunes of language often depend on causes which are quite independent of the original essence of the forms employed, and which seldom can be referred to invariable laws of thought. The same idea can be expressed in two cognate languages by different moods: as *he would have seen* is εἶδεν ἂν in Greek and *vidisset* in Latin, while in Sanskrit it would be expressed by a past augmented future equivalent to the Greek ἐμελλεν ὄψασθαι (see § 428). Even within the Greek itself, we have *if he were wise* expressed by εἰ σοφὸς εἶη in Homer and by εἰ σοφὸς ἦν in Attic; and in Homer, both οὐκ ἂν ἔγνωσ and οὐκ ἂν γνοίης can mean *you would not have discerned*, while the latter can mean also *you would not discern* in the same future sense as in Attic).

One doctrine of the original meaning of the Greek subjunctive and optative has gained such general approval of late, that it is entitled to special consideration. This teaches that the fundamental idea of the subjunctive is *will*, and that of the optative is *wish*. In the subjunctive, the idea of will appears especially in exhortations and prohibitions and

in expressions of purpose. It can also be used to explain the subjunctive in protasis, by understanding $\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta$ in $\eta\nu \epsilon\lambda\theta\eta$ to mean originally *let him go, suppose him to go* (in some case). But before we can decide that will is the fundamental idea of the subjunctive, or even that it is a necessary and essential part of the idea of this mood, we must ask, first, whether it is essential to those uses of the subjunctive which we have a right on other grounds to call the most primitive; and, secondly, whether there is any other idea equally essential and equally primitive, from which the idea of will could have been evolved more simply and naturally than this could have been evolved from the idea of will.

The subjunctive nowhere bears more distinct marks of primitive simplicity than when it appears in Homer as a simple future; as in $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \pi\omega \tau\acute{o}\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\delta\grave{\epsilon} \dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, *for never yet have I seen such men, nor shall I ever see them*, Il. i. 262, and in $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma \epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\eta\sigma\iota\nu$, *and some one will say*, Il. vi. 459, followed by $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\epsilon\iota$ in vs. 462, referring to the same thing. See other examples in § 284. In this sense it is negated by $\omicron\upsilon$, like an indicative; and it may be modified by $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, like the future indicative in Homer, and thus acquire a potential sense (see §§ 285 and 286). It is seldom that any modal form (except a plain indicative) is found so free from associations which might affect its meaning and conceal its original character. It has, moreover, its exact counterpart in Sanskrit in the Vedic subjunctive, which is negated by \nmid , the equivalent of $\omicron\upsilon$.¹ This simple subjunctive has no element of will. It expresses what the speaker regrets as readily as what he is resolved to do. Thus in both the examples above quoted, the subjunctive expresses an act which is decidedly contrary to the speaker's will and wish. This subjunctive and the future indicative run parallel in all their constructions, and the former expresses will only so far as the latter does. The only character that is beyond question in this subjunctive is its reference to future time, and if we were left to this use alone, we should have no hesitation in designating the subjunctive as a form expressing futurity like a future tense. As this use cannot be deduced from the subjunctive as an expression of will, let us see whether the opposite process, the evolution from the simple future meaning of the uses in which will appears, is any easier and does any less violence to the principles of the language.

The use of the subjunctive which strikes every one as coming next in simplicity to the Homeric construction just described is seen in exhortations, like $\dot{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, *let us go*, and (in its negative form) in prohibitions, like $\mu\eta \dot{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, *let us not go*, $\mu\eta \epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\eta\tau\epsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, *do not say this*. This use of the subjunctive is found also in Sanskrit, and its negative is there generally (though not always) \nmid , the equivalent of $\mu\eta$. It thus appears that the marked distinction which is seen in the early Greek between $\dot{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, *we shall go*, and $\dot{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, *let us go*, in both positive

¹ See Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, i. (*Conjunctiv und Optativ*), pp. 23-25.





and negative forms, was probably inherited from an ancestral language, so that we need not seek for the development of this distinction within the Greek itself. It is obvious that the future element is equally strong in both expressions, while the hortatory subjunctive also expresses will. Now it is much more natural to suppose that a future form expressing exhortation or prohibition originated in a form expressing mere futurity, than that the merely future form originated in the exhortation or prohibition. We cannot derive *οὐκ ἴδωμαι*, *I shall not see*, from *μὴ ἴδωμαι*, *let me not see*. But it is by no means impossible that, in some language which was a common ancestor of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, subjunctive (i.e. originally future) forms came to be used to express both commands and prohibitions; that, when these imperative expressions became distinguished from the subjunctive in its ordinary future sense, they adopted the negative (the ancestor of *μή* and *μῆ*) which was used with similar imperative forms, though this use of the negative might not at first be very rigid; and that thus *μὴ ἴωμεν*, in the sense *let us not go*, became established in early Greek as opposed to *οὐκ ἴωμεν*, *we shall not go*. In Sanskrit, however, the use of *má* in such cases was less fixed, and here *na'* (the equivalent of *οὐ*) is sometimes found with the subjunctive in prohibitions.¹ This last is what we should have if in *χειρὶ δ' οὐ ψάσεις ποτέ*, *you shall never touch me*, *Eu. Med.* 1320, we could substitute an Homeric subjunctive (e.g. *ψάσης*) for the future indicative. The cases of *μὴ* with the future in prohibitions given in § 70, like *μὴ βουλήσεσθε εἰδέναι*, *do not wish to know*, *DEM.* xiii. 117, are too few to be of much weight in the discussion; but they seem to show an abortive tendency to establish the future indicative with *μὴ* by the side of the subjunctive in prohibitions. What the future could do in an imperative sense is shown by examples like *πάντος δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις*, *but by all means do this*, *AR. Nub.* 1352, and others quoted in § 69; but the natural negative here was *οὐ*, not *μὴ*, as in *οὐ ψάσεις* above.

If the origin of the interrogative subjunctive in appeals (§ 287) and of its negative *μῆ* has been correctly explained in §§ 288 and 291, this is merely an interrogative form of the subjunctive in exhortations and prohibitions, and calls for no special discussion here. The origin of the use of the subjunctive with *οὐ* *μὴ* is still too uncertain to give this construction much weight in determining the essential character of the subjunctive. If the view of this construction which is advocated in this work (see Appendix II.) is accepted, the form is an offshoot of the prohibitory subjunctive. If it is thought to be an original construction, expressing a strong denial or prohibition by its own force, the subjunctive appears in its original future force. Whatever theory we may have of the origin of this subjunctive, the form is interchangeable in use with the future indicative.

In dependent sentences, the subjunctive is used in two constructions, —in so-called final clauses, and in conditional sentences. In negative

¹ See Delbrück, *Conjunctiv und Optativ*, p. 112.

final constructions with *μή*, the subjunctive was originally prohibitive (§§ 262, 307); in positive clauses with the final particles, it expresses something aimed at, that is, an object of will. But here, as in independent sentences, to derive the more complex from the more simple is far more natural than the reverse. Further, in all final constructions the future indicative may be used in the same sense as the subjunctive; this could hardly be done if the subjunctive contained an essential element of will which is wanting in the future. Again, the subjunctive is very common in final constructions after past tenses, where the optative is the regular form (318); it cannot be supposed that the idea of will is present in such final clauses when they have the subjunctive (as they generally do in Thucydides) and is absent when they have the optative (as is more common in Xenophon). In conditional sentences, although we may explain the subjunctive as originally hortatory, *ἦν ἔλθῃ* meaning *let him come (we will suppose)*, it is more natural to refer this use to the primitive use of the subjunctive as a simple future, *εἰ κεν ἔλθῃ* (or *εἰ ἔλθῃ*), *in case he shall come*, making a supposition of a future event of which the Homeric *ἔλθῃ*, *he will come*, might make a statement (see §§ 11 and 398). We thus avoid the necessity of explaining the indicative and the subjunctive in protasis on different principles. As each of the various tenses of the indicative with *εἰ* expresses a supposition in the time which it naturally denotes (§ 3, c), so the subjunctive is a natural form to express a future supposition. Thus, as *εἰ γενήσεται τοῦτο* supposes what *γενήσεται τοῦτο* states, *εἰ γένηται τοῦτο* naturally supposes what (in the older language) *γένηται τοῦτο*, *this will happen*, states. As the former cannot be explained by the idea of will, it seems unnecessary and illogical to introduce this idea to account for the latter. What has been said of ordinary conditional sentences applies also to relative conditions.

The only use of the subjunctive in conditions which cannot be derived from the simple future meaning is that in general suppositions; but the undeveloped state of this construction in Homer and other considerations make it highly probable, if not certain, that this is a use of the subjunctive which grew up within the Greek language itself at a comparatively late period, and that it is not one of the primitive uses of the mood. (See §§ 11, b, 400, 401.)

It is certain that no trace of the subjunctive as a mood of will can be seen in its actual use in conditional sentences. Thus *ἦν τὴν πόλιν ἔλωσι* could always be said as properly by the friends as by the enemies of a city, by the besieged as well as by the besiegers. In *Il. iii. 71. ὀππότερός κε νικήσῃ*, spoken by Priam, is, as an expression, perfectly neutral as regards the hope or desire of victory. It may be said with truth, that the primitive meaning of a verbal form is apt to be weakened, or even to disappear, in actual use. But is it logical to assume a lost meaning to account for an expression, when the meaning which remains accounts for it satisfactorily without external help? When we find *ἦν ἔλωσι τὴν πόλιν* actually expressing a mere future supposition, with no idea of will, in all periods of the language, and





when we find ἔλωσι meaning *they will capture* in the earliest period that we know, why should we assume an original idea of will (which was afterwards lost) in ἦν ἔλωσι to account for its actual meaning? The view of the conditional sentence here adopted is confirmed by paratactic conditions like the following: *θήσεις δὲ τὴν παῖδ'· εἴθε τίνας εὐχὰς ἐρείς*; EUR. I. A. 1185, where *θήσεις* makes a supposition, *supposing you shall sacrifice the girl*, which would generally be expressed by εἰ *θήσεις* or ἦν *θήσης*: so ἀδικεῖ τις ἰκῶν and ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων, both expressing suppositions, DEM. xviii. 274.¹

On these grounds we may feel justified in regarding the subjunctive as originally and essentially a form for expressing future time, which the Greek inherited, with its subdivision into an absolute future negated by οὐ and a hortatory future negated by μή, and used in independent sentences.

The name *optative mood* (ἐγκλισις εὐκτική), which was invented by grammarians long after the usages of the language were settled, designated the mood by the only use which it then had in independent sentences without ἄν, that of *wishing*. It is evident that this name in itself is no ground for assuming that wishing was the primitive function, or even an essential function, of the optative, any more than the name of the subjunctive (ἐγκλισις ἰποτακτική) would lead us to assume dependence as an original or necessary characteristic of that mood. We have already mentioned the theory that the optative is the mood of *wish*, as the complement of that which makes the subjunctive the mood of *will*. This theory finds no support in the potential use of the optative with or without κέ or ἄν, which is the only independent use of the optative except in wishes and exhortations. Surely ἀπόλοιο ἄν, *he would perish*, can never have been developed from ἀπόλοιο, *may he perish*, for the former is no more likely to be said by one who wishes the death of a person than by one who fears it, and there is nothing in the addition of ἄν or κέ which can reasonably be supposed to change a form, which in itself expresses wish, to a neutral form or even to one expressing what is feared. The fundamental distinction in negative sentences between μή ἀπόλοιο and οὐκ ἄν ἀπόλοιο (or οὐκ ἀπόλοιο) is still more significant. Nor can any support for the theory be found in dependent final constructions or in indirect discourse. No one would see a distinction of will and wish in ἴδῃ and ἴδῃσι in ἐρχεται ἵνα ἴδῃ τοῦτο and ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃσι τοῦτο, or in φοβοῦμαι μή ἔλθῃ and ἐφοβήθην μή ἔλθοι,—not to speak of ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃσι τοῦτο and ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃ τοῦτο. Still less would any one dream of looking for wish in the optative in εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι, *he said that he had come*, or in ἤρτο εἰ τις εἴη σοφώτερος. In all these dependent constructions, the optative is only the representative of the subjunctive or indicative when these are, as it were, transferred to the past by depending on a verb of past time; but, if wish were the fundamental idea of the optative, we should hardly expect this to vanish so utterly, since

¹ See C. F. Hermann, *de Proclasi Paratactici*, p. 7.

the essential character of the optative would naturally be especially marked where it is used by a fixed principle of the language as a substitute for an indicative or a subjunctive.

The only strong argument for the theory that the optative is primarily the mood of wish is found in the optative with *εἰ* in protasis. It is maintained that a gradual development of this conditional form from the simple optative in a wish can be actually seen in Homer. The strongest and most attractive statement of this argument is given by Lange in his elaborate, but unfortunately unfinished, treatise on the particle *εἰ* in Homer.¹ Delbrück's treatment of the optative in his *Syntaktische Forschungen*, vol. I, is based on this doctrine. When Lange states (p. 485) that, of 200 examples of *εἰ* with the optative in Homer, 136 are expressions of wish, the majority seems decisive; although we may even here withhold our judgment until we examine the majority and also see what the minority of 64 have to say. The majority of 136 is made up as follows:—

1. Ordinary wishes with *εἰ γάρ, εἴθε* (*αἰ γάρ, αἴθε*), or *εἰ*, like *αἴθ'* οὕτως, *Εὐμαιε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο*, Od. xiv. 440; *αἰ γὰρ οὔτως εἶη*, Il. iv. 189; *εἴθ' ὡς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη*, Il. xi. 670. (Of these there are 38 cases.)

2. Cases in which a wish with *εἰ* and the optative (like the expressions just quoted) is followed by an apodosis expressing a consequence which would follow the fulfilment of the wish. Thus the last example in 1 appears in Il. vii. 157 with such an apodosis:—

*εἴθ' ὡς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη
τῷ κε ταχ' ἀντήσειε μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ.*

If we put a comma at the end of the first verse, we have a full conditional sentence. In many cases it is doubtful which punctuation is correct. Lange includes under this head even such sentences as Il. vii. 28, *ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολὺν κέρδιον εἶη*, and Od. xi. 381. (Of these there are 28 cases.)

3. Ordinary conditional sentences, in which the fusion between the optative with *εἰ* expressing a wish (i.e. supposing something that is desired) and a following apodosis with *κέ* or *άν* is said to be complete, as in Il. xiii. 485:—

*εἰ γὰρ ὀμηλικίη γε γενοίμεθα τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ,
αὐψὶ κεν ἤε φέροιτο μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φεροίμην.*

(Of these there are 19 cases, against 18 otherwise similar cases in which the optative with *εἰ* supposes something not desired.)

4. Cases of which the following are examples:—

ἦλυθον, εἴ τίνα μοι κληρόνα πατρὸς ἐνίσποις, Od. iv. 317.

¹ *Der Homersche Gebrauch der Partikel EI*, von Ludwig Lange, des vi. Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften No. 4. Lange himself, nevertheless, believes the optative to be originally the mood of "Erbildungskraft," not of wish.



πάπτηνεν δ' ἀνὰ πύργον Ἀχαιῶν, εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο
ἡγεμόνων, ὃς τις οἱ ἀρῆν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύναί, Il. xii. 333.

Such examples are variously explained, but the protasis generally refers to something that is desired. (Of these there are 43 cases.)

5. Ordinary conditional sentences in which εἴ with the optative expressing a wish follows an apodosis; as in Il. xxii. 20, ἦ σ' ἀντιπαίμεν, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη. These differ from those in 3 only in the position of the protasis. (Of these there are 8 cases of wishes, against 33 in which no wish is implied, of which last 17 are concessive.)

The minority of 64 examples, in which εἴ with the optative does not express a wish, is made up of the 18 dissenting cases under 3, the 33 under 5 which contain no wishes, 5 exceptional cases (as Lange views them) under 4 (2 with doubtful readings), and 8 cases of ὡς εἴ with the optative in similes, like ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο, Il. ii. 780.

It will be seen that the strength of the argument lies in the gradual development of the optative conditional sentence which is supposed to appear in 1, 2, and 3. This is further enforced by reference to cases in which the simple optative in a wish (without any form of εἴ) is followed by an apodosis, like the equivalent optatives with εἴ in 2, thus showing the absence of a conditional force in the latter. See Od. xv. 180:—

οὔτω νῦν Ζεὺς θέλη, ἐρίγδοιπος πόσις Ἥρης·
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κείθε θεῶ ὡς εἴχεται ὀφίην.

Since the two clauses are grammatically independent here, it is argued that they must be equally so in the examples in 2.

The whole argument is based on the important assumption that the optative with εἴ, εἴ γάρ, etc. in a wish is the same in origin with the simple optative in a wish, so that εἴ γένοιτο τοῦτο and γένοιτο τοῦτο both come to mean *may this be done* in the same way, by a wishing power inherent in the optative itself; and from this it is argued that εἴ γένοιτο τοῦτο as a protasis is used in a more primitive and natural sense when what is supposed is desired by the speaker than when it is not. Unless we assume this as proved, and reject the opposite alternative which makes the optative with εἴ in a wish a protasis with a suppressed apodosis, we have no right to count the examples in 1 and 2 as evidence that the optative with εἴ denotes a wish by its own nature; for it would be reasoning in a circle to quote these as proof that the optative itself denotes wish, in a discussion which aims at establishing the nature and meaning of the optative in these very expressions. Again, the real nature of the 43 conditions with εἴ and the optative in 4 is in question in this discussion; and it is inadmissible here to assume at the outset that they express wish in themselves and then to use them as evidence that wishing is the original function of the optative. Proof is needed, therefore, that the optatives in 1, 2, and 4 (that is, in 109 of the 136 wishing optatives in Homer)

actually express wish by their own force, so that they can properly be used as independent testimony here. Until at least a reasonable presumption in favour of this view is established, we are without evidence that there is any such gradual development of the optative condition as is claimed. We must therefore depend at present on the only cases about which no doubts exist, the complete conditional sentences in 3 and 5, to determine whether the optative with *εἰ* involves the idea of wish without regard to the nature of its apodosis. If it should be found that the idea of wish preponderates in these optatives, we should have a convincing proof that the same is true of the optatives in 1, 2, and 4, whether these are viewed as protases or as original wishes. A slight inspection of Lange's statistics will show that the question is not to be settled in this simple way. Of the 37 optatives in 3, 19 suppose something that is wished for, while 18 do the opposite. Of the 41 in 5, only 8 suppose desirable things, while 33 do not. Therefore, in the 78 plain cases of *εἰ* with the optative in conditions in Homer, we find only 27 expressing wishes. If we confine ourselves to the cases in 3, where the protasis precedes, we find as equal a division as is possible (19 : 18), showing very plainly that even here wish has nothing whatever to do with the form of expression. Indeed, if we take *εἰ* with the optative in protasis by itself, what is there to indicate that it involves a wish? It cannot be doubted that this form is the equivalent of the English *if he should go* and *if we should see him*; and who would attempt to find any such idea as wish in these expressions? Unless we are prepared to maintain that *if we should be saved* expresses the original idea of the English construction better than *if we should perish*, we must be slow to assert that *εἰ σωθῆμεν* gives the spirit of the Greek optative better than *εἰ ἀποθνήσκωμεν*. We must remember also the large class of conditional relative sentences which have the optative. This optative cannot be explained on any different principle from the optative with *εἰ*, and yet who would profess to find anything like the idea of wish in *ὃ τις βέτοί, Od. i. 47, φ μὴ εἶη, xi. 490, or in Il. vi. 330, 521, xiii. 344, xiv. 248*? I give the first six examples that I meet.

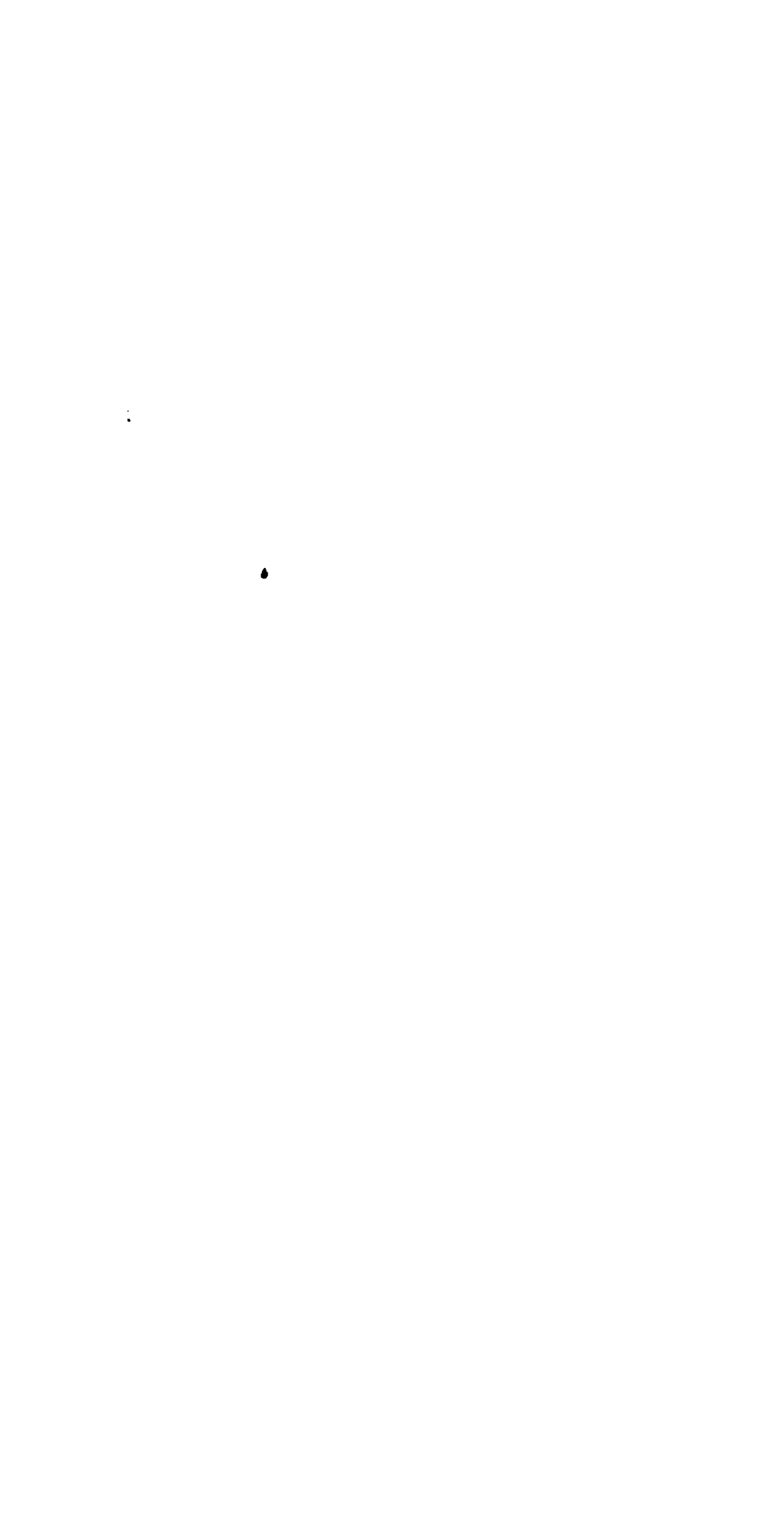
It is obvious at once that we must recur to the examples in 1 and 2, and see whether these establish any such strong presumption as will justify us in making wish the fundamental idea of the optative with *εἰ*, notwithstanding the fact that a large majority of the optatives in protasis in Homer have a contrary meaning.

In dealing with the examples in 1 and 2, it will be assumed that *εἰ, εἶθε, εἰ γάρ, and αἰ, αἶθε, αἰ γάρ* all have the same origin, and involve the same particle *εἰ* or *αἰ* which is used in protasis.¹ The question in regard to the wishes in 1 amounts to this: is it more probable that the optative here is merely the wishing optative, preceded by a sort of exclamatory particle *εἰ*,² so that *γένοιτο* and *εἰ γένοιτο* are merely

¹ See Lange, pp. 311, 312; and footnote to § 379 of this work.

² Lange, p. 484, calls *εἰ* "eine zur Einleitung von Wünschen und Fallssetzungen geeignete interjectionsartige Partikel." See also p. 565.





different forms of an exclamation, *O may it be done!*—or that *εἰ γένοιτο* in a wish is the same as *εἰ γένοιτο* in protasis, meaning *if it should only be done*, deriving its force as a wish from the unconscious suppression of an apodosis like *how happy I should be or it would be well!* The difficulty of explaining *εἰ* in an ordinary protasis like *εἰ ἦλθεν*, *if he came*, as in any sense exclamatory is a great obstacle in the way of Lange's view; but his alternative is equally hard, to make *εἰ* in a wish radically different from *εἰ* in a protasis. In the incomplete state of Lange's work, it is impossible to see how successfully he would have surmounted this difficulty. But, apart from this, we are compelled on his theory to believe that the parallel construction of *εἰ γὰρ* and *εἴθε* with the past tenses of the indicative in wishes is radically different in principle from that of *εἰ* etc. with the optative. The former is a later construction; but is it possible that the traditions of so fixed an expression as *εἰ* with the optative in wishes could have so utterly vanished that, while *εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο*, *may it be done*, had no conditional force, *εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο τοῦτο*, *O that this had been done*, was felt as conditional? It is impossible to explain *εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο* except as an elliptical protasis, since there is no form of wish like *ἐγένετο* (alone) corresponding to *γένοιτο*, *may it be done*. Even if we could suppose that *εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο* was formed ignorantly on the analogy of *εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο*, it would be incredible that *μή γένοιτο* should not have engendered a corresponding *μή ἐγένετο*.

But why is it thought necessary or probable that *γένοιτο* and *εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο* should have had the same origin? If we can trust our feelings in the use of our own language, it is beyond doubt that our expressions of wish, like *may help come* and *O if help should (or would) come!* are entirely independent constructions, and also that the latter is a condition with its conclusion suppressed. Why should we not accept the same simple distinction in the Greek forms, and admit that the Greek had two ways of expressing a future wish, one by the simple optative, the other by a protasis with its apodosis suppressed? Absolute proof is, of course, impossible in such a case; but it is surely safe to maintain that no such strong presumption is established in favour of identity of construction in *γένοιτο* and *εἰ γένοιτο* in wishes, as to make it probable that *εἰ γένοιτο* in protasis was originally a form of wish, in face of the fact that only a small proportion of Homer's undoubted protases with *εἰ* and the optative express wishes.

But it may be said that the peculiar examples of half-formed conditional sentences in 2 (p. 376) establish the theory of the development of the conditional optative out of a wish. But this connecting link loses its value, when it is seen that it connects merely one construction, in which the wishing force of the optative is at least questionable, with another in which there is no positive evidence of any wishing force at all. If the ordinary theory of the suppression of an apodosis with *εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο* in a wish is correct, we must suppose that the suppressed apodosis was seldom felt in a definite form of words any more than it is with our *O if he would come*. But it might sometimes

happen that an actual expression of a definite result of the fulfilment of a wish would suit the case better than the uncertain reference to a fulfilment, which the mere clause with *if* suggests. We have an excellent illustration of this when a wish is repeated as a protasis in almost the same words, and is then followed by an apodosis. See Od. iii. 217-223 (quoted in § 730), where *εἰ γὰρ σ' ὡς ἐθέλοις* is first a simple wish, and then is repeated as *εἰ σ' οὕτως ἐθέλοις*, with the apodosis *τῷ κέν τις*, etc. naturally following. The oft-recurring verse *εἴθ' ὡς ἠβόοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη* appears in Il. xi. 670, xxiii. 629, and Od. xiv. 468 (if Bekker is right in omitting vs. 503-506) as a simple wish with no addition; but in Il. vii. 157 it stands as a repetition of the wish contained in vs. 132, 133, *αἶ γὰρ ἠβῶμι' ὡς*, etc., and is followed by the apodosis *τῷ κε τάχ' ἀντήσσει μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ*. In the other examples, we have simply the wish *if I were young again*, with its vague unexpressed apodosis; but in Il. vii. 157 the result is expressed in the definite form, *then would Hector meet his match*. See Od. xvii. 496 and xv. 536 (quoted in § 730), in both of which a definite apodosis expressing a result takes the place of the usual suppressed conclusion. A distinction of optatives with *εἰ* into wishes and suppositions, based on the wishing or non-wishing nature of the verb, is often arbitrary. Thus Lange quotes, among his "paratactic" wishes followed by an apodosis in a distinct sentence (that is, half-developed conditional sentences), Il. xvii. 102:—

*εἰ δέ που Διαντός γε βοὴν ἀγαθοῖο πυθοίμην,
ἀμφὶ κ' ἄστις ἰόντες ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάριμιν,*

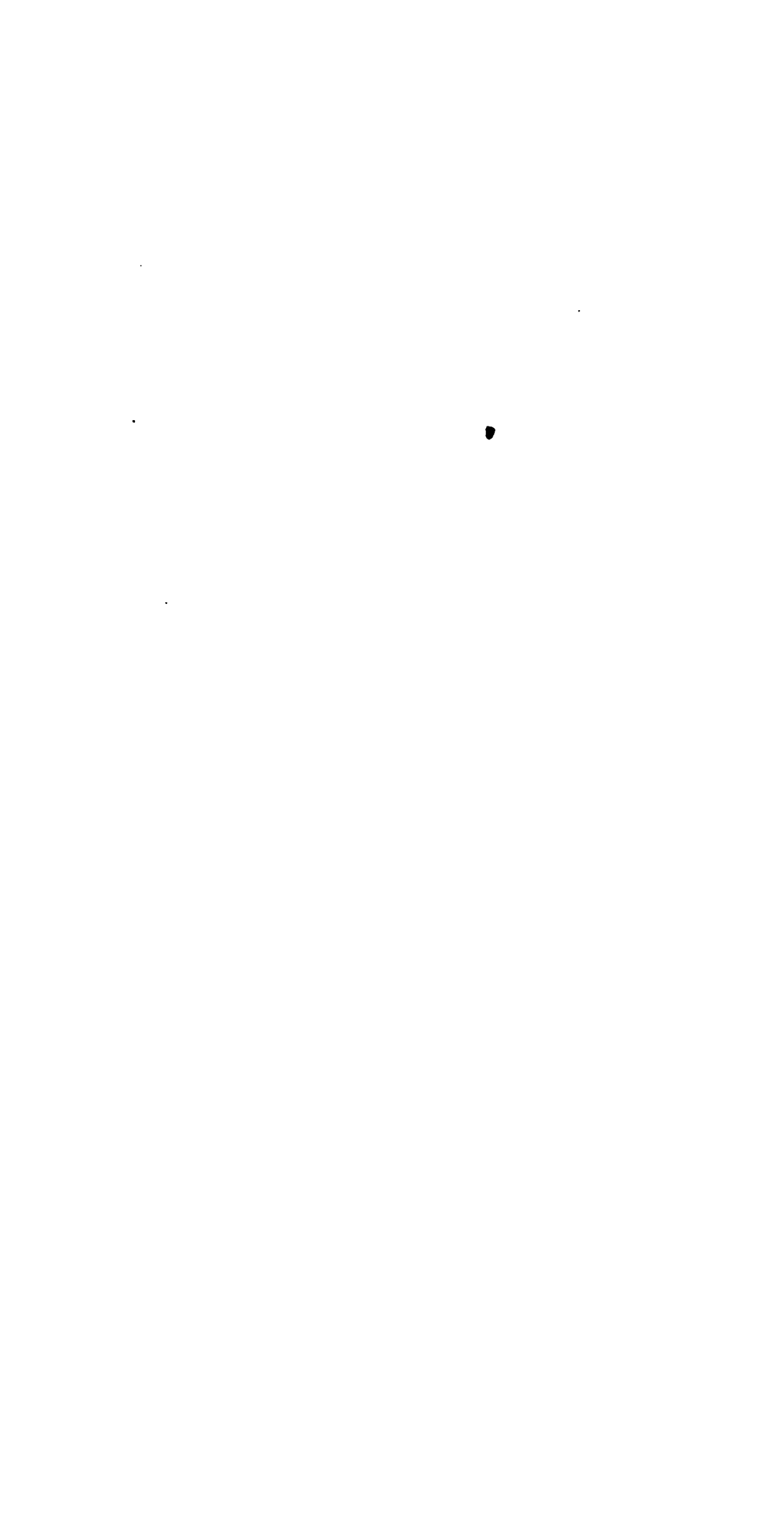
while he gives as an ordinary conditional sentence Il. xxiv. 653:—

*τῶν εἰ τίς σε ἴδοιτο θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,
αὐτίκ' ἂν ἐξείποι Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν.*

His ground for distinction is merely that the former expresses a wish, while the latter does not. Even if both sentences were held to be simply conditional (as they probably are), it would still be claimed that the optative is used in a more legitimate and primitive sense in the former than in the latter. But is not the patent fact that there is really no essential distinction between these two optatives with *εἰ* (taken as conditions) a strong argument against the whole doctrine which derives the optative in protasis from the optative in wishes?

As to the 43 examples in 4, in which the optative with *εἰ* obviously stands without any expressed apodosis, I must refer to the discussion of these in §§ 486-493, where they are explained as protases which contain within themselves an implied clause of purpose as the apodosis. Whoever will compare the examples of the optative in § 488 with those of the subjunctive in § 487, or those of the optative in Delbrück's *Conjunctiv und Optativ*, pp. 236-238, with those of the subjunctive in pp. 171-175, will probably be satisfied that the greater part of these optatives represent original subjunctives, which are regularly used in this sense after primary tenses, while the original optatives that occur after primary tenses in this construction are not more frequent than





they are in ordinary protasis in Homer (see §§ 499-501). Thus βῆ Πάνδαρον διζήμενος εἴ ποῦ ἐφεύροι, *he went seeking Pandarus, in case he should find him anywhere* (i.e. *to find P. if haply he might*), II. v. 167, represents an original form βαίνω Πάνδαρον διζήμενος, ἣν ποῦ ἐφεύρω. This is true, whatever theory we hold as to the nature of the condition here. Again, this form is equally adapted to suppositions which are not objects of wish or desire; as in THUC. vi. 100, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἴ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρον, *they marched towards the city, in case the enemy should rush out (to be ready to meet them if they should rush out)*. So in Od. xxii. 381:—

πάτηγεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καθ' ἔον δόμον, εἴ τις ἐτ' ἀνδρῶν
ζῶς ὑποκλοπέοιτο ἀλσῶκων κῆρα μέλαιναν,

where Ulysses is said to have searched the house, *in case any one of the suitors should still be alive and be concealed* (i.e. *to find any such*). This is quite as natural an expression as II. xii. 333, πάτηγεν εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο ἡγεμόνων, where the protasis supposes something desired. The idea of purpose which these sentences imply makes it natural that the supposition should be a desirable one in the majority of cases; but no independent support for the theory we are discussing can be found in them.

We come then to the following conclusions. The theory that wish is the fundamental idea of the optative finds no support in conditional sentences with εἴ and the optative in Homer, for among 78 full sentences of this class, only 27 express suppositions which are desired by the speaker. The other optatives with εἴ which are said to express wishes stand without apodosis, and the nature of these expressions is itself in question in this discussion. As the presence of the idea of wish in the optative in ordinary conditions would have been a strong proof that the same idea is inherent in these other optatives, so the conspicuous absence of wish in the former creates a presumption against its existence in the latter; for it appears that, even if the optative with εἴ in wishes does express the wish by its own natural force, this force has not passed over into the ordinary optative in protasis, even in Homer. We have to consider, therefore, whether in spite of this presumption it can be established that the optative is the mood of wish, or that the two forms of optative in wishes (with and without εἴ) are identical in origin and construction. The theory of their identity obliges us to believe that εἴ is a sort of exclamatory particle; whereas the older view, which has the authority of Aristarchus (§ 723), that the optative with εἴ in wishes is a protasis with a suppressed apodosis, avoids this difficulty by making the form of wish the same as that of protasis. The new theory also compels us to explain the past tenses of the indicative with εἴ and the optative with εἴ in wishes on different principles. The cases in 2 (p. 376) of an optative with εἴ in a wish followed by an apodosis in a separate sentence are easily explained by supposing an actual apodosis to be expressed in them, where commonly only a general idea of satisfaction (like καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι) is understood. The cases of εἴ with

the optative without an apodosis in 4 are to be explained by the implied apodosis: they are not necessarily expressions of desire, and the optative here generally represents an original subjunctive.

As a negative result, we do not find in the Homeric examples as a whole any satisfactory proof that wish is the fundamental idea, or even an essential idea, of the optative.

For the original meaning of the optative we must go, not to the developed wish, still less to the developed potential construction with *άν* or to the protasis with *εί*, but rather to certain simpler and less decided expressions, a few of which remain in Homer. In II. iv. 17-19 we have a full conditional sentence,

εί δ' αὖ πως ποδε πασι φίλον και ἦδὸν πέλοιτο,
ἦ τοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος,
αὐτις δ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην Μενέλαος ἄγοιτο.

This may be translated, and if moreover this should be welcome and pleasing to all, king Priam's city may continue to be a dwelling-place, and Menelaus may take Argive Helen home again. But οἰκέοιτο and ἄγοιτο (without *κέ* or *άν*) here do not make the usual potential apodosis, nor do they express a wish; and yet a very slight change in the thought would make them either of these. With *κέ* or *άν* added, the meaning would be *Priam's city would continue to be*, etc.; without *άν*, in the ordinary language it would be *may Priam's city continue to be*, etc. The same general result happens to be expressed in other passages in various ways. In II. iii. 71-75 Paris proposes the duel with Menelaus, and says:—

ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,
κτῆμαθ' ἔλων ἐν πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἰκαδ' ἀγέσθω·
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃτα και ὄρκια πωτὰ ταμόντες
ναίοιτε Τροίην ἐριβόλακα, τοὶ δὲ νεέσθων
Ἄργος ἐν ἰππόβοτον.

Here ἀγέσθω is used with the same general idea in mind as ἄγοιτο in iv. 19, and ναίοιτε is like οἰκέοιτο. This example would rather lead us to understand both ἄγοιτο and οἰκέοιτο as wishes. But in iii. 255 we have τῷ δὲ κε νικήσαντι γυνὴ και κτῆμαθ' ἔποιτο, where τῷ νικήσαντι is equivalent to ὀππότερος κε νικήσῃ in 71, and ἔποιτό κε is potential, though expressing the same general idea as ἀγέσθω and ἄγοιτο above. Also, in iii. 256 we have ναίομεν (like ναίοιτε in 74) and νέονται (as future). Again, in iii. 138 Iris says to Helen τῷ δὲ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κε κλήσῃ ἄκοιτις, where κε κλήσῃ κε is potential, referring to the same result as ἔποιτό κε, ἄγοιτο, and ἀγέσθω. These passages show a use of the optative without *κέ* which comes very near to that of the optative with *κέ*, and also to that of the imperative and of the future (with and without *κέ*). This neutral use of the optative is generally called "concessive."

In other cases, the optative without *κέ* has a more decided potential force; as in II. xxiii. 151, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαι γε φίλην ἐν πατρῷοις γυῖνι, Παιτρὸς κλέω ἥρωι κόμπην ὀπάσσειμι φέρεσθαι, *I would fain see you*.



So in Il. xv. 45, *αὐτὰρ τοι καὶ κείνῳ ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην*, *I should advise him*. In Il. xxi. 274, *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τι πάθοιμι* may be either *then let me suffer anything* (i.e. *let me perish*), or *then would I suffer anything*: that the latter is the true meaning is made more probable by xix. 321, *οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι*, *for nothing else that is worse could I suffer*, where *οὐ* shows that the optative is potential. On the other hand, in Il. xxiv. 148, *μηδὲ τις ἄλλος ἅμα Τρώων ἴτω ἀνὴρ κῆρῆξ τίς οἱ ἔποιτο γεραίτερος*, i.e. *let no other of the Trojans go with him; only let an elder herald accompany him* (or *a herald may accompany him*), the general sense and the preceding imperative seem to show that *ἔποιτο* is hortatory. Compare Il. iii. 407, *μηδ' ἔτι σοῖσι πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας Ὀλυμπον*, between two pairs of imperatives, where *μηδὲ* shows the nature of the expression. Again, in Il. vi. 164, *τεθναίης, ὦ Προίτ', ἢ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην*, we may doubt whether *τεθναίης* means *you must die* or *may you die* (i.e. *die*), although the connexion with *κάκτανε* leads us to the latter interpretation: here also compare Il. iii. 407. The tendency is not very strong in either direction in these passages, as is plain from the difficulty which we sometimes feel in deciding which the direction actually is in a given case.¹ But as the potential and the wishing forms are generally clearly distinguished in Homer, we must look upon the few neutral expressions that we find as relics of an earlier stage of the language, in which the optative without *κέ* or *ὄν* was freely used in the sense of *οἰκέοιτο* and *ἄγοιτο* in Il. iv. 18, 19. Such expressions could not be used in negative sentences, at least after *οὐ* and *μή* were established in their regular force, as the use of either negative would at once decide the character of the sentence. In the earlier language *ἔλθοιμι* and *ἴδοιμι*, *I may go* and *I may see*, probably corresponded to the subjunctives *ἔλθω* and *ἴδω*, *I shall go* and *I shall see*, as weaker forms for expressing future time. But both moods had inherited another use, by which *ἔλθω* and *ἴδω* meant *let me go* and *let me see*, while *ἔλθοιμι* and *ἴδοιμι* meant *may I go* and *may I see*. The reasons given above, for thinking a derivation of the hortatory subjunctive from the simple future expression more probable than the reverse, apply equally to the corresponding uses of the optative.

In these neutral optatives, of which Il. iv. 18, 19 gives the most striking examples, we probably come nearest to the primitive use out of which the two most common uses of the independent optative

¹ To show the uncertainty that exists concerning some of these optatives in the minds of modern scholars, I give some of the most recent translations of four of them.

Il. vi. 164: *You may as well die*, Monro; *I pray that you may die*, Leaf (ed.); *Die, Proetus*, Leaf (transl.); *Du wirst selbst sterben müssen*, Delbrück.

Il. xxiii. 151: *I may as well give*, Monro; "The optative expresses a wish," *I should like to give it, may I be allowed to give it*, Leaf; *I may give*, Myers; *Ich werde mitgeben*, Delbrück.

Il. xxi. 274: *I am ready to suffer*, Monro; *Perish; then let come what may*, Leaf; *After that let come to me what may*, Myers.

Il. xxiv. 149: *Only a herald may follow*, Monro; *I permit a herald to go with him*, Leaf; *Let some older herald attend on him*, Myers.

(potential and wishing) were developed. Before the Homeric period these two uses were already established, the potential with its mark of $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and its negative $\omicron\upsilon$, and the wishing with no external mark and its negative $\mu\acute{\eta}$. It is hardly possible that the first potential use of the optative was marked by $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, for we find undoubted potential optatives in Homer without either of these particles (see § 240), and even in Attic poetry such indefinite expressions as $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta' \omicron\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta' \omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$, etc. have the optative without $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (§ 241). Although the early Greek, even in Homer, did not always use $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with the potential optative, there is no evidence that it ever failed to distinguish the wishing optative in negative sentences by the use of $\mu\acute{\eta}$, while the potential was always negated by $\omicron\upsilon$. The Sanskrit optative, which must have had a common origin with the Greek, appears in its earliest use in the state in which we have supposed the early Greek optative to have been, *i.e.* used both in a potential sense and in wishes without any particle like $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, and occasionally in a neutral or concessive sense. But while the negative $n\acute{a}$ (= $\omicron\upsilon$) is always found in the potential use, we have both $m\acute{a}$ (= $\mu\acute{\eta}$) and $n\acute{a}$ in wishes and similar expressions in which the Greek has only $\mu\acute{\eta}$.¹ The same peculiarity

¹ See Delbrück, *Conj. u. Opt.* pp. 26, 194, 198, 199. Whitney, who agrees generally with Delbrück in deriving the other uses of the Sanskrit optative from the idea of wish or desire, says of the actual use of the mood (*Sanskrit Grammar*, § 573): "But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is." Again, in § 574: "Subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent." In § 575: "The difference between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree. . . . There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialised uses of forms originally equivalent—having, for instance, a general future meaning." In § 581: "In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a distinction between subjunctive and optative: a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent."

The original relation of the Sanskrit subjunctive and optative here stated closely resembles what I believe to have been the original relation of the Greek subjunctive and optative, the optative being essentially a sort of weaker subjunctive, both expressing essentially the same idea. My own view would, I think, agree substantially with that suggested by Delbrück (*Syntaktische Forschungen*, iv. p. 117) as an alternative to his earlier view presented in his *Conjunctiv und Optativ* (vol. i. of the same work) eight years before: "Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, in beiden Modi den *futureischen* Sinn zu finden, und zwar im Conj. die Bezeichnung der nahen, im Opt. die der ferneren Zukunft. Unter dieser Voraussetzung müsste die von mir *Synt. Forsch.* i. gewählte Anordnung gänzlich umgestaltet werden." I was, of course, not aware of this important concession of Delbrück when I suggested in the same month (August, 1879), in my Greek Grammar, p. 258, the relation of the optative to the subjunctive which is advocated in the present work.

Since the above was written, Delbrück in his *Alt-Indische Syntax* has



has been noticed in the use of negatives with the subjunctive (p. 373).

It is probable that at some early period the Greek had two parallel uses of the subjunctive and optative in independent sentences, as follows:—

ἔλθω,	<i>I shall go</i>	(neg. οὐ),	or	<i>let me go</i>	(neg. μή)
ἔλθῃς,	<i>thou wilt go</i>	("),	or	<i>go thou</i>	(")
ἔλθῃ,	<i>he will go</i>	("),	or	<i>let him go</i>	(")
ἔλθοιμι,	<i>I may or might go</i>	(neg. οὐ),	or	<i>may I go</i>	(neg. μή)
ἔλθοις,	<i>thou mayest or mightest go</i>	("),	or	<i>mayest thou go</i>	(")
ἔλθοι,	<i>he may or might go</i>	("),	or	<i>may he go</i>	(")

Although the Greek which is best known to us did not use the second and third persons of the subjunctive in a hortatory sense, there can be little doubt that such a use existed in the earlier language, as appears from the use in Sanskrit and in Latin, and from the Greek prohibitions with μή. (See § 258.) In an Elean inscription we find two cases of the third person: τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα . . . ἀνατεθῆ ἐν τῷ ἱερῶν τῶ Διὸς τῶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, and (voted) *that the decree be set up, etc.*; and also ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεται (subj.) Νικόδρομος ὁ βωλογράφος, *that N. have charge, etc.*¹

Both moods alike developed a distinct potential use, which was distinguished from the other by κέ or ἄν; and in Homer we have forms like ἔλθω κε and ἔλθῃ κε parallel with ἔλθοιμί κε and ἔλθοι κε, all negated by οὐ. The potential subjunctive, however, did not survive the Epic period, while the potential optative became fixed in the language. The future indicative also developed a potential form with κέ or ἄν, which appears to have survived the potential subjunctive, at least in the colloquial language. The English has no form except its vague *I may take* to express the various shades of meaning denoted by ἐλοῦμαι κε, ἔλομαι, ἔλομαι κε, and ἐλοίμην, which once stood between ἐλοῦμαι, *I shall take*, and ἐλοίμην ἄν, *I should take*. (See § 399.) The subjunctive, therefore, in its two chief uses in independent sentences, from which all others are derived, was originally accompanied by a weaker future form, the optative, expressing the same idea less distinctly and decidedly.

Let us now see how this weaker subjunctive (or future) form enters into the various dependent constructions, that is, into conditional and final sentences and indirect discourse.

The only dependent construction in which the optative is an original form, not representing another mood after a past tense, is that of *protasis* (including the conditional relative clause, but excluding the past generic expressed an opinion (in contradiction to his earlier view, discussed above), that the potential and wishing functions of the optative are distinct in their origin.

¹ Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 117, quotes these passages from Cauer (No. 116). In p. 118 he says of this use: "Es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass dieser Coniunctiv-Typus im Griechischen ausstarb, weil der Imperativ dem Bedürfniss genugte." See also i. p. 20.

condition). Here we see the same relation between $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (or $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$) $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$, *if I shall go* and *if I should go*, as between the original $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega$, *I shall go*, and $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$, *I may (or might) go*, the optative being a less distinct and vivid form for presenting a future supposition, it may be for presenting the same supposition which has already been presented by the subjunctive. The distinction, whatever it may be thought to be, is that which appears in our distinction of *shall* and *should*, and there will always be differences of opinion as to the exact nature of this.¹ The objections to deriving this form of condition from the optative in wishes have already been considered. On the theory that the protasis is an offshoot of the conditional relative clause (see § 398), we should understand $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega$ as meaning originally *in case* (i.e. *in the case in which*) *I shall go* or *may go*, and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$ *in case I should go* or *might go*,—*should* and *might* being here merely weakened forms of *shall* and *may*. (Homeric optatives referring to the present are discussed below.)

In the whole class of final sentences, in which the subjunctive and optative are probably the only primitive forms, the optative always represents a dependent subjunctive in the changed relation to its leading verb in which it is placed when this verb is changed from present or future to past time, a change which we represent by our change from *may* to *might* or from *shall* to *should*; as $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, *he comes that he may see this*, $\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, *he came that he might see this*, etc. The thought in the dependent clause is in both cases what would be expressed originally by $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$, adapted to different circumstances; and the original subjunctive ($\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\iota$) could always be retained, even after past tenses, and by some writers it was generally retained (§§ 318-321). The change is, in fact, the same which is made in indirect discourse when the leading verb is past, since a past final clause always expresses the past thought of the leading subject (§ 703). This relation to indirect discourse is especially clear when the future indicative is used after primary tenses, with the future optative corresponding to it after past tenses.

The optative of indirect discourse has much wider relations, which were greatly extended as the language developed. Here the optative represents not merely the subjunctive but also the indicative in the changed relation in which these are placed by a change of the leading verb from present or future to past time, the tenses of the optative (with some restrictions) representing the corresponding tenses of either subjunctive or indicative at pleasure, the present including also the imperfect. In the development of the language, the want of an optative

¹ For an attempt to make this distinction more clear and to remove some difficulties concerning it, see my paper on "Shall and Should in Protasis and their Greek Equivalents," in the *Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1874*, pp. 87-107, and in the *English Journal of Philology*, vol. viii. no. 15, pp. 18-28. I have there given the best answer in my power to the objection that my explanation of the optative in protasis as "less distinct and vivid" than the subjunctive lacks distinctness; this answer is, briefly, that my statement is as distinct as the distinction itself to which it refers.



form to represent the future indicative was felt, and the future optative was added to the verb to supply the need, appearing first in Pindar. In Homer, this use of the optative is imperfectly developed, as the optative with $\delta\tau\iota$ or $\omega\varsigma$ in a quotation representing a simple indicative is still unknown (§ 671). Still the Homeric language has most of the other constructions of indirect discourse, including the optative in indirect questions representing both the indicative and the subjunctive. This optative in Homer appears (as we should expect) more as the correlative of the subjunctive than as that of the indicative. In indirect discourse, as in final constructions, the optative is not absolutely demanded after past tenses; and in some writers the original indicatives and subjunctives are more common (§ 670). The future optative, as a new form, is always less freely used than the older tenses.

In final constructions and in indirect discourse the optative appears as a subjunctive or indicative (as it were) transferred to the past, and it here has many points in common with the Latin imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. In Homer, moreover, the present optative is regularly used in present unreal conditions and conclusions, and both present and aorist optative with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ occasionally refer to the past like the imperfect and aorist indicative with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. These uses, taken in connexion with the secondary terminations of the optative, might lead us to think that the optative was originally a past expression, so that $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\epsilon\tau\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$, and *now he would have perished there*, Il. v. 311, would represent the regular use of the primitive optative, instead of being (as is commonly thought) a rare exception. Against this view, however, there are many considerations to be urged.

1. The optative is fully established in Homer in wishes and conditions as a future expression, and also in *present* unreal conditions, the imperfect indicative here being still confined (like the aorist) to the past. In *past* unreal conditions the optative never appears in protasis, and only rarely in apodosis, the aorist indicative being already established here before Homer. Thus, while $\omicron\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in Il. v. 85 means *you would not have discerned* (as future), and the common Homeric expression in Il. v. 85 would be $\omicron\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$. The evidence of the Homeric language, therefore, shows that the present optative is the original form in present unreal conditions and conclusions and in present unattained wishes, but is opposed to the view that the optative was ever regularly past.

2. It is hardly possible that the past unreal conditional preceded in development the ordinary future supposition. Every primitive language must have needed expressions like *if he should go he would see this before it ventured upon if he had gone he would have seen this*. If now we suppose that $\omicron\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ had originally the sense *you would not have discerned*, we must assume that the Greek expressed this idea before it could express *you would not discern* (future), for the language never had any other form to express the latter. We cannot hesitate, therefore, to find in the common future meaning of $\omicron\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \gamma\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ the

original force of the expression, and to look upon the occasional reference to the past as a relic of an early attempt to express *you would not have discerned* by a form already appropriated to another use.

3. The Homeric optative in conditional sentences agrees remarkably with the Sanskrit in both the future and the present use, the Sanskrit optative being used both in future and in unreal present conditions and conclusions, but not in past conditions or conclusions. This seems to show that the Greek inherited the two principal Homeric uses of the optative, (1) in future conditions and wishes, and (2) in *present* unreal conditions and unattained wishes, while, so far as our evidence goes, the occasional use of the optative in past potential expressions is an extension of its use beyond its hereditary limits made by the early Greek itself.

4. The argument drawn from the past tenses of the Latin subjunctive will not apply to Greek conditional sentences, for here the present and perfect subjunctive in Latin (not the imperfect and pluperfect) correspond to the Greek optative in its most frequent use, and in the older Latin these primary tenses sometimes express present unreal conditions.

The most natural view seems to be, that the primitive optative, before it came into the Greek language, was a weak future form, like *he may go* and *may he go*, from which on one side came its potential and its future conditional use, and on the other side its use in exhortations and wishes. These uses would naturally all be established before there was any occasion to express either an unreal condition or an unattained wish. The need of a form for present unreal conditions and present unattained wishes would naturally come next, and the present optative was made to include these also, no practical difficulty being caused by having a single form for *it would be* as both present and future, none being felt in Homer and none being now felt in English. In this state the optative probably came into the Greek, before any attempt was made to extend its use to past unreal conditions. When a form was required for these, the optative may have been used at first, on the analogy of present unreal conditions; but here the serious difficulty of using *ἀπόλοιτό κε* for *he would have perished* when it was already familiar in the sense *he would perish* (hereafter) probably prevented the establishment of this usage. Before our evidence begins, the past tenses of the indicative were firmly established in past unreal conditions, while the optative was here a rare exception, even in apodosis, and was never used in protasis. But no attempt was yet made to dislodge the present optative from present unreal conditions or the corresponding wishes, although the use of *ἄφελον* or *ἄφελλον* in Homer shows that a past indicative in a present sense was not absolutely repugnant even to the early usage. But afterwards a new tendency prevailed, and the imperfect indicative took the place of the optative in present unreal conditions, still retaining its older use (with the aorist) in past conditions. The Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin appear



See C.R. 1896 p. 150, 239; 1897 p. 109; C.R. 16(1902) 165.
Jannou thinks 2 or 3 yr!

J. Ab. 1875. p. 13-11.

Viz. 2a. 1886. 705 ff.

1886. A.J.P. 2. 202 ff.

V. 1886. 320

1886. II. 574. S. (ellipsis of $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ + $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$)
J. 1886. Greek Grammar (Syntax) p. 344.
summary: $\gamma\omicron\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$

to have developed their expressions of past unreal conditions independently. The Sanskrit, which seldom needed such a form, used its past future, as the Greek occasionally used ἔμελλον with the infinitive (see § 428).

The optative in past general suppositions only represents the corresponding subjunctive transferred to the past. This is, moreover, not to be treated as a primitive use of the optative, for reasons which apply also to the generic subjunctive (see §§ 11, b, and 17).

If the optative, at the time of its origin in some ancestral language, ever actually existed as a past form, as its terminations certainly seem to indicate, no effect has come down to the Greek from this remote origin, except perhaps the use of the optative to represent the subjunctive (and afterwards the indicative) transferred to the past in final constructions and indirect discourse. Even here, its relation to the subjunctive, which is probably all that is primitive in this use, is substantially that of a "remoter future," as it is in independent sentences and in protasis.

II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF οὐ μὴ WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND THE FUTURE INDICATIVE.¹

THE origin of the construction of οὐ μὴ has never been satisfactorily explained. While there is a general agreement as to the meaning of the two forms of expression in which this double negative occurs, that (1) οὐ μὴ γένηται or οὐ μὴ γένησεται is *it will not happen*, and (2) οὐ μὴ καταβῆται is *do not come down*, there is great diversity of opinion as to the manner in which these meanings are obtained from the Greek expressions, and still greater as to the origin of the constructions themselves. Most scholars have explained expressions of *denial* with οὐ μὴ and those of *prohibition* on entirely different theories, which involve different views of the functions of the negatives in the two forms. The explanation of the expressions of denial (like οὐ μὴ γένηται) which has gained most favour is that of an ellipsis after οὐ of a verb or other form denoting fear, on which μὴ γένηται depends; so that the full form would be οὐ δέος ἔστί μὴ γένηται, *there is no fear that it will happen*. Since a strong argument for this ellipsis is the existence of such examples as οὐ φόβος μὴ σε ἀγάγω, XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 25, and οὐχὶ δέος μὴ σε φιλήσῃ, AR. Ecl. 650, which, by omitting φόβος and δέος, would become οὐ μὴ σε ἀγάγω and οὐχὶ μὴ σε φιλήσῃ, it can hardly be said that this is supposed to be one of the unconscious ellipses which are no longer felt in actual use. This explanation,

¹ Reprinted, with a few changes, from the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 1, pp. 65-76.

however, does not help to account for the prohibitions in the second person, like οὐ μὴ καταβήσῃ, for there is no freak of language by which οὐ δέος ἐστὶ μὴ καταβῆς or εἴεν οὐ δέος ἐστὶ μὴ καταβήσῃ (if we can suppose such an expression) could be transformed into οὐ μὴ καταβήσῃ, in the sense *do not come down*. The prohibitions have, therefore, generally been explained, on Elmsley's theory, as interrogative; and οὐ μὴ καταβήσῃ; is supposed to mean *will you not not come down?* i.e. *do not come down*. All subjunctives that are found in these prohibitions, as in οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς μηδὲ ποιήσῃς, AR. Nub. 296, have generally been condemned since Brunck and Elmsley, and such subjunctives are seldom seen in recent editions of the dramatists.

But all attempts to explain these constructions of οὐ μὴ on different theories lead to fatal difficulties. We cannot make all the prohibitions interrogative, nor can we change all the prohibitory subjunctives to futures without violence to the text; nor are all cases of οὐ μὴ with the second person of the subjunctive or of the future prohibitory. The following examples show a complete transition from one of the uses of οὐ μὴ to the other, and yet no line of distinction, on which different theories of construction can reasonably be based, can be drawn between any two of them:—

Οὗτοι σ' Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μὴ τις ὑβρίσῃ, *no one of the Achaeans, I am sure, will insult you*. SOPH. Aj. 560. Οὐ σοὶ μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε, *I never will follow you*. Id. EL. 1052. Κοῦχί μὴ παύσῃσθε, *and you will not cease*. AR. Lys. 704. Ἄλλ' οὐ ποτ' ἐξ ἔμου γε μὴ πάθῃς τόδε, *but you shall never suffer this from me*. SOPH. EL. 1029. Οὐ μὴ ποτ' ἐς τὴν Σκύρον ἐκπλεύσῃς, *you shall never sail off to Scyros*. Id. Ph. 381. Οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς . . . ἀλλ' ἐφήμει, *do not jeer (i.e. you shall not jeer), but hold your tongue*. AR. Nub. 296 (this cannot be interrogative). Οὐ μὴ προσοίσεις χεῖρα μηδ' ἄψει πέπλων, *do not bring your hand near me, nor touch my garments*. EUR. Hipp. 606 (generally made interrogative).

It should be made a first requisite of any theory that it shall explain all these cases on the same general principle.

A preliminary question to be settled, if possible, is whether οὐ and μὴ merely combine to make a single strong negative, or whether οὐ as an independent adverb negatives μὴ and the verb taken together. The difficulty either of conceiving οὐ and μὴ as forming a single strong negative, as οὐ and οὐδέν or μὴ and μηδέν often do, or of understanding how μὴ γένηται, which by itself cannot mean *it will not happen*, can be strengthened by οὐ into an expression *with this very meaning*, has made it impossible to defend the former view on any recognised principle, even when it was adopted for want of something better, as in the earlier editions of the present work. The supposed analogy of μὴ οὐ forming a single negative with the infinitive will hardly hold as a support of this; for, while we cannot have a sentence like οὐχ ἄριον ἐστὶ μὴ οὐ βοηθεῖν continued by an infinitive with οἶδέ (e.g. by οἶδὲ ἀμύνεσθαι), we frequently have sentences like οὐ μὴ καλεῖς με μηδὲ καταρεῖς τοῦτομα, where μηδὲ continues the prohibition without



repeating οὐ, showing the distinct force of each part of this double negative. But this only brings out more emphatically the perplexing question that lies at the basis of the whole discussion. If οὐ is an independent negative, as by every principle of Greek negatives it should be, what does it negative? It is clear that there is only one active negative in οὐ μὴ γένηται, it will not happen; and οὐ μὴ σκώψης, do not jeer, surely does not have one more active negative than μὴ σκώψης.¹

It seems obvious, therefore, that if οὐ is an independent negative in οὐ μὴ γένηται, the negative force of the μὴ must in some way be in abeyance, as otherwise the two simple negatives would make the sentence as a whole positive. We may naturally turn for a suggestion here to the principal form of expression in which the negative force of μὴ seems to be in abeyance,—to Plato's favourite subjunctive with μὴ as a form of cautious assertion, *οὐ μὴ φαῦλον ἦ, I think it will prove to be bad*, Crat. 425 B. (See § 264 and the examples.) Such expressions are, practically, cautious affirmative statements, the fear that something may prove true having by usage softened into a suspicion, and this again into an idea of probability or possibility, so that μὴ φαῦλον ἦ, which originally meant *may it not prove bad (as I fear it may)*, has come to mean *I suspect it may prove bad*, and finally, *I think it will prove bad or it will probably prove bad*. The expression, however, always retains at least the implication that the fact thus stated is an object of apprehension to *some one*, though it has lost all of its original reference to such apprehension on the part of the speaker.² If now a writer wished to express the negative of one of these cautious assertions, in which the original force of μὴ has practically disappeared, he would say, for example, οὐ μὴ φαῦλον ἦ, it will not prove to be bad. We thus have a simple explanation of such sentences as οὐ μὴ οἴός τ' ἦς, *you will not be able*, PLAT. Rep. 341 B, and οὐ μὴ δυνάτος ᾶ, *I shall not be able*, Id. Phil. 48 D, the former being the negative of μὴ οἴός τ' ἦς, *I suspect you will be able*, the latter of μὴ δυνάτος ᾶ, *I suspect that I*

¹ The idea suggested rather than advocated by Gildersleeve (*American Journal of Philology*, iii. pp. 203, 205), that οὐ is an independent negative, *may*, while μὴ introduces a question which expects a negative answer, was evidently held by the copyists of some of the best Mss. of Aristophanes or by their predecessors: thus, Rav. and several Paris Mss. have οὐ μὴ σκώψης (or σκώψης) in Nub. 296; Ven. 174 has οὐ μὴ Ἀποδείξῃς in Nub. 367, and οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις in 505. See the Ms. readings given in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1869-70, p. 52.

² I give the following passages of Plato, with Jowett's translation, to illustrate this idiom:—

Ἄλλως δὲ συνείπειν μὴ φαῦλον ἦ καὶ οὐ καθ' ὁδόν, ᾧ φίλε Ἑρμογενεῖς, *if they are not, the composition of them, my dear Hermogenes, will be a sorry piece of work, and in the wrong direction*, Crat. 425 B. Ἄλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμογένους, γλίσχρα ἢ ἡ ἄλλη αἰτιῆ τῆς ὁμοιοτήτος, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἦ καὶ τῷ φορτικῷ τούτῳ προσχρησθῆαι, τῇ ἐπιθέσει, *but the force of resemblance, as Hermogenes says, is a mean thing; and the mechanical aid of convention must be further employed*, Ib. 435 C. Μὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκεπτικόν ἦ, *the only question which remains to be considered is, etc.* Crit. 48 C.

shall be able. So, by prefixing οὐ to μή ἀναγκαῖον ἦ, it may be necessary, we have οὐ μή ἀναγκαῖον ἦ, it will not be necessary. (See footnote, p. 394.)

This use of μή with the independent subjunctive in Plato, is, however, confined to the present subjunctive, and generally to ἦ (or ἔχῃ with an adverb), while οὐ μή generally has the aorist subjunctive or the future indicative, and only rarely the present subjunctive, even in Plato. (See examples in § 295.) Still, the successful application of the principle to the few present subjunctives which are like those above quoted indicates that we are on the right track.

The independent subjunctive with μή is by no means confined to the Platonic construction above mentioned, although this is its chief representative in Attic Greek. It is familiar in Homer in expressions of apprehension combined with a desire to avert the object of fear; as μή δὴ νῆμα ἔλωσι, may they not seize the ships (as I fear they may), Il. xvi. 128. (See § 261.) In such expressions sometimes the fear itself and sometimes the desire to avert the danger is more prominent; see Od. v. 415: μή πῶς μ' ἐκβαίνοντα βάλῃ λίθακι προτὶ πέτρῃ κῆμα μέγ' ἄρπάζαν, μελέῃ δέ μοι ἔσσεται ὄρμη, i.e. I fear that some ware may dash me upon a rock as I am emerging from the sea, and my effort will (then) be in vain (the clause of fear being merged in a direct statement). See also Il. ii. 195, xviii. 8; Od. v. 356, xvi. 255. Between Homer and Plato, we find only eight cases of independent μή (or μὴ οὐ) with the subjunctive;¹ but in these we can see the transition from Homer's clause of apprehension to Plato's cautious assertion. (See § 264.) In four of these cases, the speaker expresses fear and a desire to avert its object. These are EUR. Alc. 315, μή σοὶς διαφθείρη γάμοις,—Or. 776, μὴ λάβωσί σ' ἄσμενοι,—H. F. 1399, ἀλλ' αἶμα μὴ σοὶς ἐξομώρξωμαι πέπλοις,—Rhes. 115, μή οὐ μόλῃς πόλιν. In the other four we see either the cautious assertion found in Plato or a near approach to it. In Hdt. v. 79, we have ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἦ τὸ μαντήιον, but I suspect rather that this will prove not to be the meaning of the oracle (precisely Plato's usage). Cases of μή οὐ of course illustrate this use of μή with the subjunctive equally with those of the simple μή. In EUR. Tro. 982, Hecuba says to Helen, μὴ οὐ πείρησ σοφοῖς, I suspect you will not convince wise people, with the same sarcastic tone which is in Plato's μὴ οὐκ ἦ διδακτὸν ἀρετῆ, I suspect it will prove that virtue is not a thing to be taught, MEN. 94 E (said by Socrates, who is arguing that virtue is οὐ διδακτὸν). In AR. Eccl. 795, most editions have μὴ γὰρ οὐ λάβῃς ὅποι (sc. ταῦτα καταθῆς, where the Mss. give an impossible λάβοις), I suspect you will not find a place to put them down, with the same affectation of anxiety as in the two preceding examples. In XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 12, we have one of the rare interrogative forms of the subjunctive with μή, in which Euthydemus says to Socrates, μή οὐν οὐ δίνωμαι (v. l. δίναμαι) ἐγὼ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργα διηγῆσθαι; do you suspect that I shall be

¹ I depend here on Weber's statistics, given in his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtsz.*



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(or am) unable to explain the works of Justice? He adds, καὶ νῆ Δί' ἔγωγε τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, *I assure you, I can explain those of Injustice*. Here the spirit of the expression is the same as in the other cases. Compare the similar interrogatives in Plato: Phaed. 64 C, Rep. 603 C, Parm. 163 D, Sisyph. 387 C. But for the eight cases of independent μή that have been quoted, we should never know that the construction existed between Homer and Plato. We have good ground for believing that it remained as a colloquial idiom in the language, though it seldom appeared in literature until Plato revived it and restored it to common use as a half-sarcastic form of expressing mildly a disagreeable truth. In Plato, the construction is not confined to this peculiar sense, for we find cases in which honest apprehension is expressed as in the older use. Weber quotes Euthyd. 272 C, μή τοῖν ξίνοιε τις ταῦτο τοῦτο ἀνειδίση, *I am afraid some one may insult the two strangers in this same way* (or let no one insult them, as I fear some one may); also Symp. 193 B, καὶ μή μοι ὑπολάβῃ, *I hope he will not answer me*; and Leg. 861 E, μή τοίνυν τις οἴηται.

It appears, therefore, that the independent subjunctive with μή was in good use in the fifth century B.C. in the two senses illustrated by EUR. Or. 776, μή λάβωσί σε, *I fear they may seize you*, and by EUR. Tro. 982, μή οὐ πείσης σοφοῦς, *I suspect you will fail to convince wise people*. From the persistence of the original meaning, even in Plato, we may probably assume that the expression more frequently included the idea of apprehension which is essential to it in Homer. But the other examples show that μή λάβωσί σε must have been in equally good use in the sense *I suspect they will seize you* (implying no apprehension). If now we suppose οὐ to be prefixed to μή λάβωσί σε, we shall have οὐ μή λάβωσί σε, which could be said with the meaning *I am not afraid that they will seize you*, and equally well with the meaning *they shall not seize you*. The former sense agrees precisely with that of some of the older uses of οὐ μή with the subjunctive. If the strange example from Parmenides vs. 121 is genuine, we have οὐ μή ποτέ τις σε βροτῶν γνώμη παρελάσση, *there is no danger that any mortal will surpass you in wisdom*. In AESCH. Sept. 38, one of the oldest cases, 467 B.C., οὐ τι μή ληφθῶ δόλω, *I have no fear of being caught by any trick*, we can easily understand οὐ μή ληφθῶ as the negative of μή ληφθῶ, *I fear I may be caught*. So in Parmenides we have the negative of μή τις σε παρελάσση, *I fear some one may surpass you*. Οὐ μή τις ἀνειδίση would be a natural negative of μή τις ἀνειδίση, *I fear some one may insult*, in PLAT. Euthyd. 272 C. So, where there is no denial of apprehension, οὐ μή πάθης τόδε, *you shall not suffer this*, SOPH. El. 1029, may be the negative of μή πάθης τόδε, *I suspect you will suffer this*; and οὐ μή ἐκπλεύσης, Id. Phil. 381, may be the negative of μή ἐκπλεύσης, *I suspect you will sail away*. So οὐ μή ναῖς ἀφορμίση, Kirchhoff, -σησι; ἄθως, πρὶν ἄν, etc., *you shall not move your ships from the shore, until, etc.*, EUR. I. T. 18, will be the negative of μή ναῖς ἀφορμίση, *I suspect you will move your ships*. These expressions with οὐ μή were always colloquial, as were also at

least in Attic Greek) the expressions with $\mu\acute{\eta}$ and the subjunctive from which they are here supposed to have sprung.¹

If it is thought that the limited number of cases of independent $\mu\acute{\eta}$ with the subjunctive not implying apprehension do not justify the assumptions which have been based on them, it is easy to see how the change from the denial of an apprehension to the denial of a suspicion might have taken place within the $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}$ construction itself. If we suppose such expressions as $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\eta\phi\theta\acute{\omega}$ and $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ to have been established as the negatives of $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\eta\phi\theta\acute{\omega}$, *I fear I may be caught*, and $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$, *I fear some one may insult you*, they must soon have fallen out of this relation to the parent forms, and have been felt in use to be mere future negative assertions, so that they could not long be restricted to sentences in which apprehension was implied. Thus, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\tau\eta\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ would soon become as natural to those who used these forms as the older $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$. According to this view, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}$ with the subjunctive would come into the language in the sense of a denial of an apprehension, which is essentially the same general sense as that supposed by the theory of an ellipsis of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$. But there is a great advantage in dispensing with this troublesome and improbable ellipsis, and deriving the meaning from the sentence as it stands. There is surely no more ground for assuming this ellipsis here than in the independent subjunctive with $\mu\acute{\eta}$, which is an older construction than the dependent subjunctive with $\mu\acute{\eta}$. And if we accept $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ as a complete construction, without the help of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$, it is absurd to invent an ellipsis to explain $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ as a shorter form for $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$. In fact, dispensing with this ellipsis removes the most fatal objection to the view of the sentence on which the old theory was based.

¹ It may perhaps be urged, in opposition to the view here presented, that $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$, *they will not seize you*, cannot be the negative of $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$ in its sense of *I suspect they will seize you*, or even in that of *I fear they may seize you*, because the regular negative of this is $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$, as we may call $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\ \sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Ecn. Tro. 982) the negative of $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\ \sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. But $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ in $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ negatives only the verb, whereas $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ in $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ would negative the whole expression $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$. $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ is a cautious negative, meaning *I suspect you will not convince them*, corresponding in a certain way to $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$, *I suspect you will convince them*. But $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ would be the true negative of $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$, denying it absolutely, in the sense *there is no ground for suspicion that you will convince them*, or (sometimes) *there is no fear that you will convince them*, i.e. *you will not convince them*. There is all the difference in the world between suspecting a negative (e.g. suspecting that something will not happen) and negating a suspicion (e.g. denying that there is any suspicion that something will happen). Surely no one could understand $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}$, *I suspect I shall not be able*, as the negative of $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}$, *I suspect I shall be able*. The real negative is much rather $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}$, *there is no chance that I shall be able*, in PLAT. Phil. 48 D. The negative power of $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ in negating $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$ in its sense of *I fear they may seize you* is perhaps still more apparent. Whereas $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$ in this sense would mean *I am afraid they may not seize you*, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$ would mean *I do not fear (or there is no danger) that they will seize you*, which is felt as a strong negative, *they will not seize you*.



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In whichever of the two ways above suggested the subjunctive with οὐ μή came to express a simple future denial, it was only natural that the Attic Greek should soon begin to use the future indicative in place of the subjunctive in the same sense. Thus we have in SOPH. EL. 1052, οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε, and in AR. Ran. 508, οὐ μοί σ' ἐγὼ περιόψομαι, both expressing denial. At this stage all recollection of the original clause with μὴ and the subjunctive must have been lost, as there was no corresponding clause with μὴ and the future indicative in common use, of which οὐ μή with the future could be the negative. A most striking proof of the entire loss of this tradition is given by examples of indirect quotation of οὐ μή with the future: In SOPH. Ph. 611 we have τὰ τ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἐθίσπισεν, καὶ τάπιδ Τροίας πέργαμ' ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσοιεν εἰ μὴ τόνδε ἄγουτο, the direct form being οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσετε ἐὰν μὴ τόνδε ἄγησθε. In XEN. Hell. i. 6, 32, εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκίζεται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, the future indicative is retained in an otherwise similar construction. In EUR. Ph. 1590, we find εἶπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μὴ ποτε, σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος, εὖ πράξειεν πόλις, representing οὐ μὴ ποτε εὖ πράξει. We could not explain οὐ μὴ πράξειν as an independent expression on any theory, either with or without an ellipsis. Such forms show the advanced stage which the construction of οὐ μή had reached. (See § 296.)

We find in the Roman comic poets a few cases of *neque* with *haud* in the same clause, forming a single negative. Such are PLAUT. Bacch. 1037, *Neque* ego *haud* committam ut, si quid peccatum siet, fecisse dicas de mea sententia; and TER. Andr. 205, *Neque* tu *haud* dices tibi non praedictum. *Neque haud* may fairly be supposed to be a translation of οὐδὲ μὴ in a Greek original. If it is, it shows that the Roman poet understood οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive or the future indicative as a simple expression of denial.

When οὐ μὴ with the future indicative had been established as a regular form of future denial, the second person singular probably began to be used as a form of prohibition. As the future could be used in positive commands in an imperative sense, as in πάντως δὲ τοῦτο ὀμύρεις, but by all means do this, AR. Nub. 1352, it could also take the simple οὐ in prohibitions, as in χειρὶ οὐ ψαύεις ποτε, you shall not touch me with your hand, or do not touch me, EUR. Med. 1320. (See § 69.) The dramatists soon introduced the new form with οὐ μὴ into such prohibitions, generally with the future indicative, but occasionally with the more primitive subjunctive. Thus οὐ μὴ καταβήσκει had the sense of do not come down, derived from you shall not come down, as οὐ ψαύεις above from meaning you shall not touch came to mean do not touch. One of the strongest objections to the older views of the forms with οὐ μὴ is that they generally require a distinct explanation of this prohibitory construction. Elmsley's theory of a question with two negatives, explaining οὐ μὴ καταβήσκει; as will you not not come down? hence do not come down, was stated in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1812, and in his note to EUR. Med. 1120

(1151 Dind.). Many who do not adopt Elmsley's theory in full still accept the interrogative form, and these sentences are now generally printed as questions. Long before Elmsley, the famous "Canon Davesianus" had proscribed all sigmatic aorist subjunctives with οὐ μὴ as well as with ὅπως μὴ. This edict removed nearly or quite all the troublesome subjunctives that would have opposed Elmsley's view, and left only the future indicative in his doubly-negated questions, which of course required an indicative. This again set up an artificial distinction in form between the prohibitory construction allowing only the future indicative, and the other construction allowing both subjunctive and future indicative.

But it has been more and more evident in later years that this distinction in form between the two constructions cannot be maintained. It was seen by Brunck, before Elmsley's interrogative theory appeared, that it would be absurd to distinguish sentences like ταῦτα οὐ μὴ ποτ' ἐς τὴν Σκύρον ἐκλείσῃς ἔχων, *you shall never sail away to Scyros with these arms*, SOPH. Ph. 381, from οὐ μὴ καταβήσῃς, *you shall not come down*, AR. Vesp. 397. He therefore wrote ἐκλείσεις in the former, with the note "soloece vulgo legitur ἐκλείσῃς." But ἐκλείσεις proved to be even a greater solecism than ἐκλείσῃς was thought to be, for the only classic future of πλέω is the middle πλείσομαι or πλεινοῦμαι, and ἐκλείσει will not suit the verse. So ἐκλείσῃς had to be restored. Again, while almost all the sentences containing a prohibition with οὐ μὴ, followed by a positive command with ἀλλά or δέ, could admit of Elmsley's punctuation and interpretation,—as οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοί; AR. Nub. 505, explained as *won't you not talk nonsense and follow me?*—another passage of the Clouds resisted both of these and also the proscribed form. In 296, the Mss. have οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς μηδὲ ποιήσῃς ἄτερ αἰτηγούμενος οἴτου ἀλλ' εὐφῆμει. Brunck emended this without hesitation to οὐ μὴ σκώσεις μηδὲ ποιήσεις, with the note "soloece vulgo σκώψῃς . . . ποιήσῃς." But there was no place for Elmsley's interrogative mark, which could not stand after the imperative, and could not be inserted after οἴτου without implying that the other sentences (like Nub. 505 above) were wrongly punctuated. The emendation σκώσεις was as unfortunate as ἐκλείσεις, as the future of σκώπτω is σκώσομαι, not σκώψω, so that a further emendation to σκώσει was needed. In this battered condition, and with no interrogative mark to help the interpretation, the passage usually appears, even in the latest editions. (See §§ 298, 300, 301.) So long as it is proposed to explain these prohibitions and the ordinary denials with οὐ μὴ on entirely different theories, with nothing common to the two constructions, it may not seem unreasonable to force a few examples like Nub. 296 and 367 into conformity with the general usage. But in any theory which makes no distinction in construction between the prohibitions and the other negative expressions of denial or refusal—for example, between οὐ μὴ καταβήσῃς, *you shall not come*



δοῦναι), there is no more reason for objecting to οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς than to οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεύσῃς. An occasional subjunctive, like οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς or οὐ μὴ ληρήσῃς, is indeed no more than we should naturally expect in a construction which had its origin in the subjunctive. In such expressions, further, the analogy of the equivalent μὴ σκώψῃς and μὴ ληρήσῃς would tend to make the aorist subjunctive unobjectionable and perfectly natural. A reference to the list of passages quoted on page 390 will show the inconsistencies into which every one must fall who attempts to explain the prohibitions and the clauses of denial on different theories. We cannot separate οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς from οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεύσῃς in construction, nor the latter from οὐ μὴ πάθῃς, nor this again from οὐ μὴ τις ὑβρίσῃ, on any consistent principle of interpretation.¹

Sentences of one class have been claimed as decisive witnesses in favour of the interrogative theory. They are represented by οὐ θάσσον οἴσεις, μὴδ' ἀπιστήσεις ἐμοί; *will you not more quickly extend it (your hand), and not distrust me?* SOPH. Tr. 1183. These are undoubted questions, but there is no construction with οὐ μὴ in them. They consist of one question with οὐ, implying an affirmative answer, *will you not extend your hand?* and another with μὴ, implying a negative answer, *and you will not distrust me, will you?* The compound of the two has the general sense expressed in the first translation above. (See § 299 and the examples.)

In conclusion, we may sum up the result of the investigation as follows. The original construction of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive was developed as a negative form of the independent subjunctive with μὴ, which had already become an expression of apprehension with desire to avert its object, even if it had not passed into the stage of a cautious assertion; in either case, the real negative force of μὴ was in abeyance. The aorist subjunctive is the most common form here, the present being less frequent. This form of future denial next admitted the future indicative in the same sense as the subjunctive. The second person singular of this future with οὐ μὴ was used by the dramatists as a prohibition, without abandoning the sense which the future can always have in both positive and negative commands. In these prohibitions the future indicative, in which they had their origin, is generally used; but the subjunctive occasionally occurs, being analogous to the ordinary aorist subjunctive with μὴ in prohibitions; e.g. μὴ σκώψῃς supporting οὐ μὴ σκώψῃς.²

¹ For a further discussion of the form of the sentences with οὐ μὴ, in connexion with that of clauses with ὅπως and with the Canon Davesianus, see *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1869-70*, pp. 46-55.

² Since this paper was written, I have seen that Kvičala, in two articles on οὐ μὴ in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* for 1856, proposed an explanation of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive, which at one important point came very near the view now presented. He states two (apparently theoretical) meanings which he supposes μὴ θάσῃς to have had at some period (zwei Bedeutungs-entwickelungen): one, "Du wirst doch wol am Ende, trotzdem dass ich es abzuwehren suche, sterben;" the other, "Ich fürchte,

III.

STATISTICS OF THE USE OF THE FINAL PARTICLES.

THE following tables are based on the statistics given by Dr. Philipp Weber in his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*.

1. Statistics of the use of the Final Particles in pure final clauses by different authors.

	Ὅφρα.	Ὅφρα κε or δν.	Ἴνα.	Ὡς.	Ὡς δν or ὡς κε.	Ὅπως.	Ὅπως δν with Subj.
Homer . . .	223	14	145	24 ²	38	9	
Hom. Hymns . . .	8	1 (opt.)	5	...	2 (opt.)		
Hesiod . . .	10	...	11	3	3		
Pindar . . .	11	...	...	3	1 (opt.)	1	
Aeschylus . . .	...	...	2	23	11	11	5 ³
Sophocles . . .	...	...	14	52	5	31	2
Euripides . . .	...	...	71	182	27	19	7
Aristophanes . . .	...	...	183	3 ⁴	14	18 ⁵	24
Herodotus . . .	...	...	107	16	11	13 ⁶	5
Thucydides . . .	...	...	52	1	1	114	
Xenophon . . .	...	...	213	83	8 ⁷	221	14
Plato . . .	...	...	368	1	...	23	25
Ten Orators . . .	...	...	579 ⁸ 3 or 4 ⁹	...	...	42	12
Demosthenes . . .	...	...	253	...	...	14	4

dass du doch wol (trotz meiner Abwehr) sterben werdest." By prefixing οὐ to μή θάρσῃ in these meanings, he arrives at two uses of οὐ μή with the subjunctive. The second meaning comes so near the independent subjunctive with μή in Homer, that it is surprising that neither this nor the equally important αἴψα in Plato is mentioned. But no use is made of the advantage here gained in explaining οὐ μή with the future indicative, either in prohibitions or in denials. The prohibitions are made interrogative, οὐ μή διακέρεις ἔσται; being explained as "Nicht wahr!—du wirst doch nicht feindselig seyn?" The future of denial is explained simply as developed from the interrogative future, as a form of reply to this, by leaving out the interrogative element.

¹ For ὅπως δν with the optative in Attic Greek, see § 330.

² Omitting Od. xvi. 201. ³ In Agam. 364 ὅπως has the optative with δν.

⁴ Two of these occur in Lysistr. 1265, 1305, in the *Χορός Λακωνῶν*: the third is in Eccl. 286.

⁵ Including 19 with future indicative.

⁶ Olys. See Weber's erratum for his p. 130.

⁷ Omitting Cyr. viii. 3, 2—see p. 100, footnote), and Xenophon's peculiar cases of ἄν αἴψα with the optative—see § 326, 2). See Appendix IV.

⁸ Weber omits Dinias has in p. 185—see his p. 182.

⁹ Dem. xxiv. 146 is omitted, as ἄν cannot be final there. The only sure examples of ἄν final in the orators are ANT. v. 53, vi. 15; ANTI. i. 99. Lys. xviii. 14 is probably corrupt—see *Am. Jour. Phil.* vi. p. 56).



2. Statistics of the use of the four Final Particles in pure final clauses in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

	SUBJ.	FUT. IND.	OPT.	
* <i>Ὀφρα</i> (pure)	{ Il. 89	2	22.....Il. 113	
	{ Od. 82	2	26.....Od. 110	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	171	4	48	— 223
* <i>Ὀφρα κε</i>	{ Il. 1	...	1.....Il. 2	
	{ Od. 6	...	0.....Od. 6	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7		1	— 8
<i>Ὀφρ' ἄν</i>	{ Il. 2	...	0.....Il. 2	
	{ Od. 3	...	1.....Od. 4	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5		1	— 6
Total cases of <i>Ὀφρα</i>				<hr/>
				237
* <i>Ἴρα</i> (pure)	{ Il. 45	...	22.....Il. 67	
	{ Od. 48	...	30.....Od. 78	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	93		52	— 145 (total)
* <i>Ὠς</i> (pure)	{ Il. 10	...	6.....Il. 16	
	{ Od. 2	...	6.....Od. 8	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	12		12	— 24
* <i>Ὠς κε</i>	{ Il. 11	...	0.....Il. 11	
	{ Od. 9	...	5.....Od. 14	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	20		5	— 25
* <i>Ὠς ἄν</i>	{ Il. 3	...	1.....Il. 4	
	{ Od. 6	...	3.....Od. 9	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9		4	— 13
Total cases of <i>Ὠς</i>				<hr/>
				62
* <i>Ὀπως</i> (pure)	{ Il. 0	0	2.....Il. 2	
	{ Od. 1	1	5.....Od. 7	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	1	7	— 9 (total)

3. Examples of *ὦς* and *ὀπως* in object clauses in Homer after verbs of *planning, trying, etc.* (see § 341).

Simple *ὦς* with subjunctive: Il. ii. 4 (some read opt.), Od. v. 24.
 (* *Ὠς κε* with subjunctive: Il. iv. 66 (= 71), ix. 112, xv. 235, xxi. 459; Od. i. 205, ii. 168, 316, 368, v. 31, vii. 192. (*10.*)

Simple *ὀπως* with subjunctive: Il. iii. 19, 110, xvii. 635, 713, Od. i. 77, xiii. 365, 386. (* *Ὀπως κε* with subjunctive: Od. i. 270, 295, iv. 545; so Il. ix. 681, if this is subjunctive. (*4.*)

Ως with optative : Il. ix. 181 ; Od. vi. 112. (2.) Ὅπως with optative : Il. xiv. 160, xxi. 137, xxiv. 680 ; Od. iii. 129, viii. 345, ix. 420, 554, xi. 229, 480, xv. 170, 203. (11.)

Weber cites ὅπως κεν σός in Il. ix. 681 as optative, and omits Od. iii. 19 as a suspected verse.

The following verbs are used to introduce this construction in Homer : φράζομαι and its compounds, 14 times ; βουλεύω and βουλήν εἰπεῖν, 5 times ; πειρώ, 5 times ; μερμηρίζω, 4 times ; ὀρμαίνω and λίσσομαι, each twice ; and νοέω, λείσσω, μήτιν ὑφηνον, and μνήσομαι, each once. (36.)

IV.

XENOPHON'S PECULIAR USE OF ὡς, ὡς ἄν, AND ὅπως ἄν IN FINAL AND OBJECT CLAUSES.

IN FINAL CLAUSES.

I. (Ὅς and ὡς ἄν.) 1. It is well known that Xenophon is almost the only writer of Attic prose who uses ὡς freely in the final constructions. Weber's statistics (p. 398) show that while ὡς is the favourite final particle in tragedy, it is hardly found in Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, and the Orators. Xenophon forms a strange exception to the prose usage, having ὡς or ὡς ἄν in 91 of his pure final clauses. There is nothing peculiar in his use of final ὡς with either subjunctive or optative, as it merely takes the place of another final particle.

2. In his use of ὡς ἄν in final clauses, however, several peculiarities appear, which show that Xenophon felt the original force of ὡς as a relative adverb of manner (§ 312). The following examples occur.¹

(a) Of eight cases of ὡς ἄν with the subjunctive, six are normal, while two show the relative force of ὡς :—

Ἐἶσαι χρῆ τὸς ἀνδρας τὸ μέτριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὡς ἄν δύνωνται ἐπινομαχεῖν, *that they be able to fight against sleep.* Cyr. ii. 4, 26. Ὅς δ' ἄν μίθης, ἀντάκουσον. An. ii. 5, 16. Ἄλλ' ἐπεσθαι χρῆ καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἄν τὸ παραγγελόμενον δύνησθε ποιεῖν. An. vi. 3, 18. So Cyr. viii. 7, 9 ; Ag. xi. 1 ; Eques. iv. 4.

Ὅς ἄν δύνηται ἰσοὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπεσθαι, τῷ μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ, *lead on at a medium rate of speed, that the army may be able to follow you.* Cyr. ii. 4, 28. (The analogy of the following cases of the optative may justify the translation, *lead at a rate at which the army may be able to follow you.*) Αἱ μὲν κινήματι εἰς μέγιστος οὐ μάλα εὐζονται,

¹ See Weber, p. 224, where the examples of the optative with ὡς ἄν are also given. Weber cites Cyr. viii. 3, 2 as an example of the subjunctive ; but this section has ὡς ἄν ἐξαγγελῆ as a relative clause, but no final clause. I have added Cyr. vii. 5, 81 and Eques. ix. 3 to the examples of the optative given by Weber.



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πρὸς δὲ ταύτας ὡς ἂν συμμέτρος ἔχῃ συναίξεται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα, i.e. *the rest of the (horse's) body grows so as to be in the right proportion to the legs.* Eques. i. 16. These two cases are (as Weber says of those of the optative) on the line between final and consecutive sentences. The original relative and conditional force of *ὡς* (§ 312, 2) can here be plainly seen.

(b) The original relative force of *ὡς*, *as*, is much more apparent when *ὡς ἂν* takes the optative in Xenophon with a potential force, especially after primary tenses. These examples occur:—

Προσφέρουσιν ὡς ἂν ἐνδοῖεν τὸ ἔκπωμα εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν, *they offer the cup in the most convenient way in which they can present it for the one who is to drink* (lit. *as they can present it most conveniently*). Cyr. i. 3, 8. Ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἴεν τῷ ἵππῳ κράτιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥῆῳ ἄσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω, *if any one has any easier exercise for keeping the horse's feet as strong as possible.* Hipp. i. 16. So also Eques. ix. 3: οὕτως αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ θάπτον (χρῆ) προάγειν, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνούμενος.

Ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὀφθίγασθαι ἐμελλε τὰ βασιλεία οἰκοδομῆν ἀρχόμενος, ὡς ἂν ἰκανὰ ἀπομάχεσθαι εἴη, *beginning to build his palace so that it would be capable of defence* (in a manner in which it would be). Cyr. iii. 1, 1. Ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἤκιστα ἂν ἐπιφθόνως σπάνιός τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανεῖη, *to do this so that he would appear, etc.* Cyr. vii. 5, 37. (Here the separation of *ἂν* from *ὡς* makes the potential nature of *φανεῖη* ἂν especially plain.) Εἰ δὲ μὲν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι ἐπιθρονοῖσιν ὁ δαίμων ταῦτα ἡμῖν συμπαρασκευάσκει, ὡς δ' ἂν ἡδίστα ταῦτα φαίνοιτο αὐτός τις αὐτῷ ταῦτα παρασκευάσει, κ.τ.λ., *if, while God has helped to provide for us what men most desire, any one will then provide these for himself so that they would appear most agreeable to him, etc.* Cyr. vii. 5, 81. Συντεταγμένον μὲν οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἂν ἐπικουρεῖν μάλιστα αὐτῷ δύναιτο, ἡσυχῶς δὲ ὥσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἢ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνει, *he led the army so ordered that it would be best able to help him, and as quietly as the most modest maiden would walk.* Ag. vi. 7. (Compare this with Cyr. ii. 4, 28 under *a*, and compare *ὡς ἂν* and *ὥσπερ ἂν* here.) See § 329, 2, for similar cases in Demosthenes.

II. (Ὅπως.) Xenophon's favourite final particle is *ὅπως*, but there is nothing peculiar in his use of it in pure final clauses with either subjunctive or optative. He further uses *ὅπως ἂν* with the subjunctive like other Attic writers (see examples in § 328).

With the optative he uses *ὅπως ἂν* in four cases with a distinct final and an equally distinct potential force. These examples are quoted in § 330. The only other case is THUC. vii. 65.

IN OBJECT CLAUSES AFTER VERBS OF *striving* ETC.

Xenophon is more peculiar in his use of *ὡς*, *ὡς ἂν*, and *ὅπως ἂν* in these clauses than in pure final clauses. Here he generally uses *ὅπως* with the future indicative, subjunctive, and optative, and occasionally

ὅπως ἂν with the subjunctive, like other Attic writers (see examples in §§ 339 and 348). But he distinctly violates Attic usage by having ὡς (in the sense of ὅπως) with both subjunctive and future indicative, and with the present, aorist, and future optative; also ὡς ἂν with both subjunctive and optative and ὅπως ἂν with the optative; and further by allowing the optative with ὡς ἂν and ὅπως ἂν to follow both primary and secondary tenses. His use of ὡς ἂν and ὅπως ἂν with the optative, especially after primary tenses, shows strongly the original relative and interrogative force of ὡς and ὅπως.

The examples of the exceptional uses are these.

(Ὦς.) Ἐπιμελοῦνται ὡς ἐχθρὸς οὕτως. Oec. xx. 8. Σκοπεῖται τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ, let him keep a look-out in front, to see that nothing escapes us. An. vi. 3, 14. Πῶς δ' οὐ (χρῆ) φυλαξάσθαι ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτο δυνασθῆ ποιῆσαι; Hell. ii. 3, 33. Ἐπεμελοῦτο ὡς μὴ κωλύοιτο πορεύεσθαι, they took care that they should not be prevented from marching. Cyr. vi. 3, 2. Ἐπεμελήθη ὡς τίχοιεν παύτων τῶν καλῶν. Cyr. vii. 3, 17.¹

Ὦς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἐμοὶ μελήσει (like the regular ὅπως ἔξει). Cyr. iii. 2, 13. Ἐπεμελήθη ἢ ὅπως φύλον τι ἀποστῆσεται ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστὰν μὴ ἀπόληται ἢ ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς μὴ δυνήσεται πράγματα παρέχειν (two regular cases of ὅπως with one case of ὡς). Ag. vii. 7. Προείπον ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. Hell. ii. 1, 22.

(Ὦς ἂν.) Subj. Τὸ ὅσα ἂν γινῶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ. Hipp. ix. 2. Οὐ φέροι καρπὸν ἢν μὴ τις ἐπιμελήται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα περαίνηται. Ibid.

Opt. Ἐπιμέλονται ὡς ἂν βέλτισται εἶεν οἱ πολῖται, they take care that (of the way by which) the citizens may be the best. Cyr. i. 2, 5. Ἐπιμελούμενος τούτου ὡς ἂν πραχθείη, seeing how this could be done. Cyr. i. 6, 23. So Hipp. i. 12; Eques. ix. 3. Ἦν γνώσιν (αὐτῶν) δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν ὡς ἂν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὡς οὐτ' ἂν εἰκῆ αὐτ' ἀνευθεῶν ἡγήσασαίτ' ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανοτέρως ποιεῖ. Hipp. vi. 6. (Compare ὡς ἂν πλέον ἔχοιεν, to provide means by which they could be superior, with ὡς οὐκ ἡγήσασαίτ' ἂν, to get the idea that he would not lead, indirect discourse).

Ὦς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατα γε εἰδείην ὅπως τὸ στράτευμά ἐστιν ἐποίους, I took the course by which I should know most accurately the size of the army. Cyr. vi. 3, 18. Αἰσθανόμενος (αὐτὴν) ἀντισταμιλουμένην ὡς καὶ εἰσιόντι εἶη αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, καὶ εἰ ποτε ἀσθνήσειεν, ὡς μηδεὶς ἂν δέοιτο,

¹ See also ὡς with the subjunctive in An. iii. 1, 35 and 41; Cyr. i. 6, 24; Hell. v. 4, 33; Oec. vii. 34 (bis), xx. 4 (bis) and 16; Rep. Lac. xiv. 4; and ὡς with the optative in An. i. 1, 5; Cyr. v. 1, 18, vi. 3, 4, viii. 1, 42; Hell. iii. 4, 15, v. 2, 1 and 5; Ages. i. 19 and 22 and 23, ii. 31; Rep. Lac. iii. 3. This list includes all object clauses with simple ὡς not given above. All Weber's examples of these clauses in Xenophon which have ὡς with the future, ὡς ἂν with the subjunctive or optative, or ὅπως ἂν with the optative are quoted or cited in the text above, except Cyr. vii. 5, 81, which is classed with final clauses in p. 401.



ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἴρωτι. Cyr. v. 1, 18. (Here the protasis εἴ ποτε ἀσθενήσειεν causes the change from ὡς with the simple optative to the potential ὡς μηδενὸς ἂν δέοιτο, in which the separation of ἂν from ὡς is to be noticed.) Ἐκπεποιημένους ὡς ἂν κράτιστοι εἶεν, thoroughly trained to be the best (in the way in which they would be best), Hell. vi. 4, 28. So Cyr. v. 2, 2; Rep. Lac. vi. 1.

(Ὡπως ἂν with Opt.) Three examples after primary tenses are especially peculiar. Κελεύεις με ἐπιμελιῶσθαι ὅπως ἂν μὴ παντάσῃν ἀληθῶς πένης γένοιο, you bid me see how you could escape becoming in truth absolutely poor. Oec. ii. 9. Σκοπῶ ὅπως ἂν ὡς ῥῆστα διαγοίεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν μάλιστα ἂν εὐφραϊνοίμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτοῖς, I try to see how they might live the easiest lives, and how we might take most delight in beholding them. Symp. vii. 2. Τί οὐ τὴν δύναμιν ἔλεξας, ὅπως εἰδότες πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἀριστα ἀγωνιζοίμεθα, that we might take counsel (§ 324) how we might fight the best. Cyr. ii. 1, 4. Here belongs also PLAT. Lys. 207 E, προθυμούνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης (349).

Εἰσῆλθεν ἐπιβουλεύσας ὅπως ἂν ἀλπιότατα εἶποι. Cyr. i. 4, 13. Σκοπῶν δ' αὐτὸ ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡ πάντα ἀρχὴ κατέχοιτο καὶ ἄλλη ἐτι προσγίγνοιτο, ἡγήσατο. Cyr. vii. 5, 70. So iv. 2, 34, viii. 1, 14 and 47. Ἐλογιζόμεθα ὡς ἰκανὸν εἶη εἴ τις δύναιτο ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν καλὸς καγαθὸς γένοιτο. Cyr. i. 6, 7. (Was the oratio recta here ὅπως ἂν γένηται!) Ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ βαρὺς εἶη τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. Hell. iii. 2, 1. So vii. 1, 33; An. iv. 3, 14, v. 7, 20. Πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν εὐ' ἐκείνον ἐγκριθείη. Hell. iv. 1, 40. Τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἐκουσώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ αἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλεύοντο. Hell. vii. 1, 27.

V.

ON SOME DISPUTED POINTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ἔδει, χρῆν, ETC. WITH THE INFINITIVE.¹

SUPPLEMENT TO §§ 415-423.

THE familiar construction by which ἔδει, χρῆν or ἐχρῆν, εἰκὸς ἦν, προσήκεν, ἐξῆν, and other imperfects denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility, are used with the infinitive in an idiomatic sense, the whole expression becoming a form of potential indicative, and generally implying the opposite of the action or the negation of the infinitive, has already been explained in §§ 415-423. Some additional remarks, however, seem necessary, to guard against prevailing misapprehensions.

The important distinction between this idiomatic construction and the use of these imperfects as ordinary past tenses (§ 417) is generally

¹ Many parts of this paper are identical with the article with the same title in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. i. pp. 77-88.

indicated only by the context, and not by the words themselves. It may even be doubtful in some cases which meaning is intended. Thus, in DEM. xviii. 190, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ . . . ἐλέσθαι; nothing in the words shows whether the action of ἐλέσθαι is real or not; but the following τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐποίησα shows that the questions refer merely to a past duty which the speaker actually performed. Indeed, the idiomatic use of ἔδει etc. with the infinitive may be found in the same sentence with the ordinary use of these imperfects as past tenses without reference to any condition. A familiar case is in the New Testament, ΜΑΤΘ. xxiii. 23, ταῦτα ὡς ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ ἀφεῖναι, *these (the weightier matters of the law) ought ye to have done, and yet not to have left the others (taking tithes) undone.* This is equivalent to two sentences, ταῦτα ἔδει ἑμᾶς ποιῆσαι, *ye ought to have done these (which ye did not do),* and ἐκεῖνα ἔδει ὑμᾶς μὴ ἀφεῖναι, *ye were right in not leaving those undone (which ye did not leave undone).* We have a decisive proof of the idiomatic use when the present infinitive with ἔδει etc. refers to present time, as when χρῆν σε τοῦτο ποιεῖν means *you ought to be doing this (but are not)*; for these words without the potential force could mean only *it was (once) your duty to do this.* This use of a past tense to express present time, which is found in Greek, Latin, and English (§ 417), is an important characteristic of this idiom.

It is generally laid down as an absolute rule that in this idiom the opposite of the infinitive is *always* implied. See Krüger, § 53, 2, 7, where the usual formula is given, that with ἔδει τοῦτο γίνεσθαι we must understand ἀλλ' οὐ γίγνεται, but with ἔδει ἂν τοῦτο γίνεσθαι we must understand ἀλλ' οὐ δεῖ. This principle was first formulated, I believe, by G. Hermann.¹ It covers nearly all the ordinary cases, and has generally been found to be a convenient working rule, though many passages show that it is not of universal application. The following three classes of examples show the need of a more flexible formula.

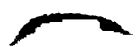
(1) In the following cases the opposite of the leading verb is implied far more than that of the infinitive, the action of the latter in the first case being emphatically affirmed:—

HDT. i. 39 (χρῆν σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις), DEM. ix. 6, xxxiii. 37, and EUR. Med. 490 (reading συγγνωστὸν ἦν). These are quoted and discussed in § 422, 1.

(2) In concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ, even if, οὐδ' εἰ, not even if, or εἰ, although, which contain unreal conditions, the action

¹ See Hermann, *de Particula ἂν*, i. 12. In discussing SOYU. Eloc. 1595, χρῆν δ' εἶθ' εἶναι τήνδε τοῖς πάσιν ἄσπον, Hermann says: "Χρῆν dicit, quia oportere indicat sine conditione: nec potest opponi, ἀλλ' οὐ χρῆν: nam si oportet, quomodo potest non oportere? At non omnia fiunt, quae oportebat. Itaque quod opponere potes, aliud est: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι."

The "opposite" implied in a negative expression of this kind (even when the negation belongs to the leading verb) is an affirmative. Thus οὐ προσήεν ελθεῖν, *he ought not to have gone*, implies ἀλλ' ἦλθεν, as ἔδει ταῦτα μὴ ἦν implies ἀλλὰ γέγον.



or negation of the apodosis must be distinctly affirmed (§ 412, 3). Here, therefore, the common formula cannot be applied.

See ISOC. xviii. 19, and ISAE. vi. 44, quoted in § 422, 2; and the following. Καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων (i.e. καὶ εἰ μὴ εἴχετε τούτους) ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, i.e. *even if you had not all mankind with you, you could still do what you now do.* HDI. vii. 56. (Here ταῦτα ποιεῖν is of course affirmed.) Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσασθαι, . . . οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, i.e. *Athens ought not even then to have withdrawn from this policy, which she followed (ἀποστατέον ἦν = ἀποστήναι ἔδει).* DEM. xviii. 199. See also DEM. xv. 28. Εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν εἴχετε τῶν ἄλλων λογίσασθαι, μηδ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἷός τε ἦτε ταῦτα συνείναι, ἦν ἰδεῖν παράδειγμα Ὀλυνθίων τουτουσί, *for although you had no other cases to consider, and could not learn this lesson in your own experience, you might have seen an example in these Olynthians.* Id. xxiii. 107.

These examples are important as showing that there is nothing in an expression like ἐξῆν σοι ποιεῖν τοῦτο, even in its idiomatic sense, which necessarily involves the denial of the action of ποιεῖν.

(3) In some concessive examples, in which the apodosis ought to be affirmed, we find the action of the infinitive denied.

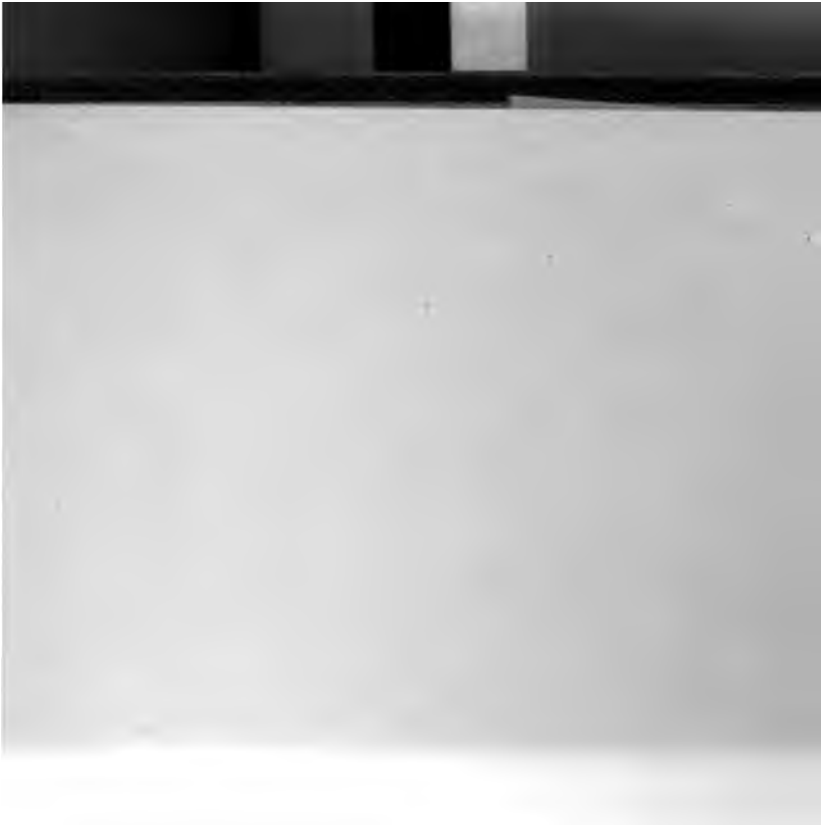
See SOPH. O. T. 255, THUC. i. 38, ISOC. xii. 71, quoted in § 422, 2. These are important as showing that the real apodosis in these expressions with ἔδει etc. is not to be found in the infinitive alone.

It is well known that the imperfects in question (without ἄν) can be used with the infinitive in two ways,—(a) alone, with no protasis expressed or implied except the condition which is contained in the expression itself, as in ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν, *you ought to have gone*; and (b) as the apodosis of an unreal condition, as in εἰ οὐτός σε ἐκέλευεν, ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν, *if he had commanded you, you should have gone.* It will be noticed that all the examples quoted above under (1) and (2) are of the latter class, for in HDI. vii. 56, ἀνευ τούτων represents εἰ μὴ εἴχετε τούτους. If now we take the apodoses of these sentences apart from their protases, we shall find that no one of them can then have the meaning which it now has. For example, in HDI. i. 39, χρῆν σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς would not be Greek at all as a potential expression, for χρῆν σε ποιεῖν would mean *you ought to do* (something which you do not do). In DEM. xxxiii. 37, ἐνῆν αἰτιάσασθαι by itself would mean *he might have charged me* (but did not). Οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι (Isoc. xviii. 19) could mean only *he could not maintain a suit as he does*; that is, it would mean nothing without a protasis. Οὐ προσήκεν αὐτοῖς Εὐκλείμωτος εἶναι (ISAE. vi. 44) by itself would mean *they ought not to belong to E.'s house as they do*. Οὐκ ἀποστατέον ἦν (DEM. xviii. 199) alone would mean *she ought not to have withdrawn as she did*. So ἦν ἰδεῖν παράδειγμα (Id. xxiii. 107) would mean *you might have seen* (but you did not see) *an example.* (Compare DEM. xxviii. 10, τῆν ἀσπίδην ἠφαιέκατε, ἐξ ἧς ἦν εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, *the will, from which we might know the truth.*)

When these potential expressions without ἄν stand alone, they

always imply the opposite of the action or the negation of the infinitive; so that εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν by itself can mean only *you would properly have suffered this* (but you did not). This is necessary because the equivalent of this form, τοῦτο ἂν ἔπαθες εἰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔπαθες, always involves οὐκ ἔπαθες τοῦτο, since τοῦτο and τὸ εἰκὸς are here made identical, and τὸ εἰκὸς ἔπαθες is denied. When, however, one of these expressions is made the apodosis of an unreal condition external to itself, it may be so modified by the new condition as no longer to imply the opposite of the infinitive as before. This is the case with the four examples under (1), in which we certainly do not find οὐ ποίεις, ἄλλο λέγει καὶ συμβουλεύει, οὐκ ἠγιάισατο, and οὐκ ἠράσθη implied in the form of expression. The apparent paradox here is explained by the principle stated in § 511, that when several protases, not co-ordinate, belong to the same sentence, one always contains the leading condition, to which the rest of the sentence (including the other conditions) forms the conclusion; and when this leading condition is unreal, it makes all subordinate past or present conditions also unreal, so far as the supposed case is concerned, without regard to their own nature. A sentence like this, *If you had been an Athenian, you would have been laughed at if you had talked as you did*, shows the principle clearly. This has become the relation of the unreal protasis involved in εἰκὸς ἦν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν, when this expression is made the apodosis of a new unreal condition. Thus, when χρῆν σε ποίειν in Hdt. i. 39, which by itself could admit only an unreal object, follows εἰ ὑπὸ δόοντος εἶπε τελευτήσασθαι με, οὐκ ἔστι ποίεις can be its object, and the whole can mean *if the dream had said I was to perish by a tooth, you would do what you now do if you did what was right*. The new chief protasis that has come in has changed the whole relation of the old implied protasis to the sentence as a whole.

It is often difficult to express in English the exact force of these expressions, even when no external protasis is added, and the opposite of the infinitive (not that of the leading verb) is therefore implied. Thus, a common translation of DEM. xviii. 248, οὐδ' ἀγνομήσασθαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, *it would have been no wonder if the mass of the people had been somewhat unmindful of me* (Westerman translates *entschuldbar gewesen wäre*), would seem to require ἦν ἂν. But the strength of the apodosis lies in the infinitive, and the meaning (fully developed) is, *the mass of the people might have been somewhat unmindful of me (ἀγνομήσασθαι ἂν τι) without doing anything wonderful (i.e. if they had done a very natural thing)*. With θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἦ there would have been an undue emphasis thrown upon θαυμαστὸν. In PLAT. Rep. 474 D, ἄλλο ἔπρεπεν λέγειν ἢ λέγειν is equivalent to ἄλλοις εἶπεν ἂν πρεπόντως ἢ λέγειν, another *would* becomingly say *what you say*, the opposite of λέγειν being implied. Ἐπρεπεν ἂν λέγειν would have caused a change of emphasis, but would have substantially the same general meaning, *it would have been becoming for another to say what you say*. See also DEM. xviii. 16, xlv. 69, and





R.
i: c. ei? mèn yáp, éyw étti én súxá meíqñ tou pátias mopeúētou.
tò dōru, oudéu du se édei deōpo t'énai.

PLAT. Euthyd. 304 D, quoted in § 419; and the discussion of EUR. Med. 490 in § 422, 1.

We have seen that we cannot make the denial of the action of the infinitive an absolute test of the proper use of the form without ἄν where there is an external protasis added to the condition implied in the expression itself. The examples last quoted show that we cannot make the denial of the leading verb an absolute test of the proper use of the form with ἄν. In fact, this idiom is too flexible and too dependent on the momentary feeling of the speaker or writer to subject itself to any such strict rules as are usually forced upon it. The following rules seem to me to be as exact as the Greek usage warrants.¹

1. The form without ἄν is used when the infinitive is the principal word, on which the chief force of the expression falls, while the leading verb is an auxiliary which we can express by *ought, might, could,* or by an adverb.

2. On the other hand, when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, the leading verb has ἄν, like any other imperfect in a similar apodosis.

Examples of the form with ἄν are generally regular. See those quoted in § 423.² A standard case is DEM. iv. 1, *εἰ τὰ δεόντα οἱ σοφοὶ συμβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἄν ἡμῶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι*, if these had given you the necessary advice, there would be no need of your deliberating now. Here, as in all the ten examples of ἔδει ἄν quoted by La Roche, we find ἔδει ἄν in its meaning *there would be* (or *would have been*) *need*, whereas in the form without ἄν we generally have ἔδει in the sense of *ought*, expressing *obligation* and not *necessity*. Of course, the idea of necessity is incompatible with that of an act not done. If La Roche's statistics are complete here, we see that the Greeks almost always expressed obligation or propriety, and generally expressed possibility, by the form without ἄν, reserving ἔδει ἄν for the idea of necessity, and ἔξῃν ἄν for a few cases in which the idea of possibility was to be made specially emphatic.

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the form without ἄν should often be used where we are at first inclined to think ἄν

¹ When an external protasis is added, there is no necessity for any denial of the action of the apodosis at all (see § 412). But this denial, though not essential, is generally implied in the apodosis of an unreal condition, and the apodosis as a whole happens to be denied in all the cases of the construction of ἔδει etc. with the infinitive which are discussed here. No notice is taken, therefore, of the principle of § 412 in this discussion.

² See La Roche on "ἄν bei ἔδει und ἔξῃν" in the *Zeitschrift für die oesterreichische Gymnasien* for 1876, pp. 588-591. He professes to give all the cases; but his twenty-one examples of ἔδει ἄν include eleven in which ἔδει has the genitive of a noun and no infinitive. Omitting these, we have only ten of ἔδει ἄν with the infinitive: THUC. i. 71; LYS. Frag. 56 (88 Scheibe); ISOC. xv. 17; ISAE. iv. 4; DEM. iv. 1; PLAT. Rep. 328 C, Theaet. 169 E, Gorg. 514 A, Alc. i. 119 B; DEM. lviii. 47 only the last three affirmative; with four of ἔξῃν ἄν: LYS. iv. 13, Frag. 47 (79 Scheibe); ISAE. x. 13; DEM. xxiv. 149. He finds χρῆν ἄν only in LYS. xii. 48, where he proposes to omit ἄν, overlooking χρῆν ἄν παραδοξάσαι in DEM. xviii. 195. Both of these passages are discussed below, pp. 409, 410.

is required. It must be remembered that the real apodosis here is not the central infinitive alone, but this infinitive modified by the idea of obligation, propriety, or possibility in the leading verb, that is, conditioned by the implied protasis which the expression includes (see § 420). This modification may be so slight as to leave the infinitive the only important word in the apodosis; in this case the opposite of the infinitive is generally implied, as it always is when *no* protasis is added: thus, EUR. Med. 520, χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαιτά με γαμῆν γάμον τόνδε, implies ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγάμεις πείσας με. It may be so great as to make the idea of obligation etc. a prominent factor in the apodosis, still stopping short of the point at which this favourite Greek idiom was abandoned and an ordinary apodosis with ἄν was substituted in its place. The Greeks preferred the form without ἄν almost always where we can express the apodosis by the verb of the infinitive with *ought*, *might*, or *could*, or with an adverb, although we sometimes find it hard to express the combined idea in English without giving undue force to the leading verb. Sometimes, when the idea of obligation, propriety, or possibility is specially prominent in the apodosis, although no ἄν is used, the opposite that is suggested combines this idea with that of the infinitive. This is the case with the examples in (1), in which the distinction between the two forms is very slight and of little practical account. In HDT. i. 39, the apodosis is *you would then properly do what you now do* (or *you would then, if you did what you ought, do what you now do*), implying *now you do not do this properly*. With χρῆν ἄν it would have been *it would then be your duty to do what you now do*, the chief force being transferred from the act to the duty or necessity. Still, this change might have been made without otherwise affecting the sense. In DEM. ix. 6, the apodosis is *in that case the speaker would properly talk of nothing else than this* (implying *now he may properly talk of another matter*); whereas with ἔδει ἄν it would be *there would then be no need of his talking of anything else*, with greater emphasis on the ἔδει and with a change of meaning. In DEM. xxiii. 37, ἐνῆν αἰτιάσασθαι means *he might then possibly have accused me*, implying *he could not possibly accuse me as it was*; with ἐνῆν ἄν it would have been *it would then have been possible for him to accuse me*, the emphasis being transferred with no other change of sense. The same is true of EUR. Med. 490. Likewise, in ISOC. xviii. 21, the apodosis, *in that case we ought not to wonder at him* or *we should not properly wonder at him*, is equivalent to οὐκ ἄν ἐθαυμάζομεν ἀξίως, with the opposite implied, *now we do wonder at him properly* (νῦν θαυμάζομεν ἀξίως). This combination of two ideas in an apodosis of this kind is analogous to that which we often find in an ordinary apodosis with ἄν; thus, in ISOC. vi. 87, οὐχ οὕτω δ' ἄν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς παρεκάλουν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην ἴδμεν αἰσχροῦν ἐσομένην, *I should not exhort you with all this zeal to war, did I not see, etc.*, the apodosis which is denied includes οὕτω προθύμως.

A striking illustration of the modification of the infinitive in an apodosis of this kind by the force of the leading verb may be seen in



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the examples under (3). Here in concessive sentences, in which the apodosis must be affirmed, we find the action of the infinitives denied. This shows that the infinitive alone is not the real apodosis. In SOPH. O. T. 255, the actual apodosis is *you would not properly leave the guilt unpurged* (implying *you do not properly leave it*). In THUC. i. 38, the apodosis is *they would fairly have yielded* (implying *they did not yield, but it was fair that they should*). In ISOC. xii. 71, it is *they would deservedly have received*, = ἔτυχον ἂν ἀξίως (implying that it was only *undeservedly* that they failed to receive the reward). The remarks that have been made above apply also to the concessive sentences in (2), in which nothing in the apodosis is denied. Here, too, the form with ἂν might have been used by transferring the force of the expression from the infinitive to the leading verb.

It has been seen that ἔδει ἂν with the infinitive differs from ἔδει without ἂν in meaning as well as in the balance of emphasis. On the other hand, ἐξῆν ἂν differs from ἐξῆν only in the latter respect. See ISAK. x. 13, τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ παῖδες ἄρρενες μὴ ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἐξῆν ἄνευ ταύτης διαθεῖσθαι, i. e. *in that case he would not have been permitted (by law) to leave his daughter out of his will*; and DEM. xxiv. 146, οὐτε γὰρ ἂν ἐξῆν ὑμῖν τιμᾶν ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι, i. e. *if this law were passed, you would not have the power (which you now have) of assessing penalties*. Compare with these ISOC. xviii. 19, οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι, *he could not (in that case) maintain a suit, where ἐξῆν ἂν would only give more emphasis to the possibility, which is done in the preceding examples*. For the ordinary use of ἐξῆν and the infinitive see PLAT. Crit. 52 C, ἐξῆν σοι φυγῆς τιμώσασθαι εἰ ἐβούλοιο, *you might have proposed exile as your penalty if you had wished to* (implying only οὐ φυγῆς ἐτιμώσω).

It remains to discuss two passages in which χρῆν ἂν occurs, with a view to La Roche's disbelief in the existence of this form (see footnote 2, p. 407). In DEM. xviii. 195, we have χρῆν and χρῆν ἂν in close succession, with no essential change in meaning except the difference in emphasis above mentioned. The sentence is: εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξει, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν εἰ μὴδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν ἀντιμάχοις; . . . καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄσον τῆς μάχης γειομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἰ ποὺ τῆς χώρας ταῦτο τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆται χρῆν; i. e. *when it was fated that we should fare as we did with the Thebans on our side, what ought we to have expected which we did not find ourselves expecting if we had not secured even these as allies? And, if so great danger and terror surrounded the city when the battle was fought two or three days' journey from Attica, what should we have had to expect (which we did not really have to expect) if this calamity had occurred within our own country?* Here the unreal supposition of not having secured the Thebans as allies, or (its probable consequence) the battle of Chaeronea having been fought in Attica, suits either form of apodosis, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν; or τί ἂν χρῆν προσδοκῆται; the expectation itself in the former case, and the

necessity for the expectation in the latter, being specially emphasised. It is hard to believe that the orator felt any important change in the general force of his question when he added *ἄν* in the second case.

In *Lys.* xii. 32, we have, addressed to Eratosthenes, *χρῆν δέ σε, εἴπερ ἦσθα χρηστὸς, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι μνηστὴν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένοις συλλαμβάνειν*, if you had been an honest man, you ought to have become an informer in behalf of those who were about to suffer death unjustly, much rather than (and not) to have arrested (as you did) those who were doomed to perish unjustly; but in 48, referring to the same man and the same acts, the orator says *εἴπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς, ἐχρῆν ἄν πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ μνηστὴν γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.*, if he had been an honest man, he would have had, first, to abstain from lawlessness in office, and, next, to come before the Senate as an informer, etc. La Roche proposes to omit *ἄν* in the second passage, because it would be absurd to suppose that *ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν* is implied in the sense that *E.* had a right to be lawless in office ("er durfte παρανόμως ἄρχειν") because he was not honest. What is implied is rather *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν*, i.e. not being an honest man, he did not have to abstain from lawlessness in office, etc., which we can understand without absurdity. The passage, like so many sentences of this class, is simply an argument to prove that *E.* was not honest. If he had been honest (it is said), he would have had to do certain things (which, it is implied, all honest men do); but he did not do these (as is stated, *εἰς τῶν ἄρχῶν καταστάς ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχειν, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν*); therefore he was not honest. There is a slight slip in showing (in the words last quoted) that he *did not* do the things in question, and not that *he did not have to* do them; so that of the two constructions, *χρῆν* in 32 and *ἐχρῆν ἄν* in 48, the former is more strictly logical. This use of *ἐχρῆν ἄν* is the counterpart of that of *χρῆν, εἶδει, ἐνῆν*, and *θαυμαστὴν ἦν* in the passages quoted above (1), where the forms with *ἄν* might have been used.

The Latin follows precisely the same principle as the Greek in the use of such imperfects as *debebat, licebat* (= *χρῆν, ἐξῆν*), and *deberet, liceret* (= *χρῆν ἄν, ἐξῆν ἄν*), with reference to present time. But when such expressions are past, the Latin uses *debuisset* or *deberet* in the sense of *χρῆν*, and *debuisset* for *χρῆν ἄν*, both with the present infinitive; while the Greek keeps the imperfect in all cases. See *Cic. Phil.* ii. 99, *Quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas* (= *χρῆν σε φιλεῖν*), you ought to love (but you do not); and *Cluent.* 18, *Cluentio ignoscere debebitis quod haec a me dici patitur; mihi ignoscere non deberes si tacerem* (= *οὐ ἄν σε ἐμοὶ συγγνωσκεις χρῆν εἰ ἐσίγων*), it would not be right for you to pardon me if I were silent. In the former case the emphasis falls on *colere*; in the latter on *non deberes*, which is in strong antithesis to *debebitis*. See also *Cic. Verr.* ii. 5, 59: *Qui ex foedere ipso navem vel pupam ad Oceanum, si imperassemus, mittere debuerunt, ei, ne in fretis ante sua tecta et domos navigarent, . . . pretio abs te ius foederis et imperii condicionem*



redemerunt, *they who were bound by the very terms of the treaty, if we had commanded it, to send a ship even into the Ocean, etc.* So far as any opposite is implied here, it is not that of *mittere*, but rather something like what is implied in the examples in (1), like *they did not have to send*. *Mittere debuissent* (ἔδει ἂν πέμψαι) would mean *they would have been bound to send*. In Latin, as in Greek and English, the peculiar force of the past tense of the indicative with the infinitive is purely idiomatic.

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Alcibiades

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